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THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW

Under the Direction of  
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS { RT. REV. MGR. JAMES F. LOUGHLIN, D. D.  
RT. REV. MGR. JAMES P. TURNER, D. D., V. G.

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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum  
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive regantem sive  
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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VOLUME XXXII.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1967.

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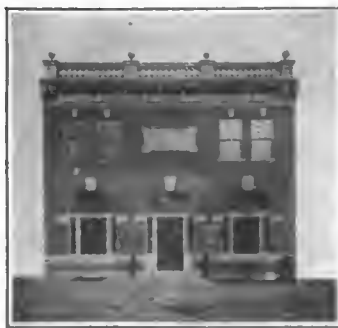
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VOL. XXXII.—JANUARY, 1907—No. 125

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## THE CARDINAL KING.—HENRY IX.\*

"Here's a health to the King whom the Crown does belong to;  
Confusion to those who the right King would wrong so;  
I do not here mention either Old King or New King;  
But here is a health, boys—a health to the True King!

"Here's a health to the Clergy, true sons of the Church,  
Who never left King, Queen or Prince in the lurch;  
I do not here mention either Old Church or New Church;  
But here is a health, boys—a health to the True Church!"

Jacobite Song.

SEVERAL biographies have been published at various periods of His Eminence the Cardinal, Duke of York, and His Royal Highness Prince Henry Stuart, second son of the Old Pretender, King James III of Great Britain, France and Ireland, the only son of the unfortunate James II and of his devoted, holy and self-sacrificing wife, Marie Beatrix d'Este. The eldest brother of the Cardinal was the once chivalrous Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, whose nearly successful attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors in 1745 has formed the theme of much song and story. It is doubtful, however, if any more interesting record of the life of the Prince Car-

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\*The last of the Royal Stuarts: Henry Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York, by Herbert N. Vaughan, B. A. (Ovan) London, Methuen Co., 1906.

dinal has ever been produced than that which now stands to the credit of Mr. Herbert Vaughan, upon whose valuable stores of information concerning a charming personality I now propose to draw.

The Old Pretender—James III—was married to Maria Clementina Sobieska, co-heiress with her sister, the Princess Maria Charlotte Sobieska, of the Royal Polish House of Sobieska. The latter married Charles Godefroi de la Tour, Duc de Buillon, descendant of the famous Crusader King of Jerusalem. Queen Maria Clementina, to give her her rightful title recognized by the Holy See and by all Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen who clung to the Jacobite belief in the eventual certainty of the re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty, was a woman of remarkable religious characteristics, whose scrupulous sense of the obligations of morality was sorely tried by the conduct of her royal husband, who appears to have inherited the worst frailties of his father, King James II, and to have imitated in some degree the example set him by his licentious but admittedly worldly wise uncle, King Charles II. Maria Clementina, on the other hand, was devoted to ascetic practices, carried to a pitch which is asserted to have aggravated an internal disease from which she suffered and which brought about her death at the early age of thirty-three years, in 1735. Fifteen years previously, on the last day of 1720, her eldest son, Charles Edward, Prince of Wales, was born in the Palazzo Muti, Rome, the residence assigned James III by Pope Clement XI on the exiled monarch seeking a home in the Eternal City. The building in question was capacious, if not remarkable for architectural beauty, and within its walls the legitimate King of Great Britain and Ireland maintained the semblance of a royal court. Before its doors a squadron of Papal cuirassiers daily mounted guard, in precisely the same fashion as their comrades did at the portals of the Vatican and the Quirinal. All the honors due to a reigning sovereign were rendered to the refugee Prince, and he was accorded the precedence appertaining to his titular dignity at all the ceremonies and receptions of the Papal court.

In the Palazzo Muti, on March 6th, 1725, Henry Benedict, Duke of York, was born. At this period the reigning Pontiff was Pope Benedict XIII and James lost no time in communicating to His Holiness news of an event which created unbounded satisfaction in Jacobite circles, and corresponding depression amongst the adherents of the Hanoverian dynasty, not only in England, but also in Rome, where—even at the College of Car-

dinals—King George had friends who thus early realized the hopelessness of a Stuart restoration. In virtue of his inherited prerogatives, James at once conferred on his second son the title of Duke of York, a dignity the validity of which, curiously enough, was never questioned even in England. As soon as the Pope received the announcement of the birth of the Prince he repaired to the Palazzo Muti in full panoply of state. Mr. Vaughan records that on the arrival of the Pontiff “the delighted monarch, advancing to meet his august visitor with the newborn baby in his arms, proudly exhibited the young Prince with these words: ‘I present the Duke of York to Your Holiness, that you make him a Christian.’” The Sacrament of Baptism was immediately afterwards administered by the Pope in the private chapel of the palace, no less than twelve names being bestowed on the infant, of which four only, Henry Benedict Maria Clement, were ever made use of by the future Cardinal—Henry in memory of eight English Kings, Benedict in honor of the Pontiff, and Maria Clement out of respect for his Polish mother. Later in the day every Cardinal resident in Rome called on James II in order to congratulate him on the birth of the Duke of York.

It is noted by Mr. Vaughan, as a singular coincidence, that the birth of the Duke of York synchronized with the occurrence of serious disagreement between his father and mother. Almost on the eve of the birth of the child James, with singular callousness, had grievously offended his wife by appointing as his Secretary of State the Earl of Inverness. Rightly or wrongly, the Queen had formed the impression that Lady Inverness had supplanted her in the affections of her husband and was furiously indignant at what she viewed as something worse than an ordinary disregard of her feelings to neglect of which she seems to have been pretty well accustomed. A proposal, seriously entertained by James, that the child should be removed from Rome, to be brought up in Spain, still further incensed the Queen. This notion was not carried into effect, but within twelve months after the birth of the Duke of York, Her Majesty left her husband and went to reside in a Ursuline Convent close to the Palazzo Muti, where she remained until Lord and Lady Inverness put an end to an intolerable and disgraceful situation by removing from the Eternal City. The reconciliation between the royal couple, such as it was, did not take place until February, 1728, when the Queen was already stricken by the malady which terminated her earthly existence in January, 1735. As to the intensely religious character of Maria Clementina abundant evidences exist, and it



is said that her ascetic practices largely contributed to the breaking down of her health. The poor Queen had long endured cruel anxiety regarding the personages to whom her more careless husband was willing to confide the education of her sons, her main care being to secure that their tutors should be orthodox Catholics. This requirement satisfied, Her Majesty seems to have paid but slight attention to the question of merely scholastic attainments. It is, however, unjust to argue on this point, as Mr. Vaughan does, from the fact that the eldest son, Charles Edward, Prince of Wales, was always sadly deficient in orthographical knowledge of the English language. This circumstance was quite compatible with a fair acquaintance with the classics, as well as with French and Italian. The teachers finally selected for the two Princes were Sir Thomas Sheridan, a Catholic Irishman, and the Abbe Legouz, of the University of Paris.

Mr. Vaughan, who seems to find it hard to treat Maria Clementina with ordinary generosity, says that:

"Her intense spirituality and neglect of all mundane interests, qualities that were certainly out of place in one who was at once a queen, a wife and a mother of children, had long unfitted her to dwell in a practical, unkind world. Though for the last seven years of her existence she had dwelt under her husband's roof the pair had in reality lived wholly apart for ten years. Stuart King was ever absorbed in his endless political schemes, whilst his consort, suffering equally in mind and body, had grown to care for nothing except her good works in Rome, nor did she pay any attention to her sons' upbringing, save at such times as her suspicious nature led her to detect the dreadful Protestant influence of the Prince's governor, James Murray, titular earl of Dunbar."

To ordinarily fair-minded persons the characteristic last alleged will scarcely seem discreditable. When the poor Queen died she was accorded a magnificent funeral by command of the then Pope, Clement XII, the Vatican Basilica, in the crypt of which her body was laid, being draped in black velvet adorned with the regal escutcheons of England, Scotland, Ireland and Poland. The procession to the Basilica had been composed of squadrons of Papal troops, of the members of the College of Cardinals, of all the religious and secular notabilities of Rome, and of the many confraternities of the city. We read:

It was commonly reported that formal application would some day be made to obtain the Beatification of the late Queen on account of her severe piety and extensive works of charity, and particularly as her confessor, the noted Father Leonard of Port Maurice (afterwards beatified and canonized) had latterly superintended her many benevolent schemes amongst the destitute and sinful of Rome. But no such plea seems ever to have been formally advanced although the reported sanctity of John Sobieski's granddaughter evidently came to be regarded as efficacious in her native Poland for there is included amongst the "Stuart Papers" a curious account of a Polish nobleman's child being healed of a putrid fever," through her direct intervention.

That Queen Maria Clementina was an extremely holy woman is unquestionable, and the story of the life of her youngest son would seem to attest that over him, at any rate, her example must have exercised a considerable influence for good.

Mr. Vaughan says that as his two sons increased in years James began to initiate them into all the intricacies of his perpetual schemes and intrigues, both boys expressing the greatest eagerness to recover their grandfather's lost crown. It would have been strange if things had been otherwise. Whatever the personal faults of James, he was undoubtedly an affectionate father, a man of decidedly religious turn, like his own parent, James II, and that he honestly endeavored to bring up his sons under moral influences is quite certain. That he was disappointed in the case of the Prince of Wales is an unfortunate fact, but he had, at least, the satisfaction of knowing that his fondest hopes were fulfilled by the Duke of York. So early as the year previous to the death of his mother, Charles Edward served his first apprenticeship to the art of war, at the siege of Gaeta, whither he was brought by his cousin, the Duke of Liria, and where he gave ample proofs of the possession of the military courage he afterwards constantly manifested. The two lads, while still little more than children, mingled in all the gayeties of Roman society, which was one of the most brilliant in Europe, and demeaned themselves in a fashion which onlookers recognized as worthy of scions of a royal house. An impartial French visitor to Rome, M. Charles de Brosses, has left an interesting account of the mode of life at this period of James III and his two sons. He wrote:

The King of England is treated here with as much respect as though he were a real reigning sovereign. He lives in the Piazza die Santi Apostoli in a large palace not remarkable for beauty. The Pope's soldiers mount guard there as at Monte Cavallo and accompany him whenever he goes out, which is not often the case. It is easy to recognize him for a Stuart, of which family he has every trait; for he is tall and lean and in fact strongly resembles the portraits we have in France of his father, King James the Second. He is also very like Marshal Berwick, his natural brother, except that the Marshal's face was sad and severe while that of the Pretender is sad and silly.

\* \* \* The Pretender's dignity of manners is extraordinary. I never beheld any Prince preside over a great assembly so well and so gracefully. Yet his life in general is very retired and he only comes for an hour to take part in the entertainments he occasionally provides to the ladies of Rome for the amusement of his sons. He is pious in the extreme and he passes much of every morning in prayer at his wife's monument in the Church of the Santi Apostoli. Of his talents my own lack of information forbids me to speak with certainty; they do not appear to me to be great, but his conduct is reasonable and his behaviour dignified. Although I often have the honor to see him it is but for a moment on his return from church, for he then retires to his own chamber until dinner time. He speaks seldom at that meal, but always courteously and pleasantly, and he withdraws from the room as soon as dinner is finished. \* \* \* When he sits down to dinner his two sons before seating themselves go to kneel before him for his blessing. He usually

speaks to them in English, but to the others in Italian or French. The young princes have a small supper in the evening at which the King never appears.

Such was the manner of life at the Palazzo Muti, and it seems a pity that dynastic and political ambitions should ever have changed the even tenor of its course. De Broses formed a higher opinion of the abilities of Charles Edward than of those of his brother Henry, and there appears to be little doubt that, regarded from a purely worldly standpoint, the former was the more distinguished and soldierly of the two. Events were to prove, however, that the latter possessed many qualities far more valuable than those which won so much admiration for the Prince of Wales.

The turning point in the careers of the two young men was rapidly approaching. Quarter of a century had elapsed since the disastrous ending of their father's attempt to recover the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, when the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession brought the Stuart claims once more within the domain of practical politics. England was already at loggerheads with Spain, when the aggressive action of the Elector of Bavaria towards the Queen-Empress Maria Theresa brought about a European conflict. Spain and France were on the side of the Bavarian Prince. So, too, was the King of Naples. It was a case of the Bourbons against the rest of the world. England, on the other hand, backed Maria Theresa, and Tuscany acted similarly. Frederick of Prussia made a grab for himself in the midst of the general confusion and occupied Silesia, and Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, following his example, invaded Lombardy, hoping to wrest it from Spain, which then claimed to rule. The only neutral states were the Republic of Venice and the Papacy. The fates seemed propitious for the Stuarts. Both France and Spain were eager to see a blow struck against the Hanoverian King of England, whose German interests alone had induced him to oppose their policy towards Austria. Mr. Vaughan's method of describing the situation at Rome and elsewhere at this period can scarcely be regarded as entirely accurate, but neither can it be condemned as wholly wrong so far as it deals with actual facts. Where he errs is in the imputing of motives where wholly different causes of action might at least equally correctly be alleged. However, this may be, he cites as follows:

In Rome itself there existed side by side two antagonistic parties, the stronger of which upheld the claims of the Bavarian Prince and sympathized with Bourbon aggression, whilst the weaker, that included some of the most astute and able politicians, \* \* \* such as Cardinal Alessandro Albani, himself a connection of the Austrian Imperial House, openly declared in favor

of Maria Theresa and her husband. The Stuart Court naturally sided with the Bourbon faction for it was to the monarchs of France and Spain that James had ever looked for the outside assistance that was absolutely essential for the success of his own restoration. \* \* \* For some time past Charles had been carefully studying the European situation and it seemed to his youthful, eager mind that the favorable moment for action had at last indeed arrived when the cautious and pacific Cardinal Fleury died, and there arose to power at Versailles Cardinal Tencin, \* \* \* genuinely enthusiastic in his support of the Stuarts.

It was not, however, merely on the prospect of help from France and Spain that James and his sons knew they could rely in making an effort to recover the throne of the realms which they believed to be rightly theirs. Not only were Ireland and Scotland largely Jacobite, but even in England itself there existed a considerable body of opinion—not among the masses, but among politicians—favorable to a Stuart restoration.

Under such favorable conditions Prince Charles Edward embarked on the most glorious, if the only glorious, adventure in his career. It was necessary, of course that he should make his way to the court of the French King, and his journey thereto was made with the utmost secrecy, in order to guard against interruption by the many agents and friends of the Hanoverian King who were vigilantly watching his movements in Rome and elsewhere. Some of the latter indeed were to be found amongst the members of the Sacred College. The arrangements for the departure of the Prince of Wales were made with so much secrecy that even his brother, Prince Henry, knew nothing about them. His Royal Highness arrived in Paris at the end of January, 1744. Remaining more than two months in the French capital, while an expedition to England was being organized under command of the famous Marshal de Saxe, the Prince eventually set out with that great master of the art of war, in one of the best vessels of a splendid fleet, which carried a large army to invade his ancestral dominions. Scarcely, however, had the flotilla left Dunkirk than a violent storm arose. In the result those of the transports which were not wrecked were either captured or destroyed by the British, whose ships had practically control of the Channel. No more striking example of the efficiency of sea power, about which Captain Mahan has written so much, is recorded in military or naval history. Bitterly disappointed though Charles Edward was, at what had occurred, he was determined at any risk to make personal appeal to the people of Great Britain to support his cause. Eventually, as every one knows, he was successful so far as landing in Scotland and in bringing about the marvelous display of bravery and loyalty on the part of the Highland clans and their chiefs which ended so disas-

trously at Culloden. The earlier successes of the Prince of Wales, overthrowing as he did all the British troops which attempted to bar his progress, naturally filled the hearts of his father and brother with hope and pride. The latter insisted on being allowed to proceed to France, with a view to his accompanying a French force which King Louis was assembling at Dunkirk to send to Scotland to support the Prince of Wales. Mr. Vaughan says:

"On his arrival at Versailles Henry, who was introduced at Court by his cousin, the Duke de Fitz-James, was well received by Louis and treated with the full dignity due to a younger son of a reigning King. \* \* \* As soon as possible he proceeded to his assigned post, the nominal command of the forces collected at Boulogne, Dunkirk and other ports."

The Duke of York's actual headquarters were fixed at the second named place, and here he spent many weary months surrounded by as dissolute a military staff as even the court and army of Louis would produce.

The truth appears to be that Henry was utterly disgusted by the conduct of his comrades, with whom he had absolutely nothing in common. Instead of joining in their revels he spent hours at his devotions, and when their orgies were running fast and furious he was kneeling before the tabernacle in some silent church. To the Duke de Richelieu—who was the real commander of the French troops—"the Italian bigot," as he styled him, was well-nigh incomprehensible. "You may perhaps gain the Kingdom of Heaven by your prayers," he remarked angrily one day to the Duke of York, who by attending mass had kept a council of war waiting, "but never the kingdom of Great Britain." It does not appear, however, that the pious Prince neglected any of his proper military duties and it is certain that he was sorrow-stricken by the inaction forced upon him by the fact that the prowess of the British squadrons made the Channel an English lake. At length the end of a fretful and wearisome time came with the tidings of Culloden and the eventual return of the fugitive Prince of Wales, with whom Henry journeyed to Paris, where both took up their residence. During his stay in Scotland and his maintenance there of a semblance of a royal court, Charles Edward appears to have lived a wild and dissipated life, and it is to be feared that his conduct in the French capital was no better. As a consequence the brothers became more and more alienated, until at last Henry resolved on a step he had long been contemplating. This was neither more nor less than to return to Rome with a view to seeking admission to holy orders. His father was the confident of his dearest hopes,

and it is to the immortal credit of James III that, so far from endeavoring to dissuade his son from taking a course which he was too astute not to know must, in the then state of Protestant feeling in England be almost ruinous to the Stuart cause in that country, he actually aided him to accomplish his desire. Knowing that the Prince of Wales was quite capable of resorting to violent means to prevent his leaving Paris for the purpose he had in mind, the Duke of York maintained complete secrecy towards him, and in order to evade suspicion of his design, actually sent him an invitation to dinner at his residence at Clichy for the evening of the day he left for the frontier. Charles Edward, acting on the note, repaired to Clichy, where he was alarmed and puzzled to find a splendid repast and the usual retinue of servants, but no brother. Eventually he returned to Paris where the next day he learned what had happened, although it was not for some weeks that he ascertained the actual cause of Henry's departure. The information was conveyed to him by his father in a letter which shows quite plainly that he realized how seriously the decision arrived at by his youngest son, after much consultation, prayer and thought, was likely to affect the dynastic and political interests of the family. The communication in question was a very human document, full of pathos, and indicative of a rightful sense of both paternal and religious duty. It read as follows:

Albano, June 13, 1747.

I know not whether you will be surprised, my dearest Carluccio, when I tell you that your brother will be made a Cardinal the first days of next month. Naturally speaking you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but as the Duke and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and as we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it might be showing you more regard and that it would be even more agreeable to you that the thing should be done before your answer could come here and to have it in your power to say it was done without your knowledge and approbation. It is very true I did not expect the Duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but after I had seen him, I soon found that his chief motive was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered; and as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting of the Will of God, and acting directly against my conscience if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him. \* \* \* The resolution is taken, and will be executed before your answer to this can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it and did not approve of it, I shall not take it amiss of you; but for God's sake, let not a step which naturally should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days become a subject of scandal and *éclat* which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. \* \* \* God bless my dearest Carluccio whom I tenderly embrace—I am  
all yours.

JAMES R.

So far from Charles Edward displaying the "filial and brotherly conduct" implored by his father, he indulged in violent denunciations of all concerned in proceedings, the effect of which in his personal interests in England, he only too acutely and accurately realized. For years he declined to communicate with either James III or the Duke of York, refrained from visiting Rome, and plunged into the course of drunkenness and dissipations—only briefly interrupted by a fruitless and loveless marriage—which culminated in a pretended perversion to Protestantism and the ruining of his health.

Mr. Vaughan reminds the readers of his interesting work that Henry Stuart was by no means the first English prince to enter the religious life. Odo of Bayeux, and Henry of Winchester, in Norman times, may perhaps be considered as statesmen rather than bishops; but of the royal line of Plantagenet, Henry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, and Reginald Pole, grand-nephew of King Edward IV, and last Papal Archbishop of Canterbury, had both been raised to the purple. We are further told that:

On June 30th, 1747, the Duke of York received the tonsure at the hands of the Pontiff in the chapel of the Stuart palace and in the presence of his father and all the members of the Jacobite Court. Four days later, on July 3rd, he proceeded, in full state, to the Vatican where, at the altar of the Sistine Chapel he accepted the Scarlet Hat of a Cardinal Deacon from Benedict XIV. The ceremony ended, the Pope pronounced an allocution to the many Cardinals present wherein he alluded most pointedly to the royal rank and the eminent virtues of this new member of the Sacred College. In the course of his address, Benedict dwelt at some length upon the sacrifices made at various times by King James III for the Catholic faith, and upon the good works and redoubtable piety of the late Queen Clementine, predicting from her noble example that the son of such a pair was destined to become an ornament, not only to the College of Cardinals, but to the whole Church.

The Pontiff's prognostication was abundantly fulfilled. During the month of August, 1788, the Duke of York received the four Minor Orders, together with the Orders of Sub-Deacon and Deacon. On the 1st of September he was ordained Priest, and on the great Feast of Our Lady, on the 8th of September, he celebrated his first mass in his father's domestic chapel. On the festival of the Holy Innocents he celebrated his first Missa Cantata in the Sistine Chapel, James III and twenty-two Cardinals being present. Moved, no doubt, by wise motives, the Pontiff simply showered honors and emoluments on the now Cardinal Priest. He bestowed on him the high and remunerative office of Arch-Priest of the Vatican Basilica. In the same year Louis XV, who had not improperly expelled Charles Edward from Paris, in exercise of the utterly wrong prerogatives he enjoyed as dispenser of ecclesiastical preferment in France, conferred on him the wealthy Abbacies of Auchin and St. Amand, the revenues of

which amounted to about £6,000 sterling, or, say, \$30,000 annually. The Pope also nominated the Cardinal Duke as the holder of the office of Camerlengo, in the event of his own death, which took place in May, 1758. The Duke, in this capacity, played an important part in no less than four conclaves held for the election of successive Pontiffs. It is related of him that, in the first of these assemblies, he strongly supported the claims of the Cardinal whose election was desired by Austria, declaring to his father, who sought to influence him in favor of Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico, of Venice, that "he had rather lose his head than do anything against his conscience." He adopted this line of conduct, he said, although he was not left unaware that the Bourbon patrons of himself and his family desired the election of the Venetian Cardinal. The conclave lasted no less than four months and finally resulted in the election of Cardinal Rezzonico, who was crowned Pope under the title of Clement XIII. The new Pontiff showed his chivalrous sense of the impartiality of the Cardinal Duke by immediately re-conferring on him the dignity of Camerlengo, which,—in accordance with custom—he had resigned at the close of the election. This was on July 16th, 1758, and in a consistory held in October following the new Pope created him Archbishop of Corinth in *partibus infidelium*. Furthermore, Clement XIII, in July, 1761, bestowed on the Duke the then richly endowed Bishopric of Frascati, near Rome. Six years later the same Pope appointed the Cardinal Bishop of Frascati to be Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See. In addition to his bishopric, his French abbeys, and his Papal offices, the Cardinal owned rich prebends in Mexico and Spain, so that his income ranged between £30,000 and £40,000 a year, or \$150,000 to \$200,000.

Nothing is more clearly proven than that the Cardinal Duke of York applied practically every penny of this huge income in acts of private and public beneficence. He cared nothing for money for its own sake. It is true that he maintained semi-regal state, asserting his right to rank as a royal prince, but he never forgot his duties as a Priest and Bishop, and even the humblest member of his flock could gain admission to his presence. He built and endowed a college for the education of ecclesiastical students, bestowing on it a splendid library. He erected churches and chapels and, so far as he could, he made the whole community within his jurisdiction sharers in his prosperity. Meantime his own life was one worthy of his sacred office and no breather of scandal has ever dared to sully his name. As



Vice-Chancellor he maintained a residence in the Cancellaria at Rome, another in closer proximity to the Vatican, his episcopal palace at Frascati, and a summer abode, the Villa Muti. In 1769 he presided over a second conclave, on the death of Clement XIII, and in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor exercised his prerogative, during the Papal interregnum, of issuing coins from the Roman mint bearing his own effigy. In the midst of all this pomp and power, of active religious and beneficent labor, the Cardinal was constantly tortured by brotherly anxiety for the spiritual and material welfare of his dissipated brother, who for years refused to hold communication with him or their father, and over whose general course of conduct it is as well to draw a veil. On the accession of Benedict XIV the Vice-Chancellorship was not re-conferred on the Duke of York until some years after the death of James III, which took place on the 1st of January, 1766. The exiled King had long suffered from an incurable internal complaint, but his demise was not expected at the time it occurred. In his dying moments, however, he received all the consolations of the Church and there is no doubt that he had during many years lived a life which must in the mercy of the Most High have largely atoned for all the errors and frailties of the past. His devoted son, the Cardinal Prince Priest, knelt by his death-bed. The funeral was conducted with all the panoply of royal state befitting the obsequies of a sovereign, but this was the last occasion on which the Papal authorities recognized the royal claims of the Stuarts. There was good reason for this. The heir to the claims which James III had maintained was a man wholly unworthy of the throne of England even if he could have conquered it. Later on, when he died, to have lent active support to a Catholic and Cardinal claimant to rule a nearly wholly Protestant realm would have been something worse than absurd and could only have inflicted irreparable injury on the interests of the Church, not only in that country, but also in Ireland and Scotland.

The Cardinal had long sought to induce Charles Edward to come to Rome, where he evidently hoped his influence might lead to an amendment of conduct which sadly needed correction. All his efforts, however, proved vain until the death of James III created in the mind of Charles III—as the dissipated Prince now dubbed himself—the notion that the Pope might receive and entertain him in the same fashion as he had harbored and subsidised his father and mother. Nothing, however, could have been further from the mind of the Pontiff and his advisers, but

the Cardinal long refused to believe that this could be the case, and he exhausted expostulation and supplication in an effort to secure recognition of the rank of his brother as a reigning monarch. The Holy See, happily, was not made a party to any such arrant humbug and imposture. The day when Stuarts could reign had passed away just as the era when Bourbon rule, carrying with it as it did all kinds of parasitic abuses, was hastening to a close. The Cardinal Duke, however, could not see the absurdity of the Pontiff continuing to make the restoration of an impossible dynasty a portion of his policy in dealing with a generally friendly Protestant nation which absolutely rejected the aforesaid dynasty. Consequently he bombarded the Pope and his ministers with petitions in which he pointed out "the indispensable necessity for the Holy See to recognize at this moment the House of Stuart as the only true and legitimate sovereigns of the kingdom of England." Clement XIII, however, was not to be led into an act of folly which would have most seriously affected Catholic interests not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but also in America, Canada and the West Indies. Notwithstanding this state of things, Charles III determined to proceed to Rome. Mr. Vaughan says:

On January 23rd, the eagerly expected news was brought that Charles Stuart, under the incognito of plain John Douglas, was nearing the city and the Cardinal Duke at once setting out to meet him, found him waiting for fresh horses at an inn some miles from the *Porte del Popolo*. The meeting between the two royal brothers, after nearly nineteen years of estrangement at the mean hostelry on the *Flaminian road*, would afford an interesting subject for an historical picture for there is eloquent pathos to be found in the marked change that had occurred both in their appearance and circumstances since they had last met. In the soured, bloated, middle-aged man, with legs so swollen as to need assistance, the Cardinal Duke must have been shocked to recognize the handsome, brilliant youth, full of fire and confidence, who had once conquered Scotland; whilst in the stately prince of the Church, with flowing robes and jewelled cross the Chevalier must have found greatly altered the timid, wayward boy who had deserted him years ago in Paris.

It would appear that, influenced by the Cardinal Duke, the heads of the English and Scotch Colleges, as well as of the Irish Dominicans and Franciscans, in Rome welcomed Charles III in their respective establishments with royal honors, acclaiming him King of Great Britain and Ireland, but each of the personages in question promptly received a Papal missive politely pointing out that their speedy removal from the Eternal City would be most agreeable to the Holy Father. Needless to say, they went, and there were no more regal receptions for King Charles. He and his devoted brother had to make the best of a bad situation. Moreover, the Pope ordered the removal of the royal arms of Great Britain and Ireland from the entrance to the *Palazzo Muti*,

in which he permitted Charles to reside in succession to his father, and the mandate was duly carried out. There was no denial of refuge to the exile Prince, but he was sternly refused permission to masquerade as a sovereign with his court in Rome.

The Cardinal must have often regretted the presence of his brother in Rome. His Majesty King Charles III was constantly drunk, but whether drunk or sober he was pursued by creditors who, when they failed to obtain money from him, generally importuned His Eminence. Seeing that the Duke of York had already surrendered in favor of Charles his own pension of 12,000 crowns paid by the Papal treasury, and was aiding him in other ways, it is scarcely matter for wonder that he eventually refused to be made paymaster of his brother's extravagances. In February, 1769, Clement XIII died and was succeeded by Clement XIV, the unfortunate Cardinal Ganganelli, the record of whose occupancy of the Papal chair remains forever stained by his submission to the dictation of the Bourbons in the matter of the suppression of the Society of Jesus. For a while Charles cherished the hope that Clement XIV would recognize him as King, but the poor, timorous Pontiff was the man least likely to take a step which, however foolish, would have demanded courage. The dissipated Prince had to remain content with the title of Duke of Albany, save within the precincts of the Cardinal's episcopal palace at Frascati, where he was always received with the ceremonies and honors due to a reigning king. On this point the Duke of York was as adamant. He not only regarded Charles as King of England, but himself as heir to that position. Probably one of the cruelest tragedies ever perpetrated in the way of royal marriages was the wedding on April 17th, 1772, of the wretched, sottish Charles to the beautiful but brainless Princess Louise Maximilienne Caroline Emmanuele, daughter of the deceased Prince Gustavus Adolphus of Stolberg-Gedern. The Cardinal was kept in ignorance of the negotiations which led up to this most unhappy union, but, although bitterly annoyed when he heard that it had been decided upon, he overcame his prudential and resentful feelings and determined to endeavor to do his best to secure the permanence of the alliance. Accordingly he did all that lay in his power to accord the newly wedded pair a royal reception on their arrival in Rome from Macerata, Ancona, where the marriage ceremony had taken place. We are told by Mr. Vaughan that:

The Cardinal Duke despatched his Chamberlain, the Marchese Angeleli, with his state coach-and-six to meet them at the Ponte Molle the ancient bridge

that spans the Tiber to the north of St. Peter's. With their four couriers riding in advance, with their outriders in scarlet liveries and with their own and the Cardinal Duke's equipage, "their Majesties the King and Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland," were enabled to make a tolerably imposing entrance into the city where at the Porta del Popolo and in the Corso a large crowd of idlers had assembled. On the following day (April 23rd) the Cardinal Duke drove into Rome in person in order to pay his compliments to his sister-in-law.

No one could possibly have acted with more kindness or tact, but the marriage was doomed to unhappiness from the outset.

There is no need to recount in these pages the history of a wretched alliance, suffice to say that no series of events in the life of the Cardinal Duke stands out more abundantly to his credit than those in which he played a fatherly, as well as a priestly, part in endeavoring to avert the scandals which resulted in the separation of a nearly equally erring husband and wife. Probably, of the two, Charles Edward was the least base. He at any rate made no attempt to hide his faults. The Princess, however, was mean enough to trade on the generosity of the kindly, simple Cardinal, and while sheltered in one of his palaces to allow all others to know that she had forgotten the sacredness of the marriage vow. Naturally, when the Duke of York came to learn of these facts, the refuge thus abused was denied her. It is impossible, however, to read the narrative of what happened without realizing that the holy Cardinal was essentially a lovable and paternal character. If his solicitude for the spiritual and material welfare of his brother and sister-in-law could have lifted them to better life than both lived, their sad story had not been what it was. The Princess, after many wanderings, died in Florence in January, 1824, drawing to the last an annuity for the payment of which the Cardinal had charged his own estate in order to enable her to maintain the dignity of a Dowager Queen of England. After their legal separation by mutual agreement, Charles had definitely fixed his residence at Florence, whither he called his natural daughter whose mother was a Scottish lady who had been his companion in his campaign of 1745, and whom he had brought to France. The girl in question he created Duchess of Albany and proclaimed his legitimate heir. Her mother's name was Clemintina Walkinshaw. The new-made Duchess showed intense devotion to her broken-down father and undoubtedly exerted herself to the uttermost to cheer the declining years of his sad existence. Suffering though she was from an incurable internal malady, she brought a new light into his gloomy surroundings and exercised an influence over him which was essentially good and religious in its nature. On Jan-

uary 30th, 1788—the anniversary of the execution of his great-grandfather at Whitehall—Charles III died in the Palazzo Muti, Rome, in which his mother and father had died before him. By his death-bed two Irish Franciscans—Father James and Father Francis McCormick—watched and prayed. To the very last he was affectionately tended by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, the title which he had bestowed upon her, and which was recognized by the Papal court and that of France.

Immediately after the demise of his brother, the Cardinal caused a medal to be struck bearing his own effigy, surrounded by the abbreviated inscription, "Hen. IX. Mag. Brit. Fr. et Hib. Rex. Fid. Def. Card. Ep. Tusc." Translated, at length, these abbreviations stand for "Henry the Ninth, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, Cardinal, Bishop of Tusculum." On the reverse of the medal appeared a female figure, symbolizing Religion supporting a large cross with the British lion couched at her feet, where also lay a royal crown and a Cardinal hat. While His Eminence thus asserted his royal dignity the Pontiff much to his chagrin, refused to recognize him as a reigning monarch and he was compelled to remain content with being received at the Papal court as being what he undoubtedly was, a Prince of the Church. The splendid days of benevolent affluence and learned ease, as well as of devoted pastoral effort, were, however, rapidly coming to an end for the Cardinal as for many others. On February 10th, 1798, the forces of Revolutionary France, under the command of General Berthier, occupied Rome, and the population of Frascati having become inoculated with the wild ideas of universal equality of which the soldiers of the First Republic were at once the propagators and the contradiction, the Cardinal Duke was compelled to seek refuge in Naples, then still the capital of an independent kingdom. Here he remained ten months, at the expiration of which he removed successively to Messina, Trieste, and finally to Venice, all the time in sore straits through poverty. In September, 1799, Cardinal Stefano Borgia, moved to pity by his necessitous condition, appealed to Sir John Hippisley, who had long acted as an unofficial representative of Great Britain in Rome, but who was then resident in London, for monetary assistance from the British government for the Cardinal Duke. It is to the immortal credit of King George III that the moment the facts of the case were brought under his notice he obtained an annual pension of £4,000 sterling for the rival claimant of his throne, who still obstinately called himself King Henry IX of Great Britain, France

and Ireland. On July 13th, 1807, the Cardinal Duke of York died peacefully in his episcopal palace at Frascati, whither he had been enabled to return on the conclusion of the peace between France and the Holy See, which the genius of Napoleon saw was essential to the restoration of France to her olden place amongst the nations of Christendom. At his interment in St. Peter's, the reigning Pontiff, Pius VII, and twenty-seven Cardinals were present and an immense concourse followed the remains of the last legitimate Catholic King of England through the streets of the Eternal City. Papal soldiery guarded the hearse and stood sentinel 'round the bier in the great church, while the cannon of St. Angelo's fired minute guns in mournful salutation of the last earthly triumphal passage of a truly noble prince and saintly priest.

WILLIAM F. DENNEHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

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### A PARISH IN PICARDY.

SHOULD not have imagined that the following impressions were worth recording, had I not chanced on the following passage in Bodley's work on France. "A stranger's first ideas of a country are not to be despised, if only he will not parade them as a definite and weighty judgment. A new comer is often struck with characteristics which, apparent to this superficial view, soon evade the notice of the most observant student as the land and its people become familiar to him. A writer is wise, therefore, to note early impressions, as they indicate the points on which his countrymen need information."<sup>1</sup> Acting upon this suggestion I will set down, as faithfully as I may, the impressions which I received not many weeks ago when I visited France for the first time. What Catholic is there worthy of the name, who is not intensely interested in the struggle of the French Church for liberty, and who does not desire a closer acquaintance with the men engaged in the desperate encounter? I had followed closely the events which led up to the present crisis, and I had a growing desire to hear from their own lips what Catholics were saying and thinking in France itself. It occurred to me that a valuable sidelight might be thrown on the

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<sup>1</sup> *France* by J. E. C. Bodley (new and revised edition, 1902, p. 16).

matter by settling down in some quiet spot far away from the haunts of politicians and the Chamber of Deputies. A provincial town, a priest's house seemed to me to be a vantage ground from which both priests and people might be studied, and so I decided to spend my holidays with a *vicaire*<sup>2</sup> in a certain town of Picardy.

It so happened that before I set out the Encyclical of Pius X had come like a bolt from the blue creating wonder and surprise in political circles. The English papers were loud in its praise or blame, and fearful for the safety of French clergy and their Churches. In a short space, according to some prophets, Catholics would be driven from their beautiful Cathedrals and old parish churches, public worship proscribed, and the faithful would be assisting at Mass in humble sheds if not hidden away in nooks and crannies. Here, then, were two all-sufficient reasons for seeing something of France without delay. First, it was high time to witness for oneself the faith or want of faith in parish, in town and country church before this terrible persecution should have changed the face of the land. Again, there could be no better opportunity for observing at close quarters how the people most concerned regarded the near prospect of Penal Laws and Penal Days.

It was a very hot day in September, the eve of the momentous meeting of the French Bishops in Paris, that I found my way to the quaint old town of X. As the train dragged its weary length along and finally deposited me at what seemed to me a make-shift station, I could not help thinking, 'they will be all excitement to get the latest news from Paris. During the next few weeks I shall hear nothing but talk of the Bishops, the law of Separation, the Anti-clericals, the Freemasons, etc.'

The house to which the good Abbe welcomed me had little of the Presbytery about it. It was simply one of a row of humble dwellings in the Rue Pasteur. Hard by at some little distance from the church lived the second *Vicaire*. Their chief (*M. le Doyen*) kept a third establishment under the walls of the parish church. My host proved to be the senior curate, and owing to the feebleness and ill-health of his parish priest, was practically in charge of the parish. He was young for this important position—not many years ordained—but his calmness and imperturbability dispelled all idea of the "new curate." Kind, courteous, thoroughly pious, with a keen sense of humour, he answered very well to the description one reads of the French *abbe*. It is not unkind to add that like the great mass of his fellow clergy he had no other experience of the world, than that

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary, I suppose, to warn my readers that the terms *Vicaire* and *cure* correspond respectively to the English words *curate* and *parish priest*.

gained in his native village, his seminary, and his parish. But it is unjust to imply, as many writers have done, that men of this type are narrow in the objectionable sense of the word. Their horizon is not so limited as would appear, for they are almost to a man, students, and have as their hobby some intellectual question of the day. One will be interested in the results of the higher criticism, another will talk enthusiastically about Newman and the future of his philosophical system. In those parts I made the acquaintance of an abbe who has turned his inventive genius to account. After many years of labour and study he has manufactured out of honey a non-alcoholic liqueur which he calls "Melina." Many good judges have declared it equal to the famous Benedictine, and—surest test of approval—having formed themselves into a Company are building a large factory of which *M. l'abbe* is to be the Managing Director. He, at least, will be able to keep a roof over his Presbytery and Church. Would that other priests in France were as independent of government pensions also!

A *vicaire's* home is a model of frugality and unworldliness. Generally, it seemed, the priests could not afford to keep more than one servant—a demure housekeeper anywhere between the ages of fifty and seventy. My host was most fortunate. His old parents kept house for him, and a delightful couple they were. Good, pious, and simple country folk, their one earthly joy and consolation was their only son. They troubled little about the days of persecution ahead. They were calmly prepared for the worst and ready to suffer any privation with and for *M. le Vicaire*. Of the world they knew little and cared less. They had rarely left their native place before their son's ordination, then they had accompanied him to his first mission, and later migrated with him to X., his second charge. True, they had sometimes visited the great town of Amiens, but those were rare days, and furnished sufficient excitement for a decade of years. Their simplicity was charming because far removed from the world of telephone and motor-bus. Nothing gave them greater delight and amusement than to listen to a song in a strange and barbarous tongue. They had heard of the English long before I appeared. I have reason to hope I was not in their eyes the personification of everything English. For it was easy to discover that "the Englishman" had three characteristics and three only for them. "*Riche, pratiquant and mechant*" were epithets more than once applied. They were rich enough to afford a holiday on the Continent. They were practical too, for did they not provide themselves with all the necessities for such a perilous journey, and show themselves equal to all the emergencies of travel. It was hardly worth while to stoop to



disillusion, for my practice of taking notes daily confirmed this last impression. "*Voilà, pratiquant toujours!* (See, he is forever practical)" was their constant comment. But why "*mechant* (wicked)?" "*Ah!*" replied Madame, "*parce qu'ils ont tue La Pucelle,*" (because the English killed Joan of Arc). It was all to no purpose that I tried to shift the blame on to the French who had treacherously handed her over to the English. In vain I explained that the sin was committed a very long time ago and that since that time Englishmen had done their best to make amends. To her dying day the dear old soul will firmly believe we are still harbouring the murderers of Joan of Arc or their immediate descendants. Another instance of the same "*naivete*" was not without its lesson for me. Apropos of the sultry weather and the ennui occasioned by the least exertion, Monsieur fell to lamenting Father Adam's sin and its worldwide consequences. We were at one in blaming the folly of this mutual relation of ours, and in wishing he had never made the acquaintance of Mother Eve. So far, my orthodoxy was above suspicion. But when I volunteered the remark that even if Adam has behaved *comme il faut*, every one of us would in all probability have had his trial and his chance of Hell, at once I became a suspect. "*Voilà! ce n'est pas la meme religion*" (There! it is not the same religion), I heard Madame remark to her husband in an undertone. Is it surprising that all is sunshine to this happy couple and the gathering clouds pass unnoticed? As we sat round their humble board, one wondered what change the New Year would bring. Would it rudely disturb the heavenly peace and calm of hundreds of homes like this? Will poverty and want knock at the door of every Presbytery? Hitherto, their native frugality has enabled these priests to live in tolerable comfort. Their slender resources have forbidden them luxuries common to the middle-class. Their table is simply that of the working man. It is difficult to see how they can retrench without feeling the pinch of poverty.

I had read much about the decay of faith in France and its empty churches, and was anxious to see for myself if religion around X. was at the same low ebb. As far as one could discover Catholicity there enjoyed no particular advantages, yet it laboured under no special disadvantage. There was no colony of Jews in the town, and a Protestant was an unknown quantity. Perhaps it was well for X. Not fifty miles distant there was a Protestant Church and small congregation, and the *cure* whom I visited told me that one of his chief anxieties was the existence of this community in his parish. Defections of nominal Catholics to the Protestant Church were not infrequent but conversions to Catholicism unknown, possibly because

the *cure* was not as generous as the "*ministre*." X. has many claims to be considered a typical French town. Its population according to the official returns is four thousand, three hundred and sixty (4,360). All are nominally Catholics. There is a certain amount of diversity of employment. Roughly speaking, one half the population are factory hands earning their living in a shirt factory, a toy-factory, or a brewery. The other half is engaged in agricultural pursuits, chief among them being the cultivation of the beetroot in summer, and the manufacture of sugar in winter. The town is divided into two unequal parishes. Three thousand, six hundred souls are apportioned to the Mother Church, whose *cure* happens to be the Dean of that district. Another *cure*, singlehanded, had charge of the smaller church, in what was considered the poor quarter of the town. My curiosity did not allow me to rest satisfied with round figures and average number in the matter of church-going. I determined to make some statistics for myself, and contrived to count the numbers of those who heard Mass at the Mother Church the first Sunday after my arrival. Here are the figures as nearly as possible exact:

Mass 7, total 47, men 12; Mass 8, total 56, men 20; Mass 9.45 (Grand Messe) total 280,<sup>3</sup> men 43; Mass 11.20, total 98, men 27; Grand Total, 481, men 102.

In the afternoon, the congregation present at Vespers and Benediction numbered 49 and included 7 men.

On enquiry I was assured that this attendance was quite an average one. There was no particular reason why it should be considered in any way abnormal. At the other church, I found the percentage even worse. Out of a population of a thousand, not more than a hundred, all told, heard Mass on Sunday. The explanation vouchsafed was that they were nearly all poor, but it must be remembered there is nothing to be seen of the rags and nakedness of our slums among them. It is fairly accurate to say that in this town of four thousand, three hundred and sixty (4,360) not more than six hundred (600) usually fulfil their Sunday obligation. "Do they fulfil their Easter obligation any better?" I naturally asked. The answer was generally the same in neighbouring country missions as in the town. "Only those who are regular at Mass trouble to make their Easter duties." I was prepared to hear that the number would be greater, as with us many of the poor who are irregular at Mass never fail to approach the Sacraments once a year. If there was any qualification strangely enough it reduced the percentage of yearly communicants. Some priests complained that many (men

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<sup>3</sup> This included about a hundred scholars in uniform.

principally), who always fulfilled their Sunday obligation, never fulfilled their Easter duties. The respectable citizen considers himself above that sort of thing and holds himself excused.

I had it on good authority that in a parish near Abbeville numbering one thousand, nine hundred Catholics, not more than ten men took the trouble to receive the Sacraments at Easter-time.

There was another noticeable feature of the sparse congregations, which could not fail to strike a stranger. The children (between six and sixteen) were fewer than the men. Apart from the hundred who attended High Mass in some distinctive uniform, I have no hesitation in saying (although I did not count them) that their numbers at the various Masses never equalled the figures I have given for the men, and sometimes fell far short. I do not lay undue stress on this feature because the school children were taking their holiday, a time when it is admittedly difficult to get them to Church. Still my friend woefully admitted that their attendance is very little better during term time. "What else can you expect?" he exclaimed, "when our elementary schools (*Ecoles communales*) are staffed by anti-clericals. They are not merely indifferent, but are afraid they will lose their situations, if they do not prove themselves anti-religious. It is only by dint of the most stringent regulations that the children can be prevailed upon to attend a full course of instruction for their first Confession and first Communions. "Is M. Bersot's remark true of X., I asked, that 'First Communion is the end of religion.'"<sup>4</sup> "No! it is not quite so bad as that, thank God, but it is safe to say that no more than a quarter of our children come to church once they have made their first Communion."

Since my return two leading questions have frequently been put to me, "are the priests in touch with the people? What is their forecast of the immediate future?" To neither query is a summary answer fair or sufficient. I will take the last first as it can be answered more simply.

Conversations with the priests not only of the town, but with very many in the neighborhood of X. revealed a difference of opinion. Some candidly expected the worst and were convinced that the government would not be satisfied until it had laid violent hands on the churches and the clergy. The more sanguine took a less gloomy view. The anti-clericals would persecute as far as they dared, but they would stop short of this sacrilege, not from any sentimental motive, but because, this violence would drive the people to open rebellion. This much I gathered by dint of frequent enquiries. Amongst themselves the crisis was seldom mentioned. If ever it was, the priests

<sup>4</sup> q. v. *La Separation et les Elections* par Jean Guiraud, p. 300.

unanimously agreed that nothing could be done until the Bishops had spoken, and to a man they showed they were ready to obey loyally the voice of authority. The usual topics of conversation seemed to be as domestic as any that agitate the minds of modern Utopians—the weather, the crops, the sick, and tidings of absent friends. To anticipate events, to prepare for eventualities, to educate public opinion is doubtless regarded as foolhardy, or even suicidal. A foreigner's strictures on this policy of *laissez-faire* might betoken insularity and narrowness of view. But strangers are not alone in thinking that more energetic measures should be taken in without delay. A distinguished contributor to *La Quinzaine* has ably put forward this view.<sup>5</sup> After making a study of Ireland, not from books or periodicals but by travelling its length and breadth, the abbe Tresal tells his fellow clergy that they have nothing to fear from the separation of Church and State. Catholicism is all the more vigorous in Ireland because of this separation and the same should obtain in France. Only the French priest must become 'a man of action and command,' for it is by virtue of these qualities that the Irish priest 'has solidly established his Church, and has succeeded preserving the faith midst the darkest days of persecution.'

What, then, are the actual relations between the priest and his flock? A little experience of mission-life warns one to be very careful in estimating the influence of the priest in his parish. It is a quality too subtle and evasive for a visitor to gauge with any degree of accuracy. Besides, he is sure to notice much that will fit in with preconceived notions, and in the present instance his bias is likely to be that the French priest has little or no influence with his people. Certainly, there is *prima facie* evidence for the charge. Our ordinary devices for keeping in touch with the congregation, and for keeping the young together—men's clubs, concerts, social gatherings and the like—did not exist around X. The priest only comes into personal contact with them when administering the Sacraments in Church or at the sick bed. At Church the convenience of the laity is not always studied. On Sundays and holidays of obligation there is indeed ample opportunity for hearing Mass. But one noted with regret the absence of all popular services during the week, *e. g.* Sodality devotions and congregational singing—which forms such an attraction elsewhere. To give our concrete example. The feast of Our Lady's Nativity is a day of some solemnity in Catholic countries. At X. there was a Missa Cantata at 9 A. M., and Vespers and Benediction, not in the evening but in the afternoon at

<sup>5</sup> *Enquete sur l'organisation d'une grande eglise separee de l'etat* par M l'abbe J. Tresal-*La Quinzaine*, December 1st, 1905. (Since published as a brochure.)

3.30 P. M. The result was what might have been expected when all the people were at work. The congregation numbered not more than twenty, (priests and servers included). The singing on this occasion, as on every other, was left entirely to the two paid Cantors. During Lent it is the custom for the priests to pay their one annual visit to all the houses in the Parish. As the anti-clerical party in X. formed the usual 60 per cent. of the population, I was curious to know what happened when the priest called on them. He was received kindly, I learned, and sat chatting with the master and mistress for some time. "On what topics—religion?" "Oh nol about the weather, the crops, and the state of trade." Apparently Sunday Mass and Easter duties are forbidden subjects. There is a tacit understanding that he does not remind them of these obligations. I asked myself, "Is a bad Catholic *more* or *less* likely to go to Church after this formal visit?" This timidity and fear of offending the worthless appears sometimes extreme. I did not object on principle to saluting everyone we met in the streets—man, woman, and child. Yet there were occasions when my inward soul rebelled. We constantly came across bands of young men returning home from work. The *abbe* invariably raised his hat and I followed suit, while they as often as not passed us by with a gibe and a sneer. "You will not salute those fellows again," I protested. "Yes, he said, we must make no distinction." Remonstrance was useless. It was the custom. But surely, politeness to this extent is taken for servility and weakness, whereas a little independence might beget some respect.

These and similar experiences made one wish that the French priests would break down the barriers that keep them a class apart—shut off from the people. While all the clergy admit that more intimacy is desirable, most declare it to be utterly impractical, and some even argue it would prove a scandal and a stumbling-block. The *abbe* Laude is one of the few who believes that the need for some change coincides with the opportunity. "Now or never," he says, "the French priest must leave the pious retreat of his Presbytery and sacristy and mix as much as possible with his flock—not with the good and fervent only but with the young and careless—above all with the men. He should get rid of the idea that he is in a Catholic country and adopt the ways and methods of a missionary in a heathen land. He must re-order his duties according to their vital importance:—1st, direct and frequent contact with the people in their homes; 2nd, Mass, sermons, instructions at the time, and after manner most likely to prove attractive: Lastly, the establishment of pious confraternities, altar societies, etc., which though excellent in their way are relatively unimportant."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *L'action ecclesiastique sous le regime de la separation*, q. v. *Revue du clerge francais*—August 15th, 1906.

My readers will gather that during my stay in France, I heard very little of the Law of Separation and the Freemasons. On the other hand I gained a clearer notion of the difficulties which hamper the movements of every French priest—the burden of rusty tradition weighing him down, the fetters of despotism binding him fast. And from this clearer knowledge springs a deeper sympathy. Trifling limitations cannot obscure their sterling qualities and their exemplary lives. To me they were the most delightful of companions. To the countryside they should be an incentive to virtue and a reproach to vice. It is a Protestant authority and not a Frenchman who declares that the French priest is still the "Salt of the Earth." "The clergy represent all the best features of the French peasantry who form the robust backbone of the nation; for it is to be noted that they are recruited exclusively from that class and from the minor bourgeoisie. The descendants of the nobility which monopolised the rich benefices of the old regime, who, in the intervals of their modern diversions, profess loud devotion to the Church successfully discourage their sons from entering orders of the secular clergy, now that it is ill-paid, laborious, and virtuous. The parish priests of France, than whom there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land, illustrate the better qualities, refined by discipline, of those great categories of the people which constitute the real force of the nation."<sup>7</sup>

FRANCIS DE CAPITAIN.

Birmingham, England.

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### INNOCENT III.

IN reading the chronicles of the Middle Ages there looms up as one of the most interesting personages the imposing figure of Innocent the Third, the most majestic and imperious of the Popes. His career has a particular interest in our day from the fact that he was the ideal Pope of Leo XIII. In the ancient church of St. John Lateran in Rome, over the door leading into the Sacristy, to the right of the choir, is the marble sarcophagus of Innocent III, beautifully severe, with a recumbent figure of the Pope, and ornamented with tracéry of gold. This monument was erected by Leo XIII at his own cost, and after his own design; and over the corresponding door upon the opposite side will be placed Leo's permanent tomb.

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<sup>7</sup> Bodley's France, p. 42.

Elevated to the pontificate in 1198, Innocent comes to us in the dawn of the wonderful Thirteenth Century, which because of its grand developments, of the political and spiritual progress made by the peoples of Europe, is one of the most memorable epochs in the history of the world. To this century we owe the growth of the great middle class, the freedom of cities, the admission of Commons into Legislatures, great universities, the Mendicant Friars, and the magnificent Gothic cathedrals which stud the cities of England, France and Spain—monuments to the fervent faith of the Middle Ages and to the creative power of the Catholic Church. Then also was formed that more wonderful structure, Scholastic Philosophy, the study of which is advocated by Leo XII at the close of the Nineteenth Century as the means of dissipating the false theories prevalent in modern society, the great Pontiff, in his Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, exhorting the clergy to restore the golden wisdom of St. Thomas.

In the conclave at which Lothair Conti was elected Pope under the style of Innocent III, there was witnessed in the historic city of Popes a scene which has been re-enacted many times since, and in our own day at the elevation of the illustrious patriarch of Venice—a man of ability, fully conscious of the power and awful responsibility of the office, shrinking from assuming what Dante calls “the mighty mantle of the Papacy.”

Innocent was sprung from the noble Italian house of Conti, and numbered amongst his relatives some of the foremost ecclesiastics of Rome. In the region of Monti in the city of Rome can still be seen the high walls of the Tor de Conti, the ruins of the greatest mediaeval fortresses built within the city, and which was the stronghold of the family to which Innocent belonged.

He was educated in theology at the great university of Paris, and in law at the University of Bologna; he was made Cardinal at the age of twenty-nine years, during the pontificate of his uncle, Clement III, and became one of the ablest advisers of that Pope. But he was now only thirty-seven years of age; he knelt at the feet of the Cardinals, who were unanimous in his nomination, and prayed that the burden be not placed on his shoulders. His election was received with general applause, though a contemporary German poet, Walter von der Vogelweide cries out:

“Woe to us, we have a stripling for a Pope;

O Lord, have mercy on Christendom.”

But it soon became apparent to the world that a great man was seated in the chair of St. Peter.

Of unsullied purity of character and gifted with lofty ideas, none of his predecessors surpassed him in grandeur of intellect. He has been called the Augustus of the Papacy, the claims of supremacy developed by circumstances and by the vote of Christendom, formulated a hundred years before by Gregory VII, and bravely contended for by that Saint and by Alexander III, Innocent exercised in their plenitude to the day of his death. His ecclesiastical supremacy was undisputed, and as the representative of Christ on earth he was regarded by the world as superior to every temporal power. He was the supreme arbiter between kings and between peoples and their rulers. He deposed kings, at his word great armies were set in motion, and his command sufficed to arrest the army of Philip Augustus when that monarch was about to wrest the crown from the most worthless of the Plantagenets. He organized a system vaster than that of the Roman Empire, the kings of the world did him homage, his cardinals and legates traversed the length and breadth of Christendom publishing his decrees, settling the differences among churches and monasteries, interfering in behalf of the oppressed, compelling rulers to obey the moral law, and laying interdicts on kingdoms. The aims of Innocent during his pontificate were: To reform the Church by raising the standard of its ministers in holiness and dignity, and by securing their independence from temporal power—to make the influence of the Pope as head of the Church felt throughout Christendom, that the nations should acknowledge that in him resided the principle of spiritual supremacy, that as God's representative on earth he was superior to every temporal authority—added to these was his ardent desire to rescue Palestine from the hands of the infidels.

## II.

On his accession to the throne Italy was in a state of chaos, the fairest parts of the land were in possession of German adventurers holding under authority of the German Empire, the throne of which was now vacant, no successor to the tyrannical Henry VI, who had died in 1197, having been yet elected.

Innocent's first thought was to deliver the city of Rome from alien rule. Winning to himself the hearts of the people of Rome by his benevolence and generosity, he compelled the prefect, who had been nominated by the Emperor, to swear allegiance to himself. He re-established the office of senator, named the senator himself, charged to represent the interests of the people of



Rome, and taking the oath of fidelity to the Pope and the Roman Church. Supreme in his own city, Innocent proceeded to drive the vassals of the German Empire from the patrimony of St. Peter.

The most formidable of them, the Seneschal Markwald, was in possession of the Marches of Ancona and of the Romagna. Refusing to restore these possessions to the Roman Church at the demand of Innocent, an excommunication was hurled against him, he was by a Papal army driven from the territory held by him, into the south of Italy. The other adventurers were successively forced to withdraw; the cities of the Duchy of Tuscany, which had been a century before during the life of Gregory VII, bequeathed by the Countess Matilda to the Holy See, expelled their German governors. Of these cities Innocent formed a league under the Papal authority, providing for their freedom, and the protection of the Church. Thus within one year from his elevation to the throne he regained the possessions taken from the Church by Henry VI, asserted his rights as an Italian prince, and was the dominant power in Italy.

The Emperor Henry VI had left surviving him his widow Constance and his little son Frederick, five years of age, rightful heir to the throne of Sicily and Naples. To strengthen his position against troublesome factions Constance requested of Innocent the investiture of the realm for her son, as the kingdom was recognized as a fief of the Holy See. Innocent consented, but keeping in view his purpose of freeing the Church from all secular influence, insisted on the surrender of certain privileges wrung from Adrian IV. These included the right of the king to appoint bishops. Constance consented, these prerogatives, the Four Chapters, were annulled, and the solemn investiture granted. Queen Constance, before her death, which took place shortly afterwards, appointed Innocent as guardian of her son, and for nine years he acted as regent of the kingdom defending the interests of his ward against internal factions and the attacks of Markwald and other adventurers who plotted the ruin of the young King, and when his ward attained his majority Innocent turned over to him his inheritance in a flourishing condition. Dollinger, in his Church History, bears testimony to the fidelity with which he carried out his trust, and Emerton says: "In spite of the traditional enmity of the Papacy to the house of Hohenstaufen, the great Pope seems to have carried out his trust in entire good faith."

## III.

Before the death of the Emperor, Henry VII, he proclaimed his son, Frederic II, King of the Romans and heir to the German Empire, but the empire was an elective one, and an infant emperor was contrary to German usage and unsuited to the troublous times. An election was necessary and at once there revived the fierce feud between the two great factions which divided Europe—the Guelphs and the Ghibbelines.

The Guelphs elected as Emperor Otho, duke of Aquitaine, nephew of Richard Coeur de Lion of England; the Ghibbelines elected Philip of Suabia, the uncle of the young Frederic. Each was solemnly crowned, the former at Aix la Chapelle, the latter at Mentz, and war between the claimants at once broke out. Both parties submitted their claims to the Pope for investigation, a recognition of the supreme authority with which the public law at that time clothed the sovereign Pontiff.

After some delay Innocent in 1201 declared in favor of Otho. This interposition, as they termed it, of Innocent in the affairs of Germany, has been condemned by many English and German historians hostile to the Papacy. Says John Henry Milman: "Ten years of strife and civil war in Germany are to be traced, if not to the direct institution, to the inflexible obstinacy of Pope Innocent III."

But the contention is manifestly unfair, his act was not an inter-meddling, both claimants appealed to him. His Protestant biographer, Hurter, says: "By intervening in the election of the German Emperor Innocent III did not encroach upon the rights of the empire to the profit of the Holy See, he simply complied with the expressed wish of all Europe which stood in expectation of his decision." In making his decision Innocent was apparently governed by an earnest desire to safeguard the interests of the empire and of the Church. As Bryce says, the empire was essentially an elective one; the object of this policy was the selection of the fittest man. To confirm the election of Philip would be to place a fourth Emperor of the house of Hohenstaufen upon the German throne, to virtually declare the office hereditary in one family.

The members of the house of Hohenstaufen, and the Ghibbeline party of which it was the head, had shown themselves at all times the implacable enemies of the Papacy, while the Guelphs were the supporters of the Popes and of the Free Cities. Milman acknowledges that in Italy at least, the cause of the Guelphs was

more than that of the Church, it was the cause of freedom and humanity.

Philip himself was under the ban of excommunication for assisting his brother, Henry VI, in usurping Church property.

Innocent believed that it was not for the best interest of Europe that the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, the first of all crowns, to which was attached the duty of protecting Christianity, should, contrary to the spirit of its institution, become the patrimony of a family whose princes were notorious for their hostility to the Church, and their cruelty to their subjects.

But as the war progressed the majority of the German princes inclined to the side of Philip, and Innocent had made preparations to reverse his decision and declare him Emperor, when in 1208 Philip was murdered by a nobleman to whom he had given personal affront. Dissension in Germany now ceased, the diet at Frankfort recognized Otho as Emperor, and he was crowned by the Pope in the basilica of St. Peter's with great splendor.

Before his coronation Otho solemnly promised to grant freedom of ecclesiastical elections and to respect the rights of the Church. But when secure on his throne he seized upon the Papal territory in Tuscany, and invaded the possessions of the young King of Sicily. He miscalculated the power of the Pope, whose services he had repaid with ingratitude, and whose authority he defied. Innocent pronounced against him the sentence of excommunication, his adherents fell away from him as if he had been stricken with the plague, and at the diet of princes at Nuremberg Innocent declared as Emperor the young Frederic II, who had now reached his majority.

#### IV.

One of the most important problems which confronted Innocent upon his accession to the throne was the settlement of the marriage relations of Philip Augustus, King of France. On the death of his wife, Isabella of Hainault, Philip had espoused Engelburga, sister of the King of Denmark described by historians as an attractive and virtuous princess distinguished by her long bright hair. But immediately after his marriage Philip showed an uncontrollable aversion to his young wife and determined to rid himself of her. Obsequious bishops were easily found to declare the marriage invalid because of affinity based on alleged relationship. Engelburga was confined in the convent of Beaurepaire, and Philip wedded Agnes the beautiful daughter of the Duke of Meran. Engelburga, defenseless in a foreign land, appealed to

the Church of Rome, which has ever been the champion of the inviolability of the marriage tie, and which never rendered a better service to humanity than when in the turbulent Middle Ages it asserted the sacredness of the domestic relations against the violent passions of the young, untamed people of Europe.

Ingelburga's appeal reached Rome in the last years of Pope Celestine III, and the aged pontiff bequeathed its settlement to his successor.

One of Innocent's first acts as Pope was to warn Philip through the bishop of Paris of the sin he was committing, and to exhort him to take back his lawful wife. But this warning Philip treated with cool indifference. Pope Celestine had hesitated to bring about an open rupture with the King of France, and it was even more to the interest of Innocent to maintain peace. Philip Augustus was the ablest, the most ambitious, and the craftiest monarch of his age. It was important to Innocent to have his good will in the dispute between the Papacy and the empire, and his aid was indispensable in the Crusade, the enterprise which was so dear to Innocent's heart.

But when Innocent determined on a course of action which he believed was his duty, he ever pursued it with single-heartedness and indivertibility of purpose. He sent to France as his legate the Cardinal Peter of Capua, commissioning him to compel the King of France to receive his discarded wife, and in case of the King's refusal, to subject the realm of France to an interdict, suspending all the divine offices of the Church except the baptism of infants and the absolution of the dying.

This dreadful form of punishment seems strange in our day, as the innocent suffered with the guilty, but it did not seem strange in the Middle Ages, when under the feudal law the King and his subjects were brought into such close relationship and reciprocal responsibility that their interests were regarded as identical. It grew into frequent use in the Eleventh Century, and because of resentment it caused amongst the people against their offending rulers, it became an efficacious weapon in the hands of the clergy against the aggressions of Kings and nobles. Philip remaining obdurate, the interdict was published. Darras gives a graphic account of its proclamation, from which one can form an idea of its solemnity and importance. "On the 12th of December, 1199, at midnight, the mournful tolling of the cathedral bells summoned the Fathers of the Council of Dijon. The bishops and priests repaired in silence to the Basilica, lighted on their way by flaming torches. The image of the Crucified was covered with a black veil. The sacred relics had been removed

to the crypts; the last remains of the consecrated hosts had been burned. The legate wearing a violet stole, as on the day that commemorates the Saviour's passion, pronounced the ecclesiastical interdict "upon all the provinces subject to the rule of the King of France, so long as that prince refused to break off his adulterous commerce with Agnes of Merania."

"At these words all the torches were thrown to the ground and extinguished, adding the horror of deep darkness to the awe inspired by the impressive ceremony itself; the arches of the Cathedral resounded with the mingled groans and sobs of women, children and old men. 'The last great day,' says a contemporary writer, 'seemed at hand.'

"The execution of the interdict threw a veil of mourning over the whole of France; all was consternation, and the writers of the day describe the general grief in the most pathetic terms. Numbers of the faithful thronged to Normandy and other territories of the English King solely to enjoy the consolation of religion."

For nine months Philip resisted all appeals, but his people becoming mutinous and his barons rising in rebellion he sent envoys to Rome to intercede for him with the Pope, but it was his misfortune to have come into conflict with one of the most inflexible of men. To the threats and entreaties of Philip's envoys Innocent answered: "He knows our decree; let him put away his concubine, receive his lawful wife, reinstate the bishops whom he has expelled, and we will raise the interdict, and examine into the case." "I will turn Mohammedan," cried Philip, "happy Saladin, he has no Pope above him."

The King at last yielded, the interdict was lifted, and six months afterward Philip recognized Ingelburga as his lawful wife, although he never gave her his love, and the Pope legitimized the children of Agnes of Meran.

## V.

The extraordinary powers claimed by the Papacy in those days were fully exercised in the conflict between Innocent and King John of England. The quarrel arose on the filling of the vacant see of Canterbury. Upon the death of Archbishop Hubert in 1205, the monks of Christ Church, according to ancient usage, claimed the right to elect his successor; the junior monks without license immediately elected as archbishop their superior, Reginald. But King John had determined to place in the see of Canterbury John de Gray, a man entirely devoted to his inter-

ests. He ordered the monks to proceed to a new election, and by his direction his favorite was elected as Archbishop. Both claimants appealed to Rome, and sent embassies to represent them before the Curia; King John sending to the Pope a messenger offering him three thousand marks if he would decide in favor of John de Gray. Innocent set aside both elections for irregularity and ordered the monks of Canterbury present in Rome from both sides, to meet together and select a new archbishop, recommending to their choice an eminent Englishman, Stephen Langton, then residing in Rome. Langton was one of the most learned men of his day, had been rector of the University of Paris, and was cardinal of the Roman Church. He will be ever remembered as the patriot under whose leadership the barons secured from King John the Magna Charta. He was duly elected Archbishop of Canterbury, and Innocent himself consecrated him at Viterbo. This news infuriated John. He wreaked his first vengeance on the monks of Christ Church, driving them into exile and seizing their possessions, and he prohibited Langton from setting foot in England.

Thereupon Innocent placed the entire kingdom under an interdict; this proving of no avail, was followed in two years by a bull of excommunication against the person of the King, cutting him off as a withered branch from the Church.

The King still remained defiant in spite of the mutinous condition of his kingdom and the disaffection of his barons. He sought alliances on all sides, and even solicited the aid of Mohammed al Nasser, agreeing to embrace the Mohammedan faith.

Finally in 1212 Innocent solemnly pronounced the deposition of John as King of England, absolving his subjects from their allegiance to him, and calling on all Christian Kings and nobles to carry out the sentence. Philip Augustus of France was nothing loth to take this opportunity of adding to his realm the possessions of his ancient enemy and gathered together a formidable army for that purpose.

But John, feeling his crown slipping from him, gave up the contest. He had defied the power of the Roman Pontiff for a much longer time than had Philip; his humiliation was deeper. He agreed to admit Archbishop Langton to his see, to recall all exiles, liberate from prison all adherents to the Pope, and to compensate the clergy for their losses.

He solemnly resigned into the hands of the Papal legate, Pandulph, his kingdoms of England and Ireland, reserving to himself and his heirs the administration of justice and all the rights of

the crown, taking the usual oath of fealty to the Pope. He received back his kingdoms to be thereafter held in fee of the Bishop of Rome by the annual rent of one thousand marks; this annual tribute amounting in modern money to about sixty-four thousand dollars, was paid by the Kings of England with some irregularity until the seventeenth year of the reign of Edward I.

Because of this transaction the memory of King John has been consigned by English writers to eternal infamy. But without defending it, we should consider that John preserved the throne and secured a powerful protector; that it was no uncommon thing in those days for sovereigns to do homage to other rulers for parts of their possessions. And this cession was granted with the advice of the great council of his barons, and it had an important bearing on the securing of the Magna Charta, for, as Dr. Lingard says, "To the barons it offered a protector to whom as superior lord they might appeal from the despotic government of his vassal. From that moment they began to demand the grant of their liberties. On his refusal they appealed by their agents to the gratitude of the Pontiff, reminding him that 'it was not to the good will of the King, but to them and the compulsion which they had employed, that he was indebted for his superiority over the English Crown.'"

Some writers condemn Innocent because in the subsequent conflict between the King and the barons over the great charter of liberties he espoused the cause of the King. He annulled the charter because it had been obtained by violence. But this conduct is consistent with Innocent's character; he was a strict interpreter of the duties and limitations of his office under the feudal law. England had become a fief of the Holy See, and he could not countenance an open rebellion against his vassal. But he promised the barons, if they would properly lay their complaints before him at Rome, that all grievances would be abolished, that the Crown should be content with its just rights, and the people should enjoy their ancient liberties.

In like manner the same writers charge that while Innocent punished Philip Augustus for a breach of the matrimonial laws, he ignored the cases of the King of England and King Pedro of Arragon. But it is admitted that in these cases there was no appeal to Rome. Innocent never cited a case before the Holy See except upon formal complaint made or upon an appeal to his decision made by either party to the controversy, and when an appeal was made he never failed to mete out exact justice irrespective of the rank or condition of the parties.

## VI.

One of the cherished objects of Innocent's ambition, and the only one which he failed to attain, was the rescuing of Palestine from the rule of the Mohammedan. But the results of the great expedition he inspired were so momentous as to render it a memorable event in the history of the world.

Of all the territory in Palestine won by former crusades, only Antioch and a few minor towns remained in the hands of the Christians. The sad condition of the holy places was the burden of letters written by Innocent throughout his pontificate to the clergy, the princes, and the people of Europe. His eloquent appeals first brought fruit in the hearts of the chivalrous noblemen of France. Fulk of Neuilly was the preacher of the fourth crusade, and soon an imposing army headed by the foremost soldiers of France, Flanders, Italy and Germany were arrayed under the standard of the cross.

The dangers and difficulties of the land journey had been shown by the former expeditions to Syria, and it was determined to proceed by sea. But who were to furnish the means of transportation. All eyes were instinctively turned to the Republic of Venice, to the descendants of "the hardy men who fleeing from the wrath of Attila had sought a shelter in the islands of the Adriatic Gulf," and who had there built up a commonwealth which because of its maritime situation had grown to commercial greatness during the first crusades. The Venetians engaged to transport the entire army and provision the fleet for nine months for the sum of 85,000 silver marks, but this amount the crusaders were unable to pay, although some of the leaders sacrificed their plate in an endeavor to make up the amount. Then the Doge, ambitious for the glory of the republic, proposed to waive the deficiency if the crusaders would first lend their aid in the conquest of the city of Zara, lately taken from the Venetians by the King of Hungary.

This proposition to turn their arms against a Christian city caused disapproval and dissension in the ranks of the crusaders, but time pressed, and necessity seemed to indicate the action proposed. The treaty was signed, the aged Henry Dandolo, Doge of Venice, blind, but of remarkable energy and ability, took the cross and joined the expedition at the head of fifty galleys, and on the 8th of October, 1202, the imposing array of four hundred and eighty ships in all moved down the Adriatic.

The city of Zara was soon reduced, but here another diversion took place. Isaac Angelus, Emperor of Constantinople, had been



deposed by his brother Alexius, imprisoned and deprived of his eyesight, and his son, Alexius Comnenus, was a suppliant in the camp of the crusaders, praying their help to replace his father on the throne. He promised in return that he would end the schism which had so long separated the Greek and Roman Churches, that he would furnish the crusaders with money and provisions, and add ten thousand soldiers to their ranks. Relying on these promises and dazzled by the prospects of adventure and gain which such an enterprise held out, and believing that the conquest of Constantinople was a step towards the recovery of Jerusalem, the crusaders espoused the cause of the blind emperor and turned their prows toward the Hellespont.

Against these two diversions Innocent protested, appealed, and threatened, and he finally excommunicated the Venetians who had been the instigators of these collateral expeditions. It was on the 23rd of June, 1203, that the fleet of the crusaders appeared before the great capital of the East, whose massive walls enclosed over a million people. But they were an effeminate race, enervated by luxury and dissipation and soon yielded to the impetuous assaults of the Western knights, Isaac and Alexius were restored to the throne, soon to be displaced by another usurper; then came the second storming of the city by the crusaders, and Constantinople, with its palaces and churches rich with the accumulated wealth of centuries was treated as the lawful prize of the conquerers. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was proclaimed Emperor, the reunion of the Greek and Roman Churches was solemnly proclaimed in the Church of St. Sophia, Innocent assumed the full ecclesiastical administration of the East, and nominated the patriarch of Constantinople. But the Latin Emperors of the East and the reunion of the church lasted for little more than half a century; the strength of the crusading army was spent in defense of the empire of Baldwin and his successors.

Venice was the chief gainer by the expedition; her commercial primacy was secured. Many treasures and relics of the Saints found in the churches of Constantinople were distributed among the cities of Europe. In Venice the horses of Lysippus over the main portal of St. Mark's are memorials of the romantic ending of the Fourth Crusade.

## VII.

It may be easily supposed that a pontiff so enterprising and vigilant as was Innocent, summoning the hosts of Europe to battle with the infidels on the wastes of Syria, would not look with

indifference on the increasing growth of dangerous heresies which had spread over some of the fairest parts of Europe.

History has given to these sects whose origin can be traced back to the Gnosticism and Manichaeism of the East, the general name of Albigenses; they were also known as Cathari, and included the Paterines and Paulicians. Differing from each other in many things, these sects were united in their anti-clericalism, manifesting a fierce hostility to whatever was connected with the Church. The most advanced of these sectaries held that the evil spirit created all visible things, and denied the fundamental teachings of Christianity. While some taught that matrimony was an alliance whose author was the evil spirit, others found authority for unbridled sensual indulgence.

In Languedoc a license of manners had grown up adverse to Christian morals. Much of the teachings of these sects was subversive not only of the religious, but also of the social relations; vandalism was rampant amongst them, churches were burned and holy things profaned. They were to be found in many of the cities of upper Italy, but were most numerous in the sunny regions of the south of France, and especially in Languedoc, where they were under the open protection of Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse. Innocent endeavored at first by gentle means to bring back the unbelievers into the church. In the first year of his pontificate he issued to them letters and mandates; he sent among them able preachers to exhort and to discuss controverted points. The first sent were Rainer and Guido, two Cistercian monks; then followed the Bishop of Osma in Spain, and the sub-prior of his cathedral, Dominic, afterwards known to the world as the great founder of the Dominican order. These two men traversed Languedoc barefoot and in the poor garb of Apostles. They were followed by the Papal legates, Peter of Castelnan and Raoul.

For eighteen years this missionary work went on with but little success and was finally terminated by the assassination of the legate, Peter of Castelnan. His murder caused a sensation in Europe similar to that of the murder of Becket at Canterbury. Count Raymond of Toulouse was strongly suspected of having instigated the deed, and the murderers were received into his court after their guilt was known. Innocent now felt constrained to resort to force; he proclaimed a crusade against the heretics, excommunicated Raymond and absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

The army that answered the call of the Pope was chiefly from

France, the ranks of those who entered the crusade for love of religion were swelled by the addition of adventurers inspired by the baser motives of ambition and desire for spoils. The celebrated Simon of Montford was leader of the campaign and the war that ensued was one of pitiless cruelty and ended in the complete overthrow of the heretics.

At this day no one will defend the use of force in securing religious uniformity, but in considering the Albigensian crusade we should look at it, not from the viewpoint of today, but from that of the Middle Ages. Creighton in his work on the Papacy, states the proposition fairly thus:

"Others again had absorbed Manichaean heresies and vague Oriental mysticism, while others used these sects for Antinomian views, for religious heedlessness and profligacy of life. Looked at from the point of view of our own day, they seem a strange mixture of good and evil; but from the point of view of the Middle Ages they could only be regarded with horror. They destroyed the unity of the church, Christianity became in men's eyes a mockery. It was in vain to hope for God's blessing on their arms against the infidels in the Holy Land if they allowed unbelievers within the pale of Christendom to rend asunder Christ's seamless robe."

And that this is the proper way to study the history of the past is tersely stated by Professor Ewing as follows:

"How often is there not forgotten that truth—that the sentiments and ideas of men change with the ages. It is lamentable that partisans will read into the story of the past the ideals of today, and so mar the true history of men's acts."

The personal bearing of Innocent in this crusade is not inconsistent with the general character for mildness which history has given him. Several times during the war he interposed in favor of Count Raymond and his son. The excesses which were committed caused him great grief.

"Although great excesses may have been committed in the south of France against humanity and justice, and although the forces sent thither to re-establish the authority and faith of the Church carried on instead, a war of indiscriminate rapine, still Innocent cannot be held responsible for either. His orders were not carried out, and he was led by false reports to take measures which he never would have taken had he known the true state of affairs." (Hurter.)

The history of the different nations at this period is filled with the deeds of Innocent and show how complete was the suprem-

acy he exercised, and how widespread his sovereignty. We see him arranging a peace between the Kings of Portugal and Castile, compelling Alphonse IX, King of Leon, to break off the marriage he had contracted with his niece, summoning to Rome Pedro II of Arragon, to whom he gave the Crown in payment of the promised annual tribute to the Holy See. In Hungary he is acting as arbitrator between the two claimants for the crown, Emmeric and Andrew, receiving the submission of the Prince of Dalmatia, and crowning the Duke of Bohemia. He extends his authority over Servia and Armenia; and the mission of his legate to Iceland, and his letters to the bishops there, are evidence that even that remote region was not outside his watchful care.

### VIII.

The foundation of the two great orders of Mendicant Friars—the Dominicans and Franciscans, has been called the crowning religious event in the pontificate of Innocent.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Church had reached a critical point in its history. The age was a turbulent one, society was passing through a transformation; it was necessary that the Church should adapt itself to the changing conditions, and the parochial organization of the clergy was not adequate to the wants of the growing population of towns and cities.

Through the devotion of the people and the gratitude of princes the Church had grown rich, and wealth had brought about a laxity of discipline. Under the feudal system the bishops were temporal lords, and much of their time was spent in executive duties foreign to their sacred office. By means of the administration of the splendid ritual of the Church the priests did indeed keep alive the faith of the people, but much of the preaching was of a perfunctory character.

The monks were the exemplars of the age, their monasteries were the schools, the universities, of the people. But although they were the favorite preachers, appeared before kings and princes, and were called from their cloisters to settle important disputes, the monks were by the rules of their orders secluded from the world, inhibited from mingling with the people, and thereby prevented in a great measure from counteracting the dangerous influence of the heretics. Heresiarchs had arisen on all sides and many of them by their abstemious life and poverty illustrated the severe asceticism which they taught. They became popular preachers, and in public places charged the clergy

with immorality and denounced their wealth and indolence.

To preserve the Church from the dangers which menaced it, two men successively offered their services to Innocent. Macaulay says that the Catholic Church "Thoroughly understands what no other church has ever understood—how to deal with enthusiasts;" and the wisdom and foresight of Pope Innocent was never more fully shown than when he sanctioned the projects of Francis of Assisi, and Dominic of Castile, for reforming the Christian world.

St. Francis, of whom Tennyson sings, "Sweet St. Francis of Assisi, would that he were here again," was but twenty-eight years of age when he appeared before Innocent whilst the pontiff was walking in the garden of the Lateran. Seeing that riches and pride were driving the love of God from the hearts of men, that wars brought on by the ambition of princes were grinding and crushing God's poor, he had four years before taken up the work of an Apostle. He had literally followed the precept of the Gospel, had given up his kindred and his worldly possessions; his enthusiasm had attracted to him a band of eleven young men.

Now, emaciated, bareheaded, barefooted and half clad, he asked the great Pope that he be commissioned to organize a body of men who would endeavor to convert the world by bringing it back to the evangelical ways of poverty and charity.

Although canons had been adopted limiting the number of religious houses to those already in existence, the Pope felt that in the case of St. Francis he was called to recognize one who had a divine vocation, and he sent him on his mission with his approval and blessing.

Of all the men whose names are inscribed on the list of the sanctified, there is none that is dearer than St. Francis. Others might adore the omnipotence and justice of God, and fear his punishments, but it was the divine attribute of goodness which enraptured the soul of St. Francis. Loving God in his goodness with a mystical fervor, his love extended to all created things as God's creatures. He surpassed the pantheists in his love for nature, the birds and beasts were his brothers, and when his emaciated body was stretched on his pallet in his last sickness, he welcomed "Sister Death." He placed little value in learning, in homely language he preached the words of Christ, the love of God. The zeal and sanctity of St. Francis soon increased the number of his followers; into them he infused his own contempt for riches; he enjoined upon them absolute poverty; they were

for riches; he enjoined upon them absolute poverty; they were to live upon the alms they would receive. Two by two, clothed in garments not differing from those of beggars, he sent them to the poor and the outcast, to comfort the suffering, to nurse the sick, the lepers, and to reclaim the sinful from the error of their ways. Wherever there was suffering and sin, there was the mission of the begging brothers, the mendicant friars. The success of the undertaking of St. Francis was immediate, the order sprang at once into importance and soon extended into all parts of the civilized world. At the second Chapter held in 1219, ten years after its foundation, 5,000 friars attended, and in forty years more it numbered 8,000 convents and nearly 200,000 members. Our ideals have not advanced beyond those of our forefathers of the thirteenth century; the call of St. Francis to a purer and simpler life created a spiritual revolution throughout Europe. It was a time when thousands left home and country, crossed seas and deserts, and sacrificed their lives under the burning sun of Syria to rescue from destruction the soil sanctified by the feet of our Saviour during his mission on earth. Today our ideas are limited by a gross materialism, the lust of gain and the desire for place are excluding from our minds fraternal charity, the ideals of truth, justice and goodness. We need another St. Francis to lead us back to first principles, to convince us of the truth that in all that we possess we are but the trustees of God; that to be rich in this world's possessions, whilst our brothers are in misery and want, to live thus and to die thus, and yet escape the condemnation of God, is a moral impossibility.

In a magnificent tomb in the City of Bologna lie the mortal remains of St. Dominic, whom the Catholic Church honors as one of the greatest of her champions. Dominic was a noble Castilian who, while yet a young priest accompanying his patron, the Bishop of Osma, to Languedoc, found himself in the midst of the Albigensian heresies, and realized the danger that menaced the Church from within. Meeting the Papal legates who were sent to convert the heretics, he rebuked them for the pomp and magnificence in which they traveled through the country, and advised them to dismiss their splendid retinue, and in apostolic simplicity and humility, and with earnest preaching endeavor to reclaim those who had wandered from the right path. He set the example himself and for ten years traveled through the country on foot, preaching to the heretics, accomplishing the only successful missionary work done in Languedoc. Some writers assert that he took part in the crusade which followed, but mod-

ern research has shown that these statements are without foundation. Lea acquits him of the charge, stating that Dominic's project looked only to the peaceful conversion of the heretics and to performing the duties of instruction and exhortation; that the accounts we have of him show him to be kindly in heart and of winning disposition, and that all the miracles related of him are beneficent ones.

The only weapons he used were a persuasive eloquence, a passionate devotion for the spread of the Catholic faith, and a firm belief in the intercession of the Mother of God, in whose honor he instituted the beautiful exercise of the Rosary, which has since entered into the devotional life of every Catholic.

During his stay in Languedoc Dominic had founded at Prouille a community of sixteen men to assist him in his work, and in 1215 he obtained from Innocent authority to found a new order under the rule of St. Augustine. The evils he desired to combat were ignorance and prejudice, and his aim was to form a band of practical missionaries, competent to teach.

According to his rule as fully developed his followers were required to take the vow of poverty so that they might be able to devote their entire energies to their work.

The success of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, as they came to be called, was marvelous, and rivalled that of the Franciscans. At the holding of the second Chapter of the Order in 1221, the year of Dominic's death, the brotherhood which had begun with sixteen disciples, numbered sixty convents, and had spread all over Europe. Although the two orders at first differed in their aim, they were similar in their organization, and in time they exercised a reciprocal influence on each other; the Franciscans realized that learning is not inconsistent with Godliness and the Dominicans followed the lead of their rivals in adopting the vow of poverty. They formed communities of women known respectively as the Poor Sisterhood of St. Clare, and the Dominican nuns. And to comply with the demands of the multitudes who pressed for admission into their ranks, and to further identify themselves with the people, they founded orders for lay people, called the "Tertiaries," whereby men and women without abandoning their social duties could become assimilated to the Friars and live according to their teachings. Thus the influence of the Friars permeated all classes of society, and it is no wonder that, as Brice says, "they were all-pervading, all-powerful." They formed two great armies of volunteers ready to do service for the Church, and always at the command of the Pope. Their

advent caused a great moral reformation and brought the Church again in touch with the people. Pulpit oratory revived, the tide of heresy was rolled back. "Francis made a new ideal to shine out before his contemporaries, an ideal before which all these fantastic sects vanished as birds of night take flight at the first rays of the sun." (Paul Sabatier.)

An intellectual awakening followed, Italian poetry had its beginning, architecture received a new inspiration. From the ranks of the Friars rose popes, cardinals, and bishops; and in their schools were found the greatest theologians of the age — Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus.

These two great men, St. Francis and St. Dominic worked out their theories independently of each other, yet history has always linked their names together; their memory is enshrined in the verse of Dante—

"The one was all seraphic in ardor ;  
The other by his wisdom upon earth,  
A splendor was of light cherubical."

Warned by his failing health that he had not much longer to live, Innocent in 1213 determined to carry out the plans which he had long conceived, of crowning the great achievements which he wrought for the Church by convoking a General Council. It met on the day appointed, November 1st, 1215, in the venerable Basilica of St. John Lateran, in the palace of which Innocent had fixed his home, at the beginning of his pontificate. This Council, known as the Fourth of the Lateran, or the Twelfth General Council, was the largest and most imposing assemblage of the universal Church which the world had yet seen. There were present seventy-one primates and archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors. The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople came in person and those of Alexandria and Antioch sent their representatives. There were also in attendance ambassadors and representatives of every prince in Christendom; counting the ecclesiastics, representatives of princes, theologians, notaries, etc., there were in attendance 2,283 persons. It was a parliament of the world. "It is a weighty illustration of the service which the Church has rendered in counteracting the centrifugal tendencies of the nations that such a federative council of Christendom, attainable in no other way, was brought together at the summons of the Roman Pontiff. Without some such cohesive power, modern civilization would have worn a very different aspect."—(Lea.)



Innocent opened the Council with an eloquent sermon beginning with the words of Christ, "With desire, I have desired to eat this Pasch with you before I suffer."

One of the principal objects of the Council was to organize a new crusade. It was ordered for the ensuing year and all preparations were made therefor. One of the first acts of the Council was to condemn the errors of the Albigenses. Against their principle—that there are two Supreme Principles, one of good and the other of evil, the Council declared that there is but one God, one Principle, one Creator of all things, visible and invisible.

Against the attack made upon the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, the Council in enunciating the doctrine always held by the Catholic Church, used for the first time the word now become famous—Transubstantiation—declaring that "The body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under species of bread and wine, the bread being Transubstantiated by the Divine Power into the Body, and the wine into the Blood."

It promulgated the celebrated canon by which all the faithful over the years of discretion are commanded to receive the Sacrament of Penance and the Holy Eucharist at least once a year, and the latter Sacrament at Easter time, under penalty of being cut off from the fellowship of the Church. The impediment of kindred in marriage was declared to extend to the fourth degree. The Council enacted seventy disciplinary canons correcting and governing clerical life. It cut off heretics from the communion of the Church, and made them amenable to the civil authorities; it settled the rights of the claimants to the Albigensian territory, confirmed the election of Frederic II as Emperor of Germany, and the policy adopted by Innocent in all parts of Europe was confirmed and approved.

## X.

The Fourth Council of the Lateran was the culmination of Innocent's career; within eight months after its close, while on his way to establish a peace between the cities of Pisa and Genoa, he died in the city of Perugia on the 16th day of July, 1215. He was 56 years of age and had reigned 17 years, 6 months and 17 days; he was buried in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence in Perugia, where his body remained until the pontificate of Leo XIII, when it was removed to the Church of St. John Lateran. Innocent was of middle height, graceful in form and carriage, and the brilliancy of his eyes revealed the eager soul within.

His disposition was gentle and courteous, and many traits of his character have endeared him to us as being very human. Those whom he relied on he trusted implicitly, and he was often blamed for the acts of his legates, who deceived him and misused their powers; but in so vast an administration, the delegation of plenary power was unavoidable, and Innocent was ever ready to repair injuries and to punish the offenders. Many anecdotes are related of him showing his tenderness of heart and his fidelity to his old friends. Among his professors in Rome was Peter His-mail, whom soon after his election he made Bishop of Sutri. One of his professors in Paris, Peter of Corbeil, he sent on many important missions, and made him Archbishop of Sens. To show their intimate relations it is stated that in a dispute between them the Pope said to Peter, "I have made thee Bishop," to which Peter replied: "I have made thee Pope," referring to the wonderful progress which Innocent had made under his tuition in the study of theology and the Holy Scriptures, and which had contributed to his elevation to the Papacy.

From the day of his election he disposed of all the gifts which were offered in the basilica of St. Peter, and one-tenth of all his revenues, toward the support of the poor; all the gifts laid at his feet, according to ancient custom were immediately sent to his almoner. Of the money on hand in the Papal treasury at the time of his election, he distributed nearly all amongst the poor, the widows and orphans, the churches and convents of Rome. During a famine in Rome he fed 7,000 poor every day, in addition to those whom he was supporting at their homes; he considered it his special mission to support the poor and to care for the sick. Dr. James J. Walsh in a late number of *"The Messenger,"* has demonstrated the fact that it is to Innocent III we owe the institution of city hospitals. The growth of city life in the early part of the thirteenth century, and the consequent danger from the spread of epidemics and the need of systematic treatment of the sick and injured, early attracted the attention of Innocent. He founded in Rome the great hospital of Santo Spirito, which exists to this day; it soon became famous for its treatment of medical and surgical cases; not only were those treated who came voluntarily, but attendants went out into the poorer quarters of the city to search for the sick and injured, who were then transported to the hospital. During his pontificate he succeeded by his influence and command in establishing hospitals on the model of the Santo Spirito in the cities in all parts of Christendom. The great work he did in founding these social blessings

has drawn from the celebrated pathologist Virchow the following remarkable testimonial.

"It may be recognized and admitted that it was reserved for the Roman Catholic Church, and above all for Innocent III, not only to open the bourne of Christian charity and mercy in all its fullness, but also to guide the life-giving streams into every branch of human life in an ordered manner. For this reason alone the interest in this man and in this time will never die out."

Innocent's knowledge of the Canon Law and of the Civil Law was so thorough that collections of his decisions were made after his death by succeeding pontiffs and have always been regarded as valuable precedents. Public sessions of his Consistory were held in Rome three times a week, at which he personally presided, examining documents and witnesses, displaying his familiarity with the laws and a marvelous insight into human nature. The decisions of this tribunal were so far-reaching from a political as well as from an ecclesiastical point of view, that they attracted to Rome a large concourse of clients, witnesses and spectators from every part of the Christian world; this was strikingly shown by the fact that during one summer when Innocent was holding his court at Viterbo, nearly forty thousand strangers sojourned for a month in that city.

Innocent preached frequently, his sermons were of a striking character, rich in imagery and permeated with the Holy Scriptures. He was the author of two works, one, "On Contempt of the World," showing the contemplative cast of his mind; the other, still highly valued, "On the Sacrifice of the Mass."

The letters of Innocent, six thousand of which have come down to us, "are yet," says Sismondi, "one of the great monuments of the Middle Ages." From them we can form a proper estimate of the genius of the man, his benevolence and love of rectitude, and the watchful care with which he governed the Church. Noticeable amongst their characteristics are his firmness, and the lofty tone which he uses in addressing monarchs. Writing to Philip Augustus to make peace with King John, he says: "If the complaint is just, thou wilt be forced by means of ecclesiastical discipline to refrain from making war upon him. If maternal kindness does not produce this effect, we will be compelled to make thee feel our paternal severity. Let come what will, we fear God more than men. We are willing to submit to persecution for the sake of justice; we will accept no advantage at the expense of truth." In another of his letters he says: "Our resolutions are fixed and unalterable, and neither gifts nor supplications, nor love, nor hate, can turn us from the right way."

## XI.

Innocent has had many critics, from the brilliant infidels, Gibbon and Hume, down to Mrs. Oliphant. Gibbon says: "Innocent could boast of the two most signal triumphs ever gained over good sense and humanity—the establishment of the dogma of Transubstantiation, and that of the first foundation of the Inquisition." But Innocent made known no new doctrine in the exposition of Transubstantiation; the Lateran Council simply enunciated in proper and precise terms the constant belief of the Church in the Real Presence. Prominent writers later than Gibbon fix the year 1229, during the pontificate of Gregory IX, as the date of the first appearance of the Inquisition as a recognized tribunal. This is supported by the authority of Lea; in his work on the Inquisition he shows that its gradual organization was the process of evolution and that the influence of Innocent was for mercy. In speaking of the prior crude forms adopted by ecclesiastical bodies and states in the inquisition of heresy, notably of the ordeal, he says: "With the study of the Roman law, however, this mode of procedure gradually fell into disfavor with the Church, and the enlightenment of Innocent III peremptorily forbade its use in 1212, when it was extensively employed by Henry of Vehringen, Bishop of Strassburg, to convert a number of heretics, while in 1215 the Council of Lateran, following the example of Alexander III and Lucius III, formally prohibited all ecclesiastics from taking part in the administration of ordeals of any kind."

It is asserted that he was ambitious, that he strove to make the Papacy a great political power in Europe, and that the supremacy he claimed and exercised over kings and states was an unwarranted arrogation of temporal power. That he was ambitious goes without saying, but there was no trace of personal vanity in his ambition; simple and unaffected in his private life, he had an exalted opinion of the dignity and power of his great office. He appealed to the pastors of churches and to the religious orders to be constant in their prayers to God that he might be kept from error, and that all his acts might inure to the glory of God and the welfare of Christendom.

He was ambitious, not for his own aggrandizement, but for the elevation and spread of the Church. As vice-gerent of God on earth he believed that he had the power to compel Kings in ruling their subjects to obey the laws of religion and morality.

In considering the supremacy claimed by Innocent, we must remember that we are dealing with an age that has gone by, when religion was the very life of society, with conditions which

disappeared at the rise of European nationalities. To the student of the Middle Ages, nothing is more evident than that in deposing monarchs for certain reasons, the Roman pontiffs were acting in accordance with the constitutional law of the day; and that this power was adapted to the social conditions of the age and was productive of great good in the preservation of peace and morality. Representatives from all the Christian powers were in attendance at the Lateran Council, but no protest was made against the passage of decrees vitally affecting political governments, and in which the power of the Church was asserted.

Speaking of the value of such supremacy properly exercised, Voltaire says: "The interests of the human race required some check on sovereigns and some protection for the life of the subject; this religious check could, by universal consent, be placed in the hands of the Pope. This chief pontiff by never meddling in temporal quarrels, except to appease them, by admonishing kings and nations of their duties, by reproofing crimes, by inflicting excommunication on great offenders only, would have been regarded as the image of God on earth."

Many striking testimonials to the inestimable work done by the Church in the Middle Ages for the cause of civilization and Christianity have been given by profound writers. To use the strong words of Canon Farrar:

"During this period the Church was the one mighty witness for light in an age of darkness, for order in an age of lawlessness, for personal holiness in an epoch of licentious rage."

And the historian Lecky says:

"By infusing into Christianity the conception of a bond of unity that is superior to the divisions of nationhood, and of a moral tie that is superior to force, Catholicism laid the very foundations of modern civilization."

And Samuel Laing:

"Law, learning, education, science, all that we term civilization in the present social condition of the European people, spring from the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and of the Catholic priesthood, over the kings and nobles of the Middle Ages."

In her ceremonies, Mother Church presents us with many evidences of her continuity and unity through the ages. In listening to the familiar hymn, "Veni Creator," and to the mournful plaint of the "Stabat Mater," both placed in the ritual by Innocent, and in viewing the throngs of the faithful kneeling at the altar rail at Easter time, obeying the Paschal precept, our minds are carried back seven hundred years to the time of the great Pope of the Middle Ages.

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GEOGRAPHY AND THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE  
AGES.

IN the course of a controversy which concerned the supposed opposition of the Church to the study and developments of science in general, but especially of the sciences related to medicine, during the middle ages, I was somewhat startled to have the sentence, "Geography and Geology were not tolerated," crop up as expressive of the Church attitude towards these sciences. Passing over for a moment the question of toleration of Geology, which is a distinctly modern subject, I could scarcely understand at first what was the basis for the thought that Geography, the science of the description of the earth's surface, and of the inhabitants as influenced by the physical conditions in which they live, could be considered as the special subject of condemnation by the Church. It is evident, however, that the false impression in the matter has arisen because of a confusion of ideas as regards one special subject in geography. It was concluded that the study of geography was practically impossible before modern times because the denial of the existence of antipodes precluded the possibility of a proper realization of the actual conditions of the terrestrial surface.

To think that this false impression, however, prevented the development of geography in the proper sense of that term would be a very serious mistake and a very short-sighted error of judgment. While there were some theologians who denied the existence of antipodes, there were others who as constantly accepted their existence. In this matter it must not be forgotten that Bishop Nicholas of Cusa, afterward a cardinal, said just before the close of the middle ages in the early fifteenth century: "I have long considered that this earth cannot be fixed, but moves as do the other stars." This would evidently mean that he considered the earth also round as the other stars seemed to be. As he does not insist on the opinion as new, it is probable that it had been entertained by many thinkers before him and had very likely been discussed for a long time by lecturers on Cosmology—the science of the ordered Universe, which was a favorite topic with scholastic philosophers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As a matter of fact it seems clear that many of the great travelers and explorers of the later middle ages harbored the notion that the earth was round. As we shall note a little later in men-

tioning Sir John Mandeville's work the writer, whoever he was, took the pseudonym, believing thoroughly in the rotundity of the earth and did not hesitate to say in some striking expressions which have been often quoted, that he had heard of travelers who by traveling continually to the East had come back eventually to the point from which they started. While in the schools then the existence of antipodes may have been under discussion there was a practical acceptance of their existence among those who were better informed with regard to countries and people and all the other topics which form the proper subject matter, of geography.

It must be realized, moreover, that though the existence of the antipodes was an important matter in geography it was really a side issue compared with many other questions relating to the earth's surface and its inhabitants which the medieval mind was occupied. To consider that no knowledge of geography could be obtained until there was a definite acceptance of the right view of the earth's surface, would be to obliterate much precious knowledge. The argument as to the existence of antipodes as it was carried was entirely outside of geography properly so-called. It never influenced in the slightest degree the men who were consciously and unconsciously laying deep and broad the foundations of modern geography. To consider such a matter as vital to the development of as many-sided a subject as geography illustrates very typically the narrowness of view of the modern scholar who can see the value of nothing which does not entirely accord with modern knowledge. The really interesting historian of knowledge, however, is he who can point out the beginnings of what we now know, in unexpected quarters in the medieval mind.

A very similar state of affairs existed with regard to astronomy. It is as if we were to declare that there could be no advances in astronomy until the acceptance of the Copernican theory. Until the admission of course that not the earth but the sun was the centre of our universe, observations made upon the heavens could not have their full significance, but to take this to mean that such observations were entirely without significance is to misunderstand astronomical progress. Any such conclusion would blot out of the history of astronomy some of its very important chapters. Copernicus' doctrine was not absolutely accepted by astronomers for more than a century after its presentation in complete form and nearly two centuries after its preliminary presentation. Francis Bacon, the putative father of modern

inductive science, who lived a century after Copernicus, weighed all the arguments for and against the great clerical astronomer's doctrine and decided against it. Tycho Brahe, the great Danish astronomer, was of the same opinion, though during a long lifetime he had made many more interesting and important observations on the positions of the heavenly bodies, their relations to one another, and to the earth and sun.

The history of astronomy does not begin with a full acceptance of the Copernican system, and in the same way the history of geography does not begin with the absolute acceptance of the doctrine of the rotundity of the earth. Many valuable observations had been made by travelers before geography had advanced to this point, and they served to fill up gaps in knowledge and proved an incentive to further exploration in subsequent centuries.

As the story of these travels and explorations is really a glorious chapter in the history of the Church's encouragement of things intellectual, as well as an interesting recital of important origins in a great department of science it has seemed worth telling briefly. The thirteenth century was a great leader in this matter as in so many others. Undoubtedly one of the greatest travelers and explorers of all times was Marco Polo, whose book was for so long considered to be mainly made up of imaginary descriptions of things and places never seen, but which the development of modern geographical science, by travels and expeditions, has proved to be one of the most valuable contributions to this department of knowledge that was ever made. It took many centuries for Marco Polo to come to his own in this respect, but the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have almost more than made up for their predecessors' neglect. Marco Polo suffered the same fate as Herodotus, of whom Voltaire sneered, "Father of history, say, rather, father of lies." So long as succeeding generations had no knowledge themselves of the things which both of these great writers had described they were distrusted and even treated contemptuously. Just as soon, however, as definite knowledge began to come, then it was seen how wonderfully accurate both of them were in their descriptions of things they had actually seen, though they admitted certain over-wonderful stories on the authority of others. Herodotus has now come to be acknowledged one of the greatest of historians. In his lives of celebrated travelers James Augustus St. John stated the change of mind with regard to Marco Polo rather forcibly.



"When the travels of Marco Polo first appeared, they were generally regarded as fiction; and as this absurd belief had so far gained ground, that when he lay upon his deathbed, his friends and near relatives, coming to take their eternal adieu, conjured him as he valued the salvation of his soul, to retract whatever he had advanced in his book, or at least many such passages as every person looked upon as untrue; but the traveler whose conscience was untouched upon that score, declared solemnly in that awful moment, that far from being guilty of exaggeration, he had not described one-half of the wonderful things which he had beheld. Such was the reception which the discoveries of this extraordinary man experienced when first promulgated. By degrees, however, as enterprise lifted more and more the veil from central and eastern Asia the relations of our travelers rose in the estimation of geographers; and now that the world though containing many unknown tracts has been more successfully explored, we begin to perceive that Marco Polo, like Herodotus, was a man of the most rigid veracity, whose testimony presumptuous ignorance alone can call in question."

After all we have said with regard to anticipations of what is most modern in human interest it will not be so surprising to find that this traveler of the thirteenth century succeeded in finding his way through most of the countries that were the subject of thrilling experiences in exploration in the nineteenth century, and left a record of definite information with regard to them which must have proved a great incentive to geographical study down until Columbus' time. There is many a fable that clings around the name of Marco Polo, but this distinguished traveler needs no fictitious adornments of his tale to make him one of the greatest explorers of all time. It is sometimes said that he helped to introduce many important inventions into Europe and one even finds his name connected with the Mariner's Compass and with gunpowder. There are probably no good grounds for thinking that Europe owes any knowledge of either of these great inventions to the Venetian traveler. With regard to printing, there is much more doubt and Polo's passage with regard to movable blocks for printing paper money as used in China may have proved suggestive.

There is no need, however, of surmises in order to increase his fame, for the simple story of his travels is quite sufficient for his reputation for all time. As has been well said, most of the modern travelers and explorers have only been developing what Polo indicated at least in outline, and they have been scarcely more than describing with more precision of detail what he first touched upon and brought to general notice. When it is remembered that he visited such cities in Eastern Turkestan as Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, which have been the subject of much curiosity in quite recent years, that he had visited Thibet or at least had traveled along its frontier, that to him the mediaeval world owed some definite knowledge of the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia and all that it was to know of China for cen-

turies almost, his merits will be readily appreciated. As a matter of fact, there was scarcely an interesting country of the East of which Marco Polo did not have something to relate from his own personal experiences. He told of Burmah, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, of Sumatra, and of the other islands of the great archipelago, of Ceylon and of India, and all of these not in the fabulous dreamland spirit of one who has not been in contact with the East, but in very definite and precise fashion. Nor was this all. He had heard and could tell much, though his geographical lore was legendary and rather dim, of the coast of Zanzibar, of the vast and distant Madagascar, and in the remotely opposite direction of Siberia, of the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and of the curious customs of the inhabitants of those distant countries.

It is not surprising then that the twentieth century, so interested in travel and exploration, should be ready to lay its tributes at the feet of Marco Polo, and that one of the important book announcements of recent years should be that of the publication of an annotated edition of Marco Polo from the hands of a modern explorer, who considered that there was not better way of putting definitely before the public in its true historical aspect the evolution of modern geographical knowledge with regard to eastern countries.

It can scarcely fail to be surprising to the modern mind that Polo should practically have been forced into print. He had none of the itch of the modern traveler for publicity. The story of his travels he had often told, and because of the wondrous tales he could unfold and the large numbers he found it frequently so necessary to use, in order to give proper ideas of what he had seen in some of his wanderings, had acquired the nickname of Marco Million. He had never thought, however, of committing his story to writing, or perhaps he feared the drudgery of such literary labor. After his return from his travels, however, he had bravely accepted a patriot's duty of fighting for his native country on board one of her galleys and was captured by the Genoese in a famous sea fight in the Adriatic in 1298. He was taken prisoner and remained in captivity in Genoa for nearly a year.

It was during this time that one Rusticiano, a writer by profession, was attracted to him and tempted him to tell him the complete story of his travels in order that they might be put into connected form. Rusticiano was a Pisan who had been a compiler of French romances, and accordingly Polo's story was first told in French prose. It may seem surprising that a native of

Pisa should write out in the French language a Venetian prisoner's story while both of them were in Genoa. French was, however, more commonly used by literary folk than any other modern language, and indeed was only surpassed in this respect by Italian. The story was told within a few years after Dante had begun his *Divine Comedy*, which was to establish the vulgar Tuscan tongue as the classic idiom of Italy. Probably most of Dante's friends considered that the poet was making a mistake in trusting the expression of his great thoughts in poetry to his native Tuscan. More than half a century later Petrarch preferred to write the great epic on which his fame was to depend—his *Africa*—in Latin, and thus condemned it to even more complete obscurity than might otherwise have been the case.

It is not surprising that Rusticiano should have chosen French, since he naturally wished his story of Polo's travels to be read by as many people as possible and realized that it would be of quite as much interest to ordinary folk as to the literary circles of Europe. How interesting the story is only those who have read it even with the knowledge required by all the other explorers since his time, can properly appreciate. It lacks entirely the egotistic quality that usually characterizes an explorer's account of his travels, and indeed there can scarcely fail to be something of disappointment because of this fact. No doubt a touch more of personal adventure would have added to the interest of the book. It was not a characteristic of the thirteenth century, however, to insist on the merely personal and consequently the world has lost a treat it might otherwise have had. There is no question, however, of the greatness of Polo's work as a traveler, nor of the glory that was shed by it on the thirteenth century. Like nearly everything else that was done in this marvelous century he represents the acme of successful endeavor in his special line down even to our own time..

It has sometimes been said that Marco Polo's work greatly influenced Columbus, and encouraged him in his attempt to seek India by sailing around the Globe. Of this, however, there is considerable doubt. We have learned in recent times that a very definite tradition with regard to the possibility of finding land by sailing straight westward over the Atlantic existed before Columbus' time. My friend, Father DeRoo, of Portland, who has written two very interesting volumes on the History of America before Columbus, does not hesitate to say that Columbus may even have met in his travels and spoken with sailors who had touched on some portions of the American continent, and that

of course the traditions with regard to Greenland were very clear. Polo's indirect influence on Columbus by his creation of an interest in geographical matters generally is much more clear. There can be no doubt of how much his work succeeded in drawing men's minds to geographical questions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

After Marco Polo undoubtedly the most enterprising explorer and interesting writer on travel of the thirteenth century was John of Carpini, an author of a wonderful series of descriptions of things seen in Northern Asia. Like so many other of the travelers and explorers of his time John was a Franciscan Friar and seems to have been one of the companions and disciples of St. Francis of Assisi, whom he joined when he was only a young man himself, very early in St. Francis' career. Before going on his missionary and ambassadorial expedition he had been one of the most prominent men in the order founded by St. Francis. He had much to do with its propagation among the northern nations of Europe and occupied successively the offices of custos or prior in Saxony and of provincial in Germany. He seems afterwards to have been sent as an organizer into Spain and to have gone even as far as Barbary Coast.

It is not surprising then, that when in 1245 Pope Innocent IV (some time after the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe and the disastrous battle of Legamites, which threatened to place European civilization and Christianity in the power of the Tartars) resolved to send a mission to the Tartar monarch, John of Carpini was selected for the dangerous and important mission.

At this time Friar John was more than 60 years of age and such was the confidence in his ability and in his executive power that everything on the embassy was committed to his discretion. He started from Lyons on Easter Day, 1245. He sought the counsel first of his old friend, Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, and from that country took with him another friar, a Pole, to act as his interpreter. The first stage in his journey was at Kiev, and from here, having crossed the Dnieper and the Don to the Volga, he reached the camp of Batu at this the senior member of Chinghis Khan's family. Batu, after exchanging presents, allowed them to proceed to the court of the supreme Khan in Mongolia. As Col. Yule says, the stout-hearted old man rode on horseback something like three thousand miles in the next hundred days. The bodies of himself and companion had to be tightly bandaged to enable them to stand the excessible fatigue of this enormous ride, which led them across the Ural mountains and river past the

northern part of the Caspian across the Jaxartes, whose name they could not find out along the Dzungarian Lake till they reached the imperial camp called the Yellow Pavilion, near the Orkhon river. There had been an interregnum in the empire which was terminated by a formal election while the Friars were at the Yellow Pavilion, where they had an opportunity to see four thousand envoys and deputies from all parts of Asia and Eastern Europe, who brought with them the homage and tributes and presents for the rulers to be elected.

It was not for three months after this, in November, that the Emperor dismissed them with a letter to the Pope written in Latin, Arabic and Mongolian, but containing only a brief, imperious assertion that the Khan of the Tartars was the scourge of God for Christianity and that he must fulfill his mission. Then, sad at heart, the ambassadors began their homeward journey in the midst of winter. Their sufferings can be better imagined than described, and Friar John, who does not dwell on them, tells enough of them to make their realization comparatively easy. They reached Kiev seven months later, in June, where they were welcomed by the Slavonic Christians as arisen from the dead, then continued their journey to Lyons, where they delivered the Khan's letter to the Pope.

Friar John embodied the information that he had obtained in this journey in a book called *Liber Tartarorum* (the Book of the Tartars, or, according to another manuscript, History of the Mongols whom we call Tartars). Col. Yule notes that like other medieval monks' itineraries it shows an entire absence of that characteristic traveler's egotism with which we have become abundantly familiar in more recent years, and contains very little personal narrative. We know that John was a stout man and this, in addition to his age when he went on the mission, cannot but make us realize the thoroughly unselfish spirit with which he followed the call of holy obedience to undertake a work that seemed sure to prove fatal and that would inevitably bring in its train suffering of the severest kind. Of the critical historical value of his book a good idea can be obtained from the fact that half a century ago an educated Mongol, Galsang Gomboyev, in the *Historical and Philological Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg*, reviewed it and bore testimony to the great accuracy of its statements, to the care with which its details had been elaborated, and the evidently personal character of all its observations.

Friar John's books attracted the attention of compilers of in-

formation with regard to countries very soon after it was issued, and an abridgement of it is to be found in the encyclopedia of Vincent of Beauvais, which was written shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth century Hakluyt published portions of the original work, as did Borgeron at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The geographical society of Paris published a fine edition of the work about the middle of the nineteenth century, and at the same time a brief narrative taken down from the lips of John's companion, Friar Benedict, the Pole, which is somewhat more personal in its character and fully substantiated all that Friar John had written.

As can readily be understood, the curiosity of his contemporaries was deeply aroused so that Friar John had to tell his story many times after his return. Hence the necessity he found himself under of committing it to paper so as to save himself from the bother of telling it all over again, and in order that his brother Franciscans throughout the world might have the opportunity to read it.

Col. Yule says the book must have been prepared immediately after his return, for the Friar Salembene, who met him in France in the very year of his return, (1247), gives us very interesting particulars:

"He was a clever and conversible man, well lettered, a great discourser, and full of diversity of experience. He wrote a big book about the Tartars (sic) and about other marvels that he had seen and whenever he felt weary of telling about the Tartars, he would cause this book of his to be read, as I have often heard and seen." Chron Fr. Salembene Parmensis in Monum. Hïstor. ad Provinciam Placent: Pertinentia, Parma 1857.)

Another important traveler of the thirteenth century whose work has been the theme of praise and extensive annotation in modern times was William of Rubruk, usually known under the name of Rubruquis, a Franciscan friar thought, as the result of recent investigations probably to owe his cognomen to his birth in the little town of Rubruk in Brabant (now Belgium), who was the author of a remarkable narrative of Asiatic travel during the thirteenth century, and whose death seems to have taken place about 1298. The name Rubruquis has been commonly used to designate him because it is found in the Latin original of his work which was printed by Haluyt in his collection of Voyages at the end of the sixteenth century. Friar William was sent partly as an ambassador and partly as an explorer by Louis IX of France into Tartary. At that time Chinghis, or Jenghis Khan, ruled over an immense empire in the Orient, and King Louis was deeply interested in introducing Christianity into the East, and if

possible making the great ruler a Christian. About the middle of the thirteenth century a rumor spread throughout Europe that one of the nephews of the great Khan had embraced Christianity. St. Louis thought this a favorable opportunity for getting in touch with Jenghis himself, and so he dispatched at least two missions into Tartary at the head of the second of which was William of Rubruk.

His accounts of his travels proved most interesting reading to his own and to many subsequent generations, perhaps to none more than our own. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ninth edition) says that the narrative of his journey is everywhere full of life and interest and some details of his travels will show the reasons for this.

Rubruk and his party landed on the Crimean coast at Sudak or Soldia, a port which was the chief seat of communication between the Mediterranean countries and what is now Southern Russia. The Friar succeeded in making his way from here to the great Khan's court, which was then held not far from *Kararorum*. This journey was not less than five thousand miles. The route taken has been worked out by laborious study and the key to it is the description given of the country intervening between the basin of the Talas and Lake Ala-Kul. This enables the whole geography of the region including the passage of the River Ili, the plain south of Bal Cash, and the Ala-Kul itself, to be identified beyond all reasonable doubt.

The return was made during the summer time and the route lay much farther to the north. The travelers traversed the Jabkan valley and passed north of the River Bal Cash, following a rather direct course, which led them to the mouth of the Volga. From here they traveled south past Derbend and Shamakii to the Uraxes and on through Iconium to the coast of Cilicia, and finally to the port of Ayas, where they embarked for Cyprus. All during his travels Friar William made observations on men and cities, and rivers and mountains, and languages and customs, implements and utensils, and most of these modern criticism has accepted as representing the actual state of things as they would appear to a medieval sightseer. Occasionally during the period intervening between his time and our own scholars who thought that they knew better have been conceited enough to believe themselves in a position to point out glaring errors in Rubriquis' accounts of what he saw. In these cases, however, subsequent investigation and discovery have proved the accuracy of the earlier observations rather than the modern scholar's cor-

rections. An excellent example of this is quoted in the Encyclopedia Brittanica article on Rubruquis already referred to.

The writer says:

"This sagacious and honest observer is denounced as an ignorant and untruthful blunderer by Isaac Jacob Schmidt; (a man, no doubt, of useful learning, of a kind rare in his day, but narrow and long headed and in natural acumen and candour far inferior to the thirteenth century friar whom he maligns), simply because the evidence of the latter as to the Turkish dialect of the Ungurs traversed a pet heresy long since exploded which Schmidt entertained, viz.: that the Higers were by race and language Tibetan."

Some of the descriptions of the towns through which the travelers passed are interesting because of comparisons with towns of corresponding size in Europe. Karakorum, for instance, was described as a small city about the same size as the town of St. Denis, near Paris. In Karakorum the ambassador missionary maintained a public disputation with certain pagan priests in the presence of three of the secretaries of the Khan. The religion of these umpires is rather interesting from its diversity; the first was a Christian, the second a Mohammedan, and the third a Buddhist. A very curious feature of the disputation was the fact that the Khan ordered under pain of death that none of the disputants should slander, traduce or abuse his adversaries or endeavor by rumor or insinuation to excite popular indignation against them. This would seem to indicate that the great Tatar Khan, who is usually considered to have been a cruel, ignorant despot, whose one quality that gave him supremacy was military valor, was really a large, liberal-minded man. His idea seems to have been to discover the truth of these different religions and adopt that one which was adjudged to have the best groundwork of reason for it. It is easy to understand, however, that such a disputation argued through interpreters wholly ignorant of the subject and without any proper understanding of the nice distinctions of words or any practice in conveying their proper significance could come to no serious conclusion. The arguments, therefore, fell flat and a decision was not rendered.

Friar William's work was not unappreciated by his contemporaries, and even its scientific value was thoroughly realized. It is not surprising of course that his great contemporary in the Franciscan order, Roger Bacon, should have come to the knowledge of his Brother Minorite's work book and should have made frequent and copious quotations from it in the geographical section of his *Opus Majus*, which was written some time during the seventh decade of the thirteenth century. Bacon says that Brother William traversed the Oriental and Northern regions and the places adjacent to them, and wrote accounts of them for



the illustrious King of France, who sent him on the expedition to Tartary. He adds: I have read his book diligently and have compared it with similar accounts. Roger Bacon recognized by a sort of intuition of his own certain passages which have proved to be the best in recent times. The description for instance of the Caspian was the best down to this time, and Friar William corrects the error made by Isidore and which had generally been accepted before this that the Caspian Sea was a gulf. Rubruk, as quoted by Roger Bacon, states very explicitly that it nowhere touches the ocean, but is surrounded on all sides by land. For those who do not think that the foundation of scientific geography was laid until recent times a little consultation of Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus* would undoubtedly be a revelation.

It is probably with regard to language that one might reasonably expect to find least that would be of interest to modern scholars in Friar William's book. As might easily have been gathered from previous references, however, it is here that the most frequent surprises as to the acuity of this medieval traveler await the modern reader. Scientific philology is so much a product of the last century that it is difficult to understand how this old-time missionary was able to reach so many almost intuitive recognitions of the origin and relationships of the languages of the people among whom he traveled. He came in contact with the group of nations occupying what is now known as the near East, whose languages, as is well known have constituted a series of the most difficult problems with which philology had to deal until its thorough establishment on scientific lines during the nineteenth century enabled it to separate them properly. It is all the more surprising then to find that Friar William should have so much in his book, and even the modern philologist will read with attention and unstinted admiration.

With regard to this, Col. Yule, whose personal experiences makes him a trustworthy guide in such matters, has written a paragraph which contains so much compressed information that we venture to quote it entire. It furnishes the grounds for the claim (which might seem overstrained if it were not that its author was himself one of the greatest of modern explorers) that William was "an acute and most intelligent observer, keen in the acquisition of knowledge, and the author in fact of one of the best narratives of travel in existence."

"Of his interest and acumen in matters of language we may cite examples. The language of the Pascatir (or Bashkirds) and of the Hungarians is the same, as he had learned from Dominicans who had been among them. The language of the Ruthenians, Poles, Bohemians and Slavonians is one, and is

the same with that of the Wandals or Wends. In the town of Equinus (immediately beyond the Ili, perhaps Aspara) the people were Mohammedans speaking Persian, though so far remote from Persia. The Yugurs (or Uigurs) of the country about the Cailac had formed a language and character of their own, and in that language and character the Nestorians of the tract used to perform their sacred offices and write their books. The Yugurs are those among whom are found the fountain and root of the Turkish and Comanian tongue. Their character has been adopted by the Monghals. In using it they begin writing from the top and write downwards, whilst line follows line from left to right. The Nestorians say their service, and have their holy book in Syriac, but know nothing of the language, just as some of our Monks sing the mass without knowing Latin. The Tibet people write as we do, and their letters have a strong resemblance to ours. The Tangut people write from right to left like the Arabs, and their lines advance upwards."

There were other matters besides language and religion on which Friar William made observations and though his book is eminently human, giving us a very interesting view of his own personality, and of his difficulties with his dragoman which many a modern Eastern traveler will sympathize with, and a picture that includes the detail that he was a very heavy man, *valde ponderosus*, which makes his travel on horseback for some 10,000 miles all the more wonderful; it also contains a mass of particulars marvelously true, or so near the truth as to be almost more interesting, as to Asiatic nature, ethnography, manners, morals, commercial customs and nearly everything else relating to the life of the peoples among whom he traveled. A typical example is to be found in the following suggestive paragraph:

"The current money of Cathay is of cotton paper, a palm in length and breadth, and on this they print lines like those of Mangu Kahns seal:—"imprimunt lineas sicut est sigillum Mangu"—(a remarkable expression). They write with a painter's pencil and combine in one character several letters forming one expression:—"faciunt in una figura plures literas comprehendentes unam dictonem"—(a still more remarkable utterance, showing an approximate apprehension of the nature of Chinese writing).

There are other distinguished travelers whose inspiration came to them during the thirteenth century though their works were published in the early part of the next century. Some of these we know mainly through their adaptation and incorporation into his work without due recognition by that first great writer of spurious travels, Sir John Mandeville. Mandeville's work was probably written some time during the early part of the second half of the fourteenth century, but he used material gathered from travelers of the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the next century. Sir Henry Yule has pointed out that by far the greater part of the supposed more distant travels of Sir John Mandeville were appropriated from the narrative of Friar Odoric, a monk who became a member of the Franciscan order about the end of the thirteenth century, and whose travels as a missionary in the East gave him the opportunities to collect

a precious fund of information which is contained in Odoric's famous story of his voyages. Of Odoric himself we shall have something to say presently.

In the meantime it seems well worth while calling to attention that, though the narrative of Sir John Mandeville, as it is called, and which may have been written by a French physician of the name of John of Burgoigne under the now well known pseudonym contains a number of interesting anticipations of facts that were supposed to enter into the domain of human knowledge much later in the intellectual development of the race. In certain passages, and especially in one which is familiar from its being cited by Dr. Johnson in the preface of his dictionary, Mandeville, to use the name by which the story is best known, shows that he had a correct idea of the form of the earth and of position in latitude as it could be ascertained by observation of the Polar star. He knew also as we noted at the beginning of this article, that there were antipodes, and if ships were sent on voyages of discovery they might sail completely around the world. As Col. Yule points out, Mandeville tells a curious story which he had heard in his youth of how "a worthy man did travel ever eastward until he came to his own country again."

Friar Odoric, of whom we have already spoken, must be considered as the next great missionary traveler of this age. He took Franciscan vows when scarcely a boy and was encouraged to travel in the East by the example of his Holy Father, St. Francis, who, it will be recalled, went to the East to convert Saladin, and also by the interest and missionary zeal to convert the East, which had been aroused by Marco Polo's travels. His long journeys will be more readily understood, however, if we realize as is stated in the article on him in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, an authority that will surely be unsuspected of too great partiality for the work of Catholic missionaries, that "There had arisen also during the latter half of the thirteenth century an energetic missionary action, extending all over the East on the part of both the new orders of Preaching and Minorite (or Dominican and Franciscan) Friars which had caused the members of these orders, of the last especially, to become established in Persia and what is now Southern Russia, in Tartary and in China.

In the course of his travels in the East Odoric visited Malabar, touching at Pandarini (20 miles north of Calicut) at Craganore and at Quilon, proceeding thence to Ceylon and to the shrine of St. Thomas at Mailapur near Madras.

Even more interesting than his travels in India, however, are

those in China. He sailed from the Hindustan Peninsula in a Chinese junk to Sumatra, visiting various ports on the northern coast of that island and telling something about the inhabitants and the customs of the country. According to Sir Henry Yule he then visited Java and it would seem also the coast of Borneo, finally reaching Kanton at the time known to Western Asiatics as Chil Kalan or Great China. From here he went to the great ports of Fuhkeen and Schwan Chow Chow. Here he found two houses of his order; thence he proceeded to Fuchau, from which place he struck across the mountains into Chekaeng, and then visited Hang Chow, at that time renowned under the name of Gansay, which modern authorities in exploration have suggested might be King Sae, the Chinese name for royal residence, which was then one of the greatest cities of the world. Thence Odoric passed northward by Kankin and crossing the great Kiang embarked on the Grand Canal and traveled to Cambaluc or Pekin, where he remained for three years, and where it is thought that he was attached to one of the churches founded by Archbishop John of Montecorvino, who was at this time in extreme old age.

The most surprising part of Odoric's travels were still to come. When the fever for traveling came upon him again he turned almost directly westward to the great wall and through Shenshua. From here the adventurous traveler (we are still practically quoting Sir Henry Yule) entered Thibet and appears to have visited Lhasa. Considering how much of interest has been aroused by recent attempts to enter Lhasa, and the surprising adventures that men have gone through in the attempt, the success of this medieval monk in such an expedition would seem incredible if it were not substantiated by documents that place the matter beyond all doubt even in the minds of the most distinguished modern authorities in geography and exploration. How Odoric returned home is not definitely known though certain fragmentary notices seem to indicate that he passed through Khorasan and probably Tabriz to Europe.

It only remains to complete the interest of Odoric's wondrous tale to add that during a large portion of these years and long journeys his companion was Friar James, an Irishman, who had been attracted to Italy in order to become a Franciscan. To him, as appears from a record in the public books of the town of Udine in Italy, where the monastery of which both he and Odoric were members, was situate, a present of two marks was made by the municipal authorities shortly after Odoric's death. The reason for the gift was stated to be that the Irish Friar had

been for the love of God and of Odoric (a typical Celtic expression and characteristic) a companion of the blessed Odoric in his wanderings. Unfortunately Odoric died within two years after his return, though not until the story of his travels had been taken down in homely Latin by Friar William of Bologna. Shortly after his death Odoric became an object of reverence on the part of his brother friars and of devotion on the part of the people who recognized the wonderful apostolic spirit that he had displayed. In his long wanderings and the patience and good will with which he had borne sufferings and hardships for the sake of winning the souls of those outside the Church of Christ. He was formally raised to the Altars under the name of Blessed Odoric by Papal authority some four centuries later.

We may indicate a few passages from his book which stamp Odoric as a genuine and original traveler. He is the first European who mentions Sumatra. The cannibalism and community of wives which he attributes to certain races of that island certainly belong to it, or to islands closely adjoining. His description of Sago in the archipelago is not free from errors, but they are the errors of an eye-witness. In China his mention of Canton by the name of Chin Kalan, his description of the custom of fishing with tame cormorants, of the habit of letting the fingernails grow extravagantly, and of the compression of women's feet, as well as of the division of the empire into twelve provinces, with four chief ministers, are all peculiar to him among the travelers of that age. Marco Polo omits them all.

Sir Henry Yule summed up his opinion of Odoric in the following striking passage which bears testimony also to the healthy curiosity of the times, scientific interest in the strict sense of the term, with regard to all these original sources of information which were recognized as valuable because first hand.

"The numerous MSS. of Odoric's narrative that have come down to our time (upwards of forty are known), and chiefly from the fourteenth century, shows how speedily and widely it acquired popularity. It does not deserve the charge of general mendacity brought up against it by some, though the language of other writers who have spoken of the traveler as a man of learning is still more injudicious. Like most of the medieval travelers, he is indiscriminating in accepting strange tales; but while some of these are the habitual stories of the age, many particulars which he recited attest the genuine character of the narrative and some of those which Tiraboschi and others have condemned as mendacious interpolations are the very seals of truth."

Besides Odoric there is another monkish traveler from whom Mandeville has borrowed much, though without giving him any credit. This is the well-known Praemonstratensian monk Hay-

ton, who is said to have been a member of a princely Armenian family and who just at the beginning of the fourteenth century dictated a work on the affairs of the Orient and especially the history of the nearer East in his own time, of which from the place of his nativity and bringing up he had abundant information, while he found all round him in France, where he was living at the time the greatest thirst for knowledge with regard to this part of the world. His book seems to have been dictated originally in French at Poitiers and attracted great attention because of its subject, many copies of it being made and translations into other languages produced within a few years after its original appearance. Mandeville apparently did not have access to the account of Marco Polo's writings, since only one circumstance that can be definitely traced to Polo occurs in Mandeville and this seems to have come to him through Odoric.

The story of these monkish travelers is a forcible reminder of how much the missionaries accomplished for geography, ethnology and ethnography in the thirteenth century as they did in succeeding centuries. If what the missionaries have added to these sciences were to have been lost there would have been enormous gaps in the knowledge with which modern scholars began their scientific labors in philology. It may be a surprise to most people, however, to be thus forcibly reminded of the wonderful evangelizing spirit which characterizes the later middle age. Needless to say, these graduates of the thirteenth century universities who wandered in distant eastern lands brought with them their European culture for the uplifting of the Orientals and brought back to Europe many ideas that were to be fruitful sources of suggestions, not only for geographical, ethnological, philological and other departments of learning, but also in manufactures and in arts.

We mentioned the fact that Odoric in his travels eventually reached Cambalus or Pekin, where he found Archbishop John of Monte-Corvino still alive, though at an advanced age, and was probably attached for the three years of his stay to one of the churches that had been founded by this marvelous old friar, who had been made archbishop because of his wonderful power of organizing and administration displayed during his earlier career as a missionary. The story of this grand old man of the early Franciscan missions is another one of the romances of thirteenth century travels and exploration which well deserves to be studied in detail. Unfortunately the old archbishop was too much occupied with his work as a missionary and an ecclesiastic to return

to Europe in order to tell of it or to write out any lengthy account of his experiences. Like many another great man of the thirteenth century he was a doer and not a writer and, but for the casual mention of him by others, the records of his deeds would only be found in certain ecclesiastical records and his work would now be known to the Master alone for whom it was so unselfishly done.

It will be noted that most of these traveling missionaries were Franciscans, but it must not be thought that it was only the Franciscans who went on such missions. The Dominicans established about the same time, at the beginning also of the thirteenth century, also did wonderful missionary work, but did not record it as did their Franciscan brothers. Undoubtedly the Franciscans surpassed them in the extent of their labors, but the Dominicans were founded with the idea of preaching and uplifting the people of Europe rather than of spreading the good news of the Gospel outside the bounds of Christianity, as it then existed. From the very earliest traditions of their order the Franciscans had their eyes attracted towards the East. The story of St. Francis himself, who went to the Holy Land at the end of the twelfth century in order to convert Saladin, the eastern monarch whose name has been made famous by the stories of the crusade in which Richard Coeur de Lion took part, have been doubted, but they seem to be founded on too good contemporary authority to be considered as entirely apocryphal. St. Francis' heart went out to those in darkness who knew nothing of the Christ whom he had learned to love so ardently, and it was the supreme desire of his life that the good tidings of Christianity should be spread by his followers all over the world. While they did this great work they accomplished unwittingly great things in all the series of sciences now grasped under the term geography and gathered precious information as to the races of men, their relations to one another, and to the part of the earth in which they live. The scientific progress made will always redound largely to their credit in the story of intellectual development of modern Europe. Most of their work was far ahead of the times and was not properly appreciated until quite recent generations, but this must only emphasize our sympathy for those obscure, patient but fruitful workers in a great field of human knowledge. As to what should be thought of those ignorant of their work who proclaim that the Church did not tolerate geography is hard to say. Our geographical knowledge comes mainly from travelers whose wish it is to gain commercial op-

portunities for themselves or their compatriots. That of the middle ages was gained by men who wished anxiously to spread the light of Christianity throughout the world. The geographical societies of those earlier days were the religious orders who sent out the explorers and travelers and furnished them on their return with an enthusiastic audience to hear their stories and then helped to disseminate their books all over the civilized world.

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### FRA ANGELICO.

HALF way up the hill of Fiesole, overlooking Florence, the lovely "City of the Flowers," stands the old Dominican Monastery of San Domenico, so long the home of the peerless painter, the world-famous monk, known as Fra Angelico. The convent was founded in the year 1406, by Blessed John Dominici, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Ragusa. Blessed John had been chosen by Saint Raymond of Capua, at that time, General of the Dominican Order, as Vicar-General of all those convents, the inmates of which were willing to return to the rigor of the primitive discipline. Having established the Reformed Rule in Venice, Cortona, and other Italian cities, Blessed John conceived an ardent desire to see it restored in the famous monastery of his native city, Santa Maria Novella. Numerous obstacles arose to hinder the good work, and the holy Dominican wisely resolved to found a new convent in some retired spot, far from the distractions of the city. His confrere in religion, Fra Jacopo Altoviti, then Bishop of Fiesole, came to his assistance, and at his request, gave him a plot of ground situated in the parish of the ancient cathedral of Fiesole. The building of the church and convent was immediately commenced. The work was carried on with such zeal and earnestness that in the following year (1406), Blessed John with thirteen companions took up his abode in the new convent, whither, ere long, flocked numerous candidates for admission to that home of prayer and study. In the year 1406, the youth, Antonio Pierozzi, then barely sixteen, presented himself to Blessed John, requesting from him the holy habit of Saint Dominic. Wishing to test the vocation of the applicant, who, on being questioned as to the nature of his studies, had replied that his favourite reading was Canon Law, Blessed John told him that it was



not his custom to receive as novices any but those who mastered the "Decretum," telling him at the same time to return when he had committed to memory the whole of this abstruse volume. At the close of the same year the youth re-appeared, having actually accomplished the herculean task. Blessed John hesitated no longer; he bestowed the habit on the ardent youth who was destined to become such a brilliant light in the Annals of the Church in Florence. He was nominated Archbishop of Florence in 1459, and we now know him as Saint Antoninus.

One day, in the year 1408, two brothers knocked at the gate of the convent at Fiesole, seeking admission among the Brethren of St. Dominic. The elder of the two brothers, then 21 years of age, was he whose name will go down to all time inscribed on the deathless page of Fame as Fra Angelico.

Guido, or Guidolino, to give him his baptismal name, was born in 1387, at Vicchio, a beautiful village in the Appennines in the Province of Mugello, not far distant from the birthplace of Giotto.

Little or nothing is known of the Angelical Painter's early works beyond the fact that he was called Guido, or Guidolino; that his father's name was Peter, and that he had a brother younger than himself, whose name was afterwards associated with his sanctity and his genius. The most precious record of those early days is from the pen of Vasari:—

"He could easily have led a pleasant life in the world, for he was in easy circumstances, and his brilliant talent would have supplied him with the means to gratify all his desires, but his sweet and humble spirit preferred to seek salvation in the shadow of the cloister, and he entered the Dominican Order."

Doubtless the young aspirants to the religious state were closely questioned as to the nature of their studies, and they were not admitted within the walls of the monastery until they had given some proof of their suitability. It was discovered that Guido possessed undoubted talent for painting, while his brother was skilled in calligraphy.

At that time Dominici no longer ruled at Fiesole. Gregory XII., in 1406 had appointed him to the Archiepiscopal See of Ragusa, at the same time elevating him to the dignity of Cardinal. His successor, in the convent of San Dominico, satisfied as to their fitness, gave a warm welcome to the two postulants. He bestowed upon them the Habit of St. Dominic, giving to the elder brother the name of Brother John, and to the younger that of Brother Benedict. They were afterwards sent to the Novitiate at Cortona, where they remained for a year, their whole time being devoted to prayer and

the practice of mortification. The whole of Fra Angelico's after life, as we gather from the records handed down to us, proves how deeply the lessons learned at the foot of the Crucifix during those months of prayer and penance sank into the Seraphic Painter's soul.

There is a touching anecdote told by Vasari, which illustrates admirably for us the exquisite simplicity of the artist monk. Long years had passed since those days when he studied the science of the Crucifix in the novitiate at Cortona. Fame had found out the gentle Brother; princes and nobles sought, as for some priceless treasure, the productions of his magic brush. Pope Nicholas, who held the humble Dominican in the highest esteem, invited him to breakfast, and, feeling pity for the toil-worn frame before him, offered him some meat, but the meek Religious humbly excused himself, while thanking His Holiness. He could not touch the proffered viands, not having his Prior's permission to eat meat. In the whole-hearted childlike simplicity of his obedience, he forgot that in the Pope, as Supreme Head of the Church, was vested all authority, and that his offer implied permission which rendered that of his Superior unnecessary. The same historian tells us further that the Angelical Painter "shunned the worldly in all things, and during his pure and simple life was such a friend to the poor that I think his soul must be bold in Heaven. He painted incessantly, but would never lay his hand to any subject not saintly. He might have had wealth, but scorned it, and used to say that true riches are to be found in contentment. He might have ruled over many, but would not, saying that obedience was easier and less liable to error. He might have enjoyed dignities among his brethren, and beyond them all; but he disdained these honours, affirming that he sought for none other than what consisted in a successful avoidance of Hell, and the attainment of Paradise. Humane, and mortified, he lived chastely, avoiding the errors of the world, and he was wont to say that the pursuit of art required peace and a life of holy thoughts; that he who illustrates the acts of Christ should live with Christ. He was never known to indulge in anger with anyone—a great, and to my mind, all but unattainable quality; and he never admonished but with a smile. With wonderful kindness he would tell those who sought his work, that if they got the consent of the Prior, he would not fail. He never retouched or altered anything he had once finished, but left it as it had turned out, considering it the Will of God that it should be so."

Beautiful is the sketch, thus drawn for us by the old art-loving historian of the Seraphic Painter. Who that ever gazed on those divine creations of his, whether as they shine forth with celestial

softness and beauty from the dim recesses of the time-worn cells of that old Monastery of St. Mark, which he adorned so lavishly with the works of his genius, or as they are revealed to us in those store-houses of Art's richest treasures, the Pitti Gallery and the Louvre; who can doubt gazing on those radiant forms that are to us as a revelation of Heaven, that such a manner of man was the sweet Monk Painter? Soft, tender, as unsullied in purity as a child, must have been the heart and mind whence emanated those matchless creations.

After the year of novitiate at Cortona, the two brothers returned to Fiesole, but, troublous times intervening, they were obliged to quit the peaceful retreat, and once more seek shelter at Cortona. It is probable that they resided there for eleven years, but nothing is known of those years spent in calm obscurity and ceaseless study.

Br. Benedict pursued the study of theology and philosophy with such brilliant success that he was later chosen as Sub-Prior of the Florentine Monastery, which office he retained for a long time. According to the Dominican ordinances, this post can only be held by preachers and theologians. His brother, the subject of our sketch, at the desire of his Superiors, did not devote much time to these studies. His brilliant genius induced them to curtail the period of preparation for the priesthood, so that he might the better devote himself to his divine art. This was the more easily done, because Dominic was an ardent lover of painting, being himself skilled in the art of illumination. In his eyes science and art were but to be used as efficacious means to spread the Gospel. Fra Angelico was to preach the Gospel by means of his brush, just as others of his Order preached it with their pens, or from the pulpit. During this sojourn at Cortona, Fra Angelico executed four paintings. The most important was painted for the Dominican Church at Cortona, and is to be seen at the present day in a chapel near the High Altar. Father Marchese regards this as one of the best work of his illustrious Brother in Religion, and other competent critics have concurred in his opinion. In this painting, one of the Frate's earliest creations, we find a work of art, perfect of its kind. It represents Our Lady seated on a throne, wearing a blue mantle, which almost entirely covers her red robe. The Divine Child seated in her lap, holds in His baby hand a damask rose. On each side are two angels bearing baskets of flowers of the most brilliant hues, whilst at the foot of the throne are bouquets of magnificent roses. In separate compartments appear the figures of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mark, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. Above the central picture, in an arched frame, is Jesus crucified, with Mary and St. John. One

would never weary of gazing at this masterpiece, the colouring of which, as in all the Angelic Painter's works, is most brilliant, yet at the same time of such ethereal softness and freshness that the eye rests upon them with delight.

In 1418, the difficulties which had kept the Dominicans so long exiled from Fiesole vanished, and they were enabled to take possession once more of their beloved convent. Here our glorious Painter was to spend nearly twenty years in peaceful seclusion. Earth has few fairer views to offer than that presented from the Hill of Fiesole. Far beneath him the spectator sees the City of Flowers, with the noble dome of its majestic Cathedral lifting itself up against the glowing Italian sky, and Giotto's Tower, like some fair lily on its slender stalk, pointing heavenwards; while the Arno winds its tortuous course like a thread of silver through the valley, and, far away in the distance, loom the lofty Appennines. What visions of entrancing loveliness revealed themselves to the Seraphic Painter during those long years of blessed seclusion, as he paced the terrace of his convent home! In the early dawn, when the first faint flush in the Eastern sky announced the coming morn; in the glowing hours of noontide, when the City was veiled in a luminous haze; at the sunset hour when the evening sky was the palette whereon Nature blended her loveliest tints in such bewildering, entrancing combinations, each and every hour brought some fresh revelations of her magic tints, while her loving pupil looked on with eyes so keen to note her every loveliness, and to treasure those ravishing hues to reproduce them later for the delight of all ages. In the hushed and solemn calm of the holy night when the moon flooded the lovely valley and the olive groves on the hillsides with silver light; at all hours, in all seasons, Nature was forever unfolding, as still she unfolds, some fresh loveliness, but alas! there are no eyes touched by genius to note them now. True, it was a somewhat different city which met the gaze of Fra Angelico from what we now behold. Brunelleschi was still working at the Cathedral dome, which was not finished until 1439, while Giotto's Tower begun in 1334, was not yet completed. Before the belfrey rose the ancient Baptistry, but of its matchless doors, said by Michel Angelo to be worthy of being the doors of Heaven, Ghiberti had only begun the second in 1403, while the third was still unfinished in 1425. In the interior of the Cathedral Donatello was working in collaboration with Michelozzo at the monument erected by Cosmo Medici to the memory of John XXII., who died in 1419.

Behind the Cathedral the tower of the Signori rose proudly in the air, as if to dominate the surrounding country. Between the Duomo

and the Palazzo Vecchio was the Chapel, finished in 1412, and called Or San Michele (S. Michael in Orto). Just at this time, the facade was being adorned with a series of colossal statues, representing the patron saints of the various Guilds, magnificent works, chiselled by the famous sculptors, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Michelozzo. Within the chapel itself was erected in 1350, a splendid marble altar, surmounted by a ciborium, the work of Andrea Orcagna. From his convent at Fiesole, Fra Angelica could see, to the right, the Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella, a building with three naves, which was begun in 1278, by his Brethren in Religion, Fra Sisto and Fra Ristoro, who were regarded in Italy, and justly so, as the best architects of their time. Many a time the monk painted must have knelt in prayer in the Chapel of the Rucellai in the same Church of this Order before Cimabue's famous Madonna, which, in 1280, was placed in that sanctuary amidst the acclamations of the people. In the ancient cloisters, were still to be seen in all their first freshness, those frescoes, now blurred and half-effaced, representing scenes from the Old Testament. In the Spanish Chapel (Capella Degli Spagnuoli) resplendent in their brilliant colouring were the frescoes of Christ's Passion, the legend of St. Dominic and of St. Peter, Martyr, as well as the Triumph of St. Thomas of Aquinas.

To the left of the Duomo, our young Painter could see Santa Croce, the magnificent Church of the Franciscans. It was begun in 1294, by Arnolfodi Cambio, but it was not until 1442 that the finishing strokes were given to the stately edifice, reared by the sons of St. Francis to the glory of God. Giotto had adorned several of the Chapels with the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, and scenes from the lives of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Francis. Even yet, those paintings—half effaced, and what remains, dull and retouched—charm the beholder with the beauty of their composition and the soft harmony of their colouring.

We have but little record of those twenty years passed by Fra Angelico at Fiesole. Contemplating and studying Nature in her fairest moods, communing in sweet familiarity with God and His Saints, practising the loftiest virtue in the simplest manner, in penance, and in mortification, so passed the years. God was the source whence flowed all those inspirations which took form under the peerless brush, and which thrill the beholder as if at a vision of Heaven. Gazing at those divine compositions, those heavenly forms and faces, how easy it is to believe Vasari when he tells us that.

"Fra Giovanni never took brush in hand without first, on his knees, invoking God's assistance in humblest prayer, and, when he painted a Crucifix, the tears would flow in copious streams from

his eyes. And," adds Vasari, "the saints painted by Fra Angelico have more the air of saints than those of any other master. We recognize in the faces and attitudes of his figures the depth and intensity of his faith."

The soul of Fra Angelico was pure as that of a child. He knew nothing of the passions which rend the human heart like the eruptions of a fiery volcano. He lived in an atmosphere of holiness and innocence, hence it is that his creatures are living, breathing embodiments of heavenly purity, while, when the pure-hearted monk has to paint the wicked, he invests them with ugliness so strange as to be almost grotesque. There is a painting of the Last Judgment in the Pitti Gallery, in which the ugliness of the devils and the lost souls almost provokes a smile.

Heaven's deepest calm reigned in Fra Angelico's soul. The lower depths of human sorrow and anguish were unknown to him, and hence it is that even when he depicts the Crucifixion the pain and suffering he represents have a strangely calm effect upon the beholder; those sorrow-stricken faces are so soft and sweetly heavenly that they seem to breathe forth peace and resignation like some rare flower that, when crushed, exhales the sweetest fragrance.

It was but natural that Fra Angelico should give the first fruits of his years of study to the convent at Fiesole. Upon one of the walls of the Refectory, he painted the Crucifixion with the figures of Our Blessed Lady and the Beloved Disciple. Father Marchese is of opinion that the figures of St. Dominic there represented was afterwards added. The picture was restored in 1566, and suffered considerably thereby, much of the original delicacy of the work being destroyed. During the French Revolution, the refectory was transformed into a storeroom, to the considerable damage of the painting. It was afterwards sold for 40,000 francs, removed from the wall, and taken to the Louvre.

Another fresco, painted on the wall of the Chapter Room of the convent, suffered the same fate, being purchased by a Russian noble for the sum of 46,000 francs. Although this picture has also suffered at the hands of the "restorers," it may still be classed amongst the best of the master's works. The Divine Infant is represented standing on His Mother's lap, while at the side are St. Dominic and St. Thomas Aquinas holding an open book. In none of Fra Angelico's paintings are the faces and form more divinely beautiful. Unfortunately some of the draperies and the lower part of the picture have suffered from damp and unskillful retouching.

The "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin," also painted for the Fiesole Convent, was removed in 1812, and is now in the Louvre.

The picture painted for the High Altar is now in the National Gallery, London. Its place in the Church at Fiesole is occupied by a bad copy.

In 1436, Fra Angelico painted, for one of the Florentine Guilds, his famous *Madonna* with angel musicians; at the same time he finished three pictures for the Cistercians in Florence. But his principal work of that time was the *Descent from the Cross*, painted for the Church of the Trinita, Florence, and now in the *Accademia delle Belle Arti* in that City. In this marvellous painting, we see the Sacred Body of Our Divine Lord bearing upon it all the marks of the terrible sufferings inflicted upon it, but yet retaining all its Divine Majesty and Beauty. As it lightly rests on the arms of Nicodemus, the Sacred Limbs seem scarcely to have any of the rigidity of Death. The Sacred Feet reach downwards to Mary Magdalen, who kneels with out-stretched hands covered with a transparent veil to receive them, whilst she bows her head in lowliest adoration; Joseph of Arimathea stands on a ladder opposite Nicodemus. He still retains hold of one Divine Arm, whilst Saint John sustains the weight of the Beloved Master's Sacred Body, still lower down, we see the kneeling figure of a young man wearing a crown, who seems as he strikes his breast, to accuse himself as the cause of his Saviour's death. The forms of two other men are visible between Magdalen and Joseph of Arimathea, as they support from behind the Sacred Body in such a manner as to assist John and Nicodemus, and to allow the Precious Burden to sink gently to the ground. On the right of the picture the Holy Women are grouped. Mary, with out-stretched hand, awaits the moment when the mangled remains of Her Divine Son shall be laid upon her lap. She is seated on a slight elevation of the ground, whilst the others stand respectfully around; two women hold the winding sheet.

In this lovely picture the master has chosen his colours with the greatest care, and their harmony is perfect; Magdalen and the man who stands opposite her are robed in red. The amber reflections, verging on brown, cast by the Sacred Body, harmonize perfectly with Magdalen's robe. Saint John and the two men whose figures appear between Magdalen and Joseph of Arimathea, are vested in blue. The garment worn by Nicodemus and also Joseph's under vestment are of a delicate purple. The upper tunic of the last-named is deep green, thus completing the perfect harmony of the colouring.

Regarding this masterpiece, Montalembert says, "Oh! what superabounding love of God; what immense and ardent contrition must the saintly Fra Angelico have experienced when painting this Cruci-

fixion. How he must have meditated in his narrow cell, and wept over the sufferings of Our Divine Master. Every touch of the brush, every detail, seem so many loving regrets coming from the depths of his soul. What a touching sermon is preached by such a picture! Others may only see therein a work of art, but I feel that I derive therefrom ineffable consolation and profound instruction."

## II.

In the year 1436 Fra Angelico quitted Fiesole to take up his abode in the Convent of St. Mark in Florence. The latter convent was but recently rebuilt by Cosmo de Medici. This powerful Prince who owned a villa near the convent at Fiesole, had constituted himself the patron of the religious who dwelt there. Ever the munificent patron of Art, he soon discovered the rare genius of the lowly Dominican. At his request, Fra Angelico had painted several pictures for him, and it was now, through his solicitations that the Angelic Painter was transferred to the newly restored Convent of St. Mark.

Cosmo de Medici had entrusted the task of rebuilding the Convent to Michelozzi but St. Antoninus modified the prince's magnificent designs as being opposed to the spirit of the Dominican Order. Hence, resulted a building of noble yet simple architecture. Only in the construction of the two cloisters and of the library did the genius of Michelozzi find full sway. The library is divided into three naves by two rows of magnificent Doric pillars.

When the monks of Fiesole entered St. Mark, nothing but bare whitewashed walls met their gaze, a particularly repellant sight to the beauty-loving Italian, but not long did they so remain. Those smooth walls afforded boundless opportunity for the exercise of the Angelic Painter's divine talent.

At the end of the outer cloister, called the Cloister of St. Antoninus, because of a series of frescoes on its walls, representing scenes from the life of the holy Archbishop of Florence which were executed at the close of the sixteenth century, a beautiful "Christ on the Cross" is seen. The Divine figure, hanging on the Cross is painted with the artist's tender matchless skill. St. Dominic kneels below, clasping the foot of the Cross in his loving embrace, whilst he gazes with eyes full of sorrowing love on his crucified Master. All art critics are unanimous in praising this work, which is, notwithstanding, of the utmost simplicity. The figures are but few, and it lacks brilliant colouring, but yet what lessons does that picture preach. What profound self-abnegation; what utter oblivion of all save Christ Crucified in that rapt figure of St. Dominic, as he con-



templates with eyes from which his love-filled soul shines forth, the bleeding mangled form of his Redeemer! What lessons in prayer and meditation for the white-robed sons of St. Dominic, as they stood in the silent cloister before the ecstatic figure of their Founder! There was their standard, there the principles, the life and soul of their Order, self-immolation at the foot of the Cross; forgetfulness of everything, save Jesus Crucified. Eloquent is the sermon, indeed which Fra Angelico preaches still by the might of his genius, from that old Convent wall.

Not far from this painting, and over the door leading to the sacristy is a painting of St. Peter, Martyr, holding in his left hand a book and a palm-branch, whilst, with the forefinger of his right hand placed on his lips, he enjoins silence. An eloquent reminder to the Brethren of the silence and recollection which should reign in the cloisters. Near the door leading to the refectory is a representation of Our Lord, standing erect in His Tomb, and showing His pierced hands. Nowhere has Fra Angelico painted face and form of diviner beauty. Over another door (that of the guest-room of the monastery) the same masterhand has depicted two Dominicans receiving Our Divine Lord Himself under the guise of a pilgrim. The two religious are receiving their guest, represented as a beautiful young man, with countenances which beam with heavenly charity. Over the refectory, Fra Benedetto (our Painter's brother) has represented the scene of Emmaus, but his work is far inferior to that of Fra Angelico. A beautiful figure of St. Thomas Aquinas, alas! much damaged, completes the decoration of the cloister.

In the Chapter-room of the Convent is the great picture of the Crucifixion, usually regarded as the Angelic Painter's greatest work. The Divine Redeemer hangs from a Cross of great height, whence he dominates the whole world; on each side hang the two thieves. At the foot of the Cross a death's head indicates the consequences of sin. Grouped around are the faithful few who have followed the Master to Calvary. Our Lady, fainting beneath the load of sorrow, is supported by one of the holy women, while Magdalen, kneeling at the foot of the Cross, turns round to receive in her arms the Mother of God. This group is of divinest beauty. A little apart, we see St. John the Baptist, St. Mark, the patron of the Convent, Saint Laurence, Saints Cosmas and Damian, the two last being the patrons of the Medici family; on the opposite side is Saint Dominic in an ecstasy of sorrow, Saint Thomas of Aquin, and a number of other saints. It would be impossible to give an idea of the marvellous skill with which the painter had depicted on each face the varying expressions of tenderest love and agonising sorrow.

It is much to be regretted that partial attempts at restoration have seriously injured this magnificent work, by destroying the delicate harmony of its tones, replacing the original blue of the background by a shade of red, hurtful to the eye.

In addition to the Crucifixion in the Chapter Room, Fra Angelico painted another in the Refectory, but this last was destroyed in 1434. The Crucifixion was pre-eminently the Angelic Painter's favourite subject. It is repeated seventeen times in the cells of St. Mark's Monastery. On the bare walls of these narrow cells Fra Angelico has left visions of beauty, entrancing the beholder, even now after the long ages which have passed into Eternity, since the Painter's magic brush gave life and colour to those exquisite creations. What a revelation of the Artist's humility! No thought of earthly fame or of the applause of admiring crowds crossed the mind of the humble monk, as he lavished the treasures of his genius on these bare narrow cells where there was scarcely space for a table, a chair, and the couch whereon the mortified Religious snatched a few brief hours of slumber. The strict convent enclosure forbade all such dreams, but Fra Angelico worked for the glory of God and the sanctification of souls, carrying out those great aims of his Order as effectually in his silent cloister as the preacher or the missionary.

On the outer wall of the row of cells, Fra Angelico has depicted the Annunciation with surpassing grace and purity. The Blessed Virgin is represented seated on a small stool, while the Angel kneels before her. The small cell opens on a portico, and beyond we see a closed garden, glowing with beautiful flowers; Underneath the painting the saintly artist has written, "Hail, Mother of Love; Mary the august temple of the Holy Trinity," and then he adds, "When you pass before the picture of the Immaculate Virgin, remember, as you pass, to say an Ave."

In one of the cells there is another Annunciation of even more celestial loveliness. Our Lady is kneeling; the Angel stands before her and seems to await her reply. Behind him is St. Peter the Martyr so distinguished for his purity. Words fail to do justice to this exquisite fresco. In one of the cells, larger than the others there is a beautiful Adoration of the Magi. Cosmo de Medici had this cell built for himself, and thither he frequently came to pass a few days in the company of the Prior, Saint Antoninus, and our Painter, for whom he entertained great affection. Pope Eugene IV. also occupied this cell on the occasion of his visit to Florence in 1442, for the purpose of presiding at the ceremony of the consecration of St. Mark.

The Adoration of the Magi was a favourite subject with the paint-

ers of the Renaissance on account of the scope it afforded for rich costumes and flowing draperies. In choosing it for the decoration of the cell occupied by the rich and mighty Medici Prince, doubtless Fra Angelico meant to inculcate the lesson that the great ones of earth should lay their sceptres and their riches at the Feet of Jesus Christ. The scene is admirably arranged. In the background are the mountains of Judea, which the three kings have crossed. The side of a wall indicates the cave of Bethlehem. Our Lady is seated on the saddle of an ass, holding on her lap the Divine Child, who blesses the old king, while the latter, prostrate before Him, scarcely dares to kiss the feet of the Desired of all nations. He has just offered his gift, which St. Joseph, who is standing near, holds in his hand. Behind are the two other kings and their suite, composed of warriors and wise men, in oriental costumes. One of the kings holds a sphere to indicate the science, the pursuit of which has led them to the New-born Saviour. Two men on horseback are gazing at the star just over the stable. The whole design is masterly in its conception and treatment.

In another cell there is an exquisite "Coronation of the Virgin." This subject was very dear to Fra Angelico, and he has treated it here with the full perfection of his genius. Our Divine Lord and His Immaculate Mother are represented seated on light clouds; Our Lady bends humbly, while her Divine Son places on her head a radiant crown, her whole attitude seems to suggest that she is once more repeating, "Behold the Hand-maid of the Lord." Both figures are clothed in robes of dazzling whiteness. Around are grouped numerous saints in adoring ecstasy.

As we wander through these silent deserted cells, once the abode of sanctity and learning, and gaze in mute admiration on the forms and faces which gleam from the bare walls like soft glimpses of celestial regions, many are the thoughts suggested of the two mighty spirits who lived and moved such long centuries ago, within those cloisters; each so different in his giant intellect, and yet each striving for the same end. The stern reformer, Savonarola, and the gentle brother, the Angelic Painter. The fiery Champion of God's honour, who fearlessly denounced sin, and the saintly artist who, in the depth of his cloister, preached and still preaches sublime lessons in the Science of Salvation.

The saintly Dominican artist was not to end his days in the Convent of St. Mark, upon the decoration of which he had been so prodigal of his brilliant talent, nor yet, was he to die in the peaceful calm of fair Fiesole, the scene of his early religious life.

In 1445, Pope Eugenius IV. summoned Fra Angelico to Rome,

and there he passed the last ten years of his life. The Pope had already conceived a great regard for the Angelic Painter during his stay in the Convent of St. Mark.

In 1445, Zabarella, the Archbishop of Florence died, and some historians, amongst them Vasari, tell us that the Pope wished to nominate Fra Angelico to the vacant See. In reality, Antoninus, the Prior of St. Mark, was the one upon whom the Pope's choice fell. In connection with his election, Vasari tells the following story, amusing in its quaint simplicity:—

"The Pope, knowing Fra Giovanni as a man of most holy life, gentle and humble, judged him worthy to fill the Archepiscopal See of Florence, just then vacant. When the humble Religious heard the news, he besought the Holy Father to choose another, alleging that he felt himself utterly unfit to govern others, and then the simple-minded monk went on to inform the Pope that in his Order there was a brother, ardently devoted to the poor, most learned; who understood how to rule, and filled with the fear of the Lord. Far better would it be that His Holiness should elect such a man."

The Pope, we are told, recognised the wisdom of the humble Friar's remarks, and acting on his advice, nominated Antoninus Archbishop of Florence. This illustrious member of the Dominican Order, famous alike for his learning and his sanctity, was canonised in the reign of Pope Adrian VI.

Possibly this story, told by Vasari, has but little foundation. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Fra Angelico was called to Rome in 1445, and took up his abode in the Convent of His Order, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. He had the happiness of enjoying the friendship of two of the greatest Pontiffs who ever sat in the Chair of Peter.

Eugenius IV., whose mission it was to restore discipline and heal the wounds which schism had inflicted on the Church, was a man of the most exalted virtue, and endowed with the rarest gifts. Noble by birth and possessed of great fortune, he might have aspired to earth's highest honours, but he fled from the world to a convent in Venice, having first distributed his fortune amongst the poor. When raised to the Pontifical Throne, he proved himself the devoted friend of the poor and an apostle full of zeal for God's Church.

Very touching is the account of the last hours of the great Pope. On Christmas Day, after celebrating Mass, he was seized with sudden illness, and at once announced to those around that his death was at hand. He summoned Saint Antoninus to his bedside, and received from him the last Sacraments. The Saint spoke at length to the dying Pontiff on the joys of Heaven into which he was about to enter. Just as the words with which the Church speeds the soul about to set forth on the journey to eternity, "Depart, O Christian Soul," were being pronounced the saintly Pontiff calmly expired.

The conclave summoned to elect his successor met in the Dominican Church of the Minerva, and thus it happened that our Angelic Painter was one of the first who rendered homage to the new Pope, the Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna, who was elected under the title of Nicholas V. This Pope was a most liberal patron of the fine arts, and did much towards beautifying Rome. His sincere affection for Fra Angelico lasted until the death of the latter, and it was he who wrote the epitaph engraved on the great Painter's tomb.

Amongst the fruits of Fra Angelico's labours during those last years passed in the Eternal City, were the mural decorations of two chapels in the Vatican. One, the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, was demolished in the reign of Paul III., to allow the erection of the staircase leading to the Sistine Chapel. The other chapel, known as the Chapel of Nicholas V., has fortunately been preserved. It is small and lighted by a window. On three sides are represented the scenes from the lives of St. Stephen the Martyr and Saint Laurence. These compositions are, even amongst the master's works, remarkable for the beauty of their design and the purity and brilliancy of their colouring.

In 1447, an appeal was made to the great Dominican artist, by the people of Orvieto, that he would decorate one of the chapels of their noble Cathedral, of which the first stone was laid in 1290.

The origin of the building of this Cathedral is very remarkable. A priest, who doubted of the Real Presence, was one day terrified while saying Mass, to behold the Corporal dyed with Blood. God had lifted the veil which hides His Divine Presence from our mortal eyes, and allowed the Precious Blood to flow visibly as on Calvary.

The people witnesses of this stupendous miracle, resolved to erect a shrine, magnificent as their greatest efforts could make it, for the reception of the Blood-stained Corporal. Thus it is that the vast Basilica of Orvieto, with all its marvels of painting and sculpture, its stained glass, and gorgeous gem-studded reliquary, is a people's act of faith in the Real Presence.

Fra Angelico accepted the invitation to Orvieto, and we find him during the months of June, July, and August, working at the decoration of one of the chapels in the Cathedral. The subject he had chosen was the Last Judgment, a subject which he had already treated with consummate skill. In September he returned to Rome, leaving his work unfinished. During these three months he painted Christ, surrounded by the Prophets, with Hell yawning beneath. In one hand the Divine Saviour holds a globe, emblematic of the world, whilst the other is raised in malediction against the damned. From this fragment we may form some idea of what the entire com-

position would have been if carried out. Nothing similar was ever attempted by the painters of the period, and those figures will remain to all times as models of religious painting.

Fra Angelico did not return to Orvieto, for what reasons we know not, although the people never ceased to hope for his return until that last moment, when "Envious Death dashed from him his brush," thus rendering hope impossible.

Amidst the magnificent tombs, which adorn the Church of the Minerva, may be seen in the sacristy a simple monumental stone on which is represented a Religious sleeping the sleep of the just. This stone marks the spot where rests Fra Angelico of Fiesole. He died on the 18th March, 1445, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. There is no record left to us of his last moments, but who can doubt but that this pure angelic soul passed in happy ecstasy to Heaven. There were no gloomy remorseful memories to rise from the past to disturb the peace of his last moments. From early youth Fra Angelico had been consecrated to God's service. The marvellous gift which God had bestowed upon him had never been used save for his Divine Master's Glory and the salvation of souls. May we not feel certain that when, according to the beautiful custom of their Order, his brethren gathered round his dying bed to chant the *Salve Regina*, the Queen of Heaven graciously hearkened to their prayer? She who had been the light, the sweetness of his life, whose sweet image he had never wearied reproducing, would she not now turn her loving eyes on her faithful client, and show unto him the Blessed Fruit of her womb? And, so surrounded by rejoicing angels, the pure soul of the Angelic Painter passed from earth.

The humble Dominican's death evoked universal regret. The Pope, as we have said, composed the epitaph for his tomb. The people, who revered him as a saint, bestowed upon him the title of *Il Beato*. The gentle Brother who, during his life shrank from earthly fame or glory, will live to all time in the hearts and on the lips of men, winning, by means of his heavenly creations, souls to the love of God; even the most worldly-minded, as they gaze on his immortal works, feeling their hearts strangely stirred with yearning after better things.

In the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, there is an exquisite Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, painted by Fra Angelico, for the Church of the Carthusians, near Florence. In this masterpiece are represented no less than forty angels, robed in garments of dazzling brightness, glittering with gold embroidery. Next to Our Divine Lord and His Immaculate Mother, Fra Angelico loved to paint the angelic inhabitants of Heaven. Never does his genius shine more transcendantly

than when thus employed. Those radiant figures full of celestial grace and beauty, breathing of Eternal youth, are indeed angels. We feel instinctively that those peerless forms are beings far removed from us. No wonder that Vasari should exclaim that the man who painted such must have first seen them in Heaven. In this picture Our Lord is represented bending over His Blessed Mother. His right hand is raised to insert one last gem in the radiant diadem with which she is already crowned. Besides, the rejoicing angels, we see a large number of the elect, amongst whom are St. Peter, St. Dominic, and St. Benedict on one side; on the other, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine, St. Stephen and St. Peter, Martyr. The harmony of the colouring in this work is perfect, and the beauty of the whole is indescribable.

Amongst the most precious of the treasures in the National Gallery, London, is a picture executed by Fra Angelico for the Dominican Church at Fiesole. The painting is divided into three compartments; in the centre Our Divine Saviour is represented ascending gloriously to Heaven, in His hand the victorious standard of the Resurrection; a multitude of adoring angels surround Him, and announce His victory to the whole world with the sound of trumpets and other musical instruments; in the two side compartments a great number of saints are seen, all sharing in the glory of the Redeemer's triumph over the powers of darkness. Celestial beauty and sweetness breathe from this inspired composition.

Truly do we feel as we gaze on these creations of his genius that the Divine Painter is not dead, but still lives and preaches to all men the Beauty of Holiness.

E. LEAHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

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#### WHEN DID ISRAEL GO OUT OF EGYPT?

WE have many decisive proofs of the existence of other nations in the remote ages of antiquity, as powerful as the Egyptians, and even more enlightened. Yet, of those nations, no vestige remains; their buildings, and other public works are totally effaced. The country which they cultivated and embellished, is, at present, a barren desert, destitute of every remain that might mark its ancient state, and inhabited, or rather ravaged, by wandering barbarians." Thus wrote Karsten Niebuhr in 1792.<sup>1</sup> Since then great changes have been operated in the world of historical investigation, floods of light have poured in upon us from the

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<sup>1</sup> Travels through Arabia.

East, and the deserts have surrendered many of their secrets. Long buried civilizations live again, and people of the most remote ages rise up from the mists of fable, assuming the shape of real and tangible history. The progress made, since Grotefend and Rawlinson began the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions is enormous. Egypt and Babylonia have both grown to be inexhaustible treasures to the archaeologist, and consequently, to the historian. It has become possible to reconstruct the history of the Land of the Nile, as well as that of the Euphrates valley. Not the least interest in the discoveries made is the light, direct or indirect, which has been cast upon our Sacred Writings, and we look forward with pleasure to the day, still remote, when out of the dead past, the sun will rise, to cast its brilliancy over points still obscure.

There are few questions so near to the heart of the Biblical student, and, perhaps, of the Egyptologist, as the date of the Exodus in Egyptian history. Strong authorities have placed this cardinal event of Israelite history in the reign of Merneptah, successor to the second Ramesses, and in favor of this opinion, many illustrious names might be cited. This belief, though quite common until recently, has not been without its adversaries. As early as 1840, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson regarded Thothmes III. of the XVIII Dynasty, as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.<sup>2</sup> Captain A. E. Haynes, R. E., writes that "it is possible to show, that the evidence daily accruing, points with peculiar and increasing persistency, to one period of Egyptian chronology, as the period in question, in preference to the other (the times of the XIX Dynasty)."<sup>3</sup>

The arguments in favor of the reign of Merneptah may be briefly summed up. In 1881, Maspero and Emil Brugsch discovered, among others the mummy of Ramesses II, in the rock-pit between the mounds of Shaikh Abd el Qurnah, and the Temple of Der-el-Bahri. This great conqueror of Western Asia had reigned in Egypt sixty-seven years. One of the store cities built for Pharaoh by the Israelites, bore the name of Rameses, or Ramesses (Exod. I, 11.). This fact appeared to be a sufficient reason to identify the great man who bore this name with the Pharaoh of the oppression, as no ruler is known to have borne it before the XIX Dynasty. The other city constructed by the Hebrews was Pithom. The site of this city has been identified by M. Nairlle, in the mound of Tel-el-Maskhuta, where bricks and inscriptions were found, showing that there had existed the city of Per-Tum, the city of Tum, or Tmu, the God of the Setting Sun. The name of Ramesses II. frequently recurring, led

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<sup>2</sup> The Ancient Egyptians. Vol. I., p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Quarterly Statement. Palestine Exploration Fund, 1896.



to the conclusion that the city was founded by him. The Egyptian name of the district in which Pithon, or Per-Tum, lay, was called Th'ukut which corresponds to the Soccoth of Exodus (XII, 37.) It is also remarkable that the walls which divided the compartments of the storehouses were found to be made of bricks without straw. "Therefore he commanded the same day the overseers of the works and the taskmasters of the people: you shall give straw no more to the people to make brick, as before, but let them go, and gather straw." (Exod. V. 6, 7.). Another argument may be drawn from the length of Ramesses' reign of sixty-seven years. He was ninety years of age, when he died. We know from the Bible, that the Pharaoh of the oppression had a long reign. "Now, after a long time, the King of Egypt died." (Exod. II. 23.).

If Ramesses II. was the Pharaoh of the Oppression, it has been inferred, that his son and successor, Merneptah, must be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The Book of Exodus leads us to believe that this Pharaoh was a man of weak and vacillating character. Whenever the plagues afflict him, and evils gather round him, he takes the place of a suppliant. No sooner, however, has the danger passed, than he hardens his heart, returning to his evil ways, and cruel persecution. From the monuments, we know comparatively little of Merneptah's life, and this alone places him in striking contrast with his great father, Ramesses, whose memory has remained crystalized in stone by the commemoration of his victories on the walls of the great temple of Karnak. In Merneptah's reign, Egypt was weakened and it no longer inspired the terror, connected with the name of Ramesses. An inscription on the temple of Ammon at Thebes allows us, moreover, to conjecture that Merneptah was regarded as pusillanimous. "Put away the dejected heart from thee," was the admonition given to him.<sup>4</sup> The funeral temple of Merneptah at Thebes was explored, in 1896, by Petrie, who discovered there a statue of the king, and an inscribed stele of his reign. The face bears the impress of softness and effeminacy, so different from the energetic features of Ramesses II. Upon the stele in question, mention is made of the Israelites. The inscription has thus been translated: "The Israelites (I-s-i-r-a-e-ru) are ruined (lost); their crops are destroyed."<sup>5</sup>

About 1899, Loret found in his tomb the mummy of Amenophis II. Here too, with others, was discovered that of Merneptah, son of Ramesses II. This fact does not, in reality, militate against the

<sup>4</sup> Light from the East. C. T. Ball.

<sup>5</sup> For other arguments in favor of Merneptah's being the Pharaoh of the Exodus, see "The Pharaoh of the Exodus and his son," by John A. Paine in the *Century Magazine*, September 1889, p. 708.

theory of his having been the Pharaoh of the Exodus; for it is not stated that Pharaoh himself was drowned with his army in the Red Sea, or, even if he had been drowned, his body would surely have been recovered, if possible. That the possibility existed, is evident from Exod. XIV, 31, where we are told, that the dead bodies might be seen upon the seashore, after the catastrophe. From the foregoing, we may conclude, that there are arguments in favor of the opinion of Merneptah being the Pharaoh of the Exodus, which are not to be despised. The strongest of these is the identification of the cities of Pithom, and the name of the city of Ramesses.

We may now turn our attention to tradition. One fact must be regarded as certain, and that is that the persecutors of the Hebrews belonged to a dynasty, different from that, under which Jacob had entered Egypt. The king "that knew not Joseph" was not likely to be of the family of the Pharaoh who had raised him to the most exalted position in the land. Josephus says that the persecutors of the Hebrews belonged to a family, distinct from that, under which Jacob and his children went to Egypt.<sup>6</sup> It has generally been believed that Joseph was sold into Egypt during the period, a very obscure period, of Hyksos domination. One of the Hyksos kings, according to Manetho, cited by Josephus, was Ianius.<sup>7</sup> The Arab list of Egyptian kings gives us, among the Amalekites who had conquered Egypt, Reijan, and an old Arab tradition, extant in Egypt makes Reijan, son of El Welid, the Pharaoh of Joseph. In 1888, Naville discovered the statue of Ian, the cartouche of whom styles him the "Son of Ra," and who, as an Arab said, had been known as the Pharaoh of Joseph.<sup>8</sup> This Reijan should, therefore, be identified with the Ianius of Manetho, the Ian-Ra of the discovery of Naville, and Khian, the best known king of the Hyksos.<sup>9</sup> The Arabs make Walid, grandson of Reijan, in the same dynasty, the Pharaoh of the Exodus.<sup>10</sup>

In Manetho's dynasties, as given by Africanus, we find Amosis the first king of the XVIII Dynasty. This agrees with the monuments, for which Aahmes is the first monarch of the same dynasty. According to Africanus, the Exodus occurred in the reign of this monarch. The Manetho lists in Eusebius place the same event under Chencherrres, several reigns later, but in the same dynasty. This Chencherrres must be the same as the one named in Africanus,

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<sup>6</sup> Antiquitates, Book II, IX. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Contra Apionem, bb. I, 14.

<sup>8</sup> The Bible and Modern Discoveries. Henry A. Harper, 1891.

<sup>9</sup> Breasted's "History of Egypt," p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> Sayce, "The Ancient Empires of the East," p. 282.

According to Georgios Syncellos, Joseph was in Egypt in the reign of Apophis, one of the Hyksite Kings.

Akherres, and by Eusebins, elsewhere Abhenkherres, Abencherres, Sayce identifies him with Amenhotep III. Tradition points, then, evidently to the fact that the Jews left Egypt under the dynasty that immediately followed the expulsion of the Hyksos, that is the eighteenth.

A word on this mysterious race may not be out of place here. We know from Exodus (XIV, 9.) that Paraoh's army contained many chariots and horses, and it is also known, that the horse was introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. It may not be impossible at some future day, to identify the Hyksos with the Hittites, that mysterious people that have left us their, thus far, undeciphered monuments. It is a remarkable fact, that the prominent God of the Vheta (Hittites) was Sutekh, and that the Hyksos, also honored Sutekh, the son of Nut, as the supreme god of their country.<sup>11</sup> It is, at least, not at all improbable that the leaders of the Hyksos were Hittite princes. Their features, as revealed by their scanty monuments, belong to a very peculiar and non-Semitic type.<sup>12</sup> The period of Hyksos domination is quite uncertain as to its duration, some extending it to more than 500, and others limiting it to less than 200 years. If there is a foundation in the traditions, to which we have referred, and we must look for the Exodus in the eighteenth dynasty, we should have to put that event, at the latest, about 1450 B. C. Allowing the full period of 430 years for the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, contrary to a current opinion among Biblical scholars and beginning that period with the entrance of Jacob into Egypt, we should find the Hyksos firmly established in the land in 1880 B. C. We should also conclude, that they had been there for a considerable period, for the rulers of Egypt, in Joseph's time were entirely Egyptian in manners, as well as in language. There are two ways of avoiding the chronological difficulties that would present themselves. One would be to limit the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt to little more than 200 years, as is generally done, or place the entrance of Joseph into Egypt in the XIIth Dynasty. The latter mode of procedure would be in contradiction with the tradition, that makes one of the Hyksos kings the Paraoh of Joseph. The former would be based upon very solid grounds, and it would harmonize better with Egyptian chronology, by allowing us to limit the period of Hyksos domination. On the other hand, it would render it very difficult to make Abraham a contemporary of Hammurabi, as some Assyriologists have done, and as the names of the kings in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis would incline us to do. The opinion

<sup>11</sup> Brugsch Broderick, *Egypt, etc.*, p. 108, 284.

<sup>12</sup> Sayce. *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 22.

giving 430 years to the Israelites in Egypt would agree better with the Hebrew text.

In Gen. XV, 13, God says to Abraham: "Know thou beforehand that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not their own, and that they shall bring them under bondage, and afflict them four hundred years." The four hundred years may either apply only to the words "shall be a stranger in a land," or they may have reference to "they shall bring them under bondage, and afflict them." In the latter hypothesis, we should infer, that the Hyksos were expelled, soon after the death of Joseph, when, the Israelites, foreigners as they were and friends of the hated Hyksos race fell under the ban of persecution. The four hundred years, it is clear, must be taken as a round number. At all events, the text gives no occasion to include as some have done, the whole of Jacob's life, and, also, the wandering in the desert, or, with others, to begin the 430 years, with the vocation of Abraham, unless we admit, that the Lord intended to begin the period with the covenant He was about to make, for which there does not appear to be sufficient ground from the text itself.

Further, in Exodus XII, 40, it is said: "And the abode of the children of Israel that they made in Egypt, was four hundred thirty years." The complete period of 430 years would afford more time to explain the great increase of the Hebrews who, as Loch and Reischl assume, numbered about three millions, when they left Egypt.

On the other hand, the opinion limiting the abode of Israel in Egypt appears to be more in accord with Hebrew tradition. The LXX interpreters may first be cited as an argument. In the Greek version we read: "The abode of the children of Israel that they abode, they *and their fathers*, in the land of Egypt and *Chanaan* was four hundred and thirty years."<sup>13</sup>

Jewish tradition, at the time of Josephus, when the LXX was extensively used, seems to favor the opinion there expressed, for the author of the "*Antiquitates*" makes the sojourn in Egypt 205 years. St. Paul also, might be cited in this sense. In Galatians III, 17, the Apostle would appear to make the 430 years begin with the covenant, established by God with Abraham.

If then we place the Exodus in 1450 B. C., 215 years earlier would bring us to 1665 B. C., more than a hundred years after the close of the XIIth Dynasty, and quite easily, within the period of the supremacy of the Hyksos princes who reigned in Egypt in the north, while, it is altogether probable the old native monarchs con-

<sup>13</sup> See Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments nach der Vulgata, by Dr. Wilhelm Reischl. *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, by Schouppe, vol. I., p. 147, A. Lapide, Exod. XII., 40.

tinued to rule in the south, at least during a portion of the time. One generation would have sufficed for the conquerors to adopt the language of the civilized inhabitants, of the land they had made their own, and thus Joseph might have found the Hyksos court at Tanis, to all intents and purposes thoroughly Egyptian.

Joseph himself had acquired the language of the country when his father arrived in Egypt (Gen. LXII, 23). The Hyksos kings had adopted the old title of Pharaoh, together with other Egyptian institutions, as well as the religion of their subjects. The old Egyptian god Ra was in honor among them, and the venerable priesthood of Heliopolis retained its prestige. It was in this Joseph married. "And he turned his name, and called him in the Egyptian tongue, the Saviour of the World. And he gave him to wife Aseneth, the daughter of Putiphare priest of Heliopolis." (Gen. XLI. 45). Aseneth was the mother of his two sons, Manasses and Ephraim.

The dignity of Joseph was, probably, that of chief minister, or vizier to the Pharaoh, a dignity entirely in accordance with Egyptian customs. We now return to the monuments. Thotmes, or Thutimes III. was the greatest king of the XVIII. dynasty; his reign lasted fifty four years, during which time, he established his sovereignty over the petty principalities of Canaan and Aram, and extended his dominions into Mesopotamia. The inscriptions on the temple of Karnak exhibit him as a great conqueror, and among the conquered peoples of Palestine in his reign, we find the names of Jacob-el and Joseph-el, a fact I will not undertake to explain. He employed foreign captives to build the temple of Ammon at Thebes, and a store house of the god Ammon in the same city was erected in his reign. The character of this king, and the length of his reign would lead us to compare him to Ramesses II.

Thotmes III, was succeeded by his son, Amenhotep II., whom Captain Haynes regards as the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Then followed Thotmes IV., Amenhotep III., and Amenhotep IV, Ikhnaton, or Khuen-Aten.

The relations between these two last sovereigns, and the land of Canaan are made clear to us by the Tel-el-Amarna letters, discovered in 1885. They show us the country in a state of unrest and disintegration, while Egyptian rule had been weakened and enemies were pressing hard on all sides, the Hittites from the north, and the Khabiri from the region of the desert. The Palestinian princes are earnest in their appeal to their Egyptian lord for assistance. If the Exodus belongs to the reign of Amenhotep II., we should look for the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt about this period.

At this juncture, it becomes necessary to invoke the aid of chronology. Egyptian, like Babylonian chronology, presents to the student numberless embarrassments, owing to the tremendous discrepancies among the savants. The day has not yet arrived, when we may speak with any degree of certainty regarding the time of events in the second millennium before Christ. *Ramesses II.* is generally located somewhere in the XIII. or XIV century.<sup>14</sup> Over and against this contradictory Egyptian chronology, we possess a most venerable time-reckoning which, in spite of what its critics, among Catholics and Protestants alike, may say, deserves, at least, as much credit as that based upon the uncertain statements found on Egyptian monuments, or Babylonian tablets. It is indeed, strange, that those who place such implicit faith in the monuments of antiquity should instinctively hesitate when there is question of a venerable compilation of documents which has commanded the respect of thousands of years. Although the Holy Scriptures were never intended to teach chronology, yet, beginning with the Exodus, there runs through the Bible a well defined and generally consequent system of dates, the sequence of which forces itself upon the mind of an attentive student. The true Jewish chronology, says Julius Oppert, begins with the Exodus.<sup>15</sup> Speaking of the Book of Kings, the same distinguished scholar writes that we are not permitted to thrust aside such an entirely historical chronology, for the sake of misunderstood cuneiform texts.<sup>16</sup>

Wherever, he adds, we find in the Book of Kings, an apparent contradiction of dates, we may be sure that there is a falsification of the text which has been long since acknowledged.

This discrepancy of texts has long been observed, nor did it escape the notice of St. Jerome. The difference between the reckoning of the kingdoms of Israel and Juda, may be explained, according to Father Cornely, by the falsification of texts, or it may be by possible interregna.<sup>17</sup>

In order to establish satisfactorily the date of the Exodus, it becomes necessary to fix with certainty some other event in Jewish

<sup>14</sup> I subjoin a few authorities: Hoka's Manuel, d'Histoire, de Genealogical de Chronologic—places him between 1406, 1340 B. C. Wilkinson puts him erroneously in the XVIII. Dynasty between 1355-1289. Pastor, The Early History of Syria and Palestine—following Lehmann and Steindorff, gives us the period 1347-1258, as that of the reign of *Ramesses*. Petrie gives the approximate date 1257 for *Ramesses II.* Breasted, in his "History of Egypt," one of the latest authorities, places *Ramesses II.*, between 1292 and 1225 B. C.

<sup>15</sup> La Chronologie de la Genese in the Revue des Etudes Juives, No. 31, 1895.

<sup>16</sup> Die Biblische Chronologie, festgeschellt nach den Assy. Keilschriften, in the Zeitschrift de, Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft. XXIII., 1869.

<sup>17</sup> Historica et Critica Introductio in V. T. libros sacros.

history, as a starting point. The one most convenient, and most central, is that connected with the erection of Solomon's temple. This date may be most conveniently settled by having recourse to the synchronism of Jewish and Profane history. Unfortunately, however, we do not find at this time any date upon which all agree within a period of fifty years. If, with what seems to be the common opinion, we accept the Assyrian Eponym Canon<sup>18</sup> as an unbroken succession, we lose fifty years and are carried forward that length of time toward the birth of Christ. If, on the other hand, we agree with the late Dr. Oppert, and admit an interruption of the canon, we gain the same length of time, and are carried away from the first year of the Christian era.

Looking around for an event from which we may proceed, two Assyrian monuments come to our assistance, one the black obelisk of Shalmaneser III., discovered at Nimrud, and now in the British Museum, the other the stele of the same monarch in the British Museum which was found at Kurkh. These monuments give us an account of the king's victories in Syria, and notably of the battle of Karkar, where Achab, king of Israel, was defeated. This victory occurred in the sixth year<sup>19</sup> of his reign, after the 14th of the month Lyar, about April or May. Twelve years later, as we read on a pavement slab from Calah, in the eighteenth year of his reign, Shalmaneser received tribute from Jehu, king of Israel. It appears from data in the Books of Kings, that the destruction of the house of Achab by Jehu took place about twelve years and a half after Achab's death. Hence we infer that the death of Achab and his defeat by Shalmaneser must have nearly coincided in point of time, and we are, consequently, justified in placing Achab's death in the sixth year of Shalmaneser's reign. This year coincided, as we learn from the monuments, with the Eponym year of Daian-Asshur. It is thus important that this year be located. A solar eclipse is recorded as having taken place in the Eponym Pur-ilu-Sagal-e, in the month Sivan. Can this eclipse be determined? Astronomical calculations have shown that there occurred a total eclipse at Nineveh on June 15th, 763 B. C. On the other hand, according to Oppert, there was a similar eclipse in Assyria on June 13, 809 B. C., and this he identifies with that of the Eponym year in question. Want of time and of sufficient data have not permitted me to verify the statement of Dr. Oppert, though it is by no means likely, that a man of his learning and reputation would have made it without sufficient ground.

<sup>18</sup> For this canon, and for the Assyrian Expedition lists, see Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. I., p. 323, and Schrader's "*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*," p. 299, 356.

<sup>19</sup> This account is supplementary to the history in Kings, and the battle of Karkar belongs before III Kings XXII.

The Eponym Pur-ilu-sa-gal-e is according to Oppert, in the series 91 years later than that of Daian-Asshur. To fix then the latter, we have to choose between the years 763, and 809 B. C. In the former hypothesis, we would have the year 854 B. C. for the battle of Karkar, and the death of Achab, and, according to the latter, the year 900 B. C. for the same event, giving us a difference of 46 years.

As some 80 years elapsed between the death of Achab and that of Solomon, the latter occurred either in 934, or 980 B. C. Solomon reigned 40 years, and the construction of the temple began in the fourth year of his reign, consequently in 971, or 1017 before Christ. Both dates differ but little from Challoner's computation, which places the finishing of the temple in A. M. 3000, B. C. 1000, and the death of Solomon in A. M. 3029, B. C. 971. We can then well afford to admit that the building of the temple took place approximately about 1000 B. C. An important question now is: how many years elapsed between the beginning of Solomon's temple and the Exodus? We have here four sources of information to guide us, first the statement of III Kings VI, 1., that the temple was begun in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel came out of Egypt, secondly the chronology of the Book of Judges, thirdly the generations of the sons of Levi, as we find them in I Paral. VI., and, finally, the genealogy of David in Ruth IV. 18. Can these be made to agree?

Taking first the generations of Paralipomenon, we find that beginning with Eleazar, the son of Aaron, and continuing to Azarias, the first highpriest in the temple, we have fourteen generations. Assuming the average of a generation to be thirty-five years, we reach the result of 490 years between the Exodus, and the building of the temple.

The genealogy in Ruth will cause greater difficulty. Counting from Nahasson who lived at the time of the Exodus to Jesse, the father of David, we have only five generations. The same average of a generation would give us only 175 years to the birth of David, plus 73 which elapsed from his birth to the building of the temple, and we would have only 248 years between the Exodus and that event. In order to reach the required figure, it becomes necessary to stretch the generations of the descendants of Juda to a period of eighty years. This would give us 473 between the Exodus and the temple. There are two things to be remarked here, first that the reckoning by generations is a most uncertain process, and, secondly, that it is by no means improbable that the ancestors of David were very old men, who added to the number of their family, even at an advanced period of life.



We now come to the chronology of the Book of Judges. Whatever opinions may exist concerning this very complicated period of Israel's history, it is certain that it is not in antagonism with the statement of the Book of Kings. One calculation gives us 543 years between the Exodus and the temple, an excess of some 63 years. We may admit with Father Cornely that some of the Judges were simultaneous, and that sixty years may possibly be eliminated. Hulskamp, cited by Rohrbacher,<sup>20</sup> makes an ingenious calculation which gives the exact number of years, 479.

Comparing these various data, we are led with Captain Haynes, to place explicit confidence in the statement of the Book of Kings, that 479 years elapsed between the Exodus, and the beginning of the temple. If we place the latter event approximately about 1000 B. C., we should look for the former about 1480 B. C.<sup>21</sup>

As it is impossible to put back so far the reign of Merneptah, we feel constrained to leave the XIX dynasty out of the question, and look else where for a solution of our difficulty. By assuming the year 971 to be the date of the beginning of the temple, taking 763, as the year of the Solar eclipse, we must place the Exodus in 1450 B. C. This would land us, according to the more recent authorities, in the last years of the reign of Thotmes III. His successor, Amenhotep II, began his reign in 1448 B. C. Allowing for errors of calculation which are quite in order for that remote period of time, it will be found that it is quite possible chronologically to make Thotmes III. Pharaoh of the oppression, and his son and successor, Amenhotep II, Pharaoh of the Exodus. The entrance into Canaan would then belong to the reign of Amenhotep III., and the period of confusion in Palestine, portrayed by the Amarna letters. This would agree well with tradition which places the Exodus in the eighteenth dynasty.

By letting the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt last 215 years, we should be carried back to the year 1665 B. C. Two hundred and ninety years back of that date, basing the figure on Biblical texts, would bring us to the birth of Abraham, which we would have to place in 1955 B. C., 37 years after the date accepted by Dr. Challoner, or 2008 A. M., 1992 B. C.

The question as to whether it is possible to bring the life of the Patriarch of the Hebrews into that of the Babylonian, Hammurabi cannot be treated here. Let it suffice to say, that the chronological figures of Genesis do not afford a basis for an accurate computation of time. Neither can we rely upon an uncertain Babylonian chron-

<sup>20</sup> *Histoire Ecclesiastique.*

<sup>21</sup> A Lapidé places the Exodus in 1496 B. C., and, therefore, the Temple in 1016 or 17.

ology. For that remote period, much is necessarily left to vague conjecture.

But what of the cities of Pithom and Ramesses? The difficulty vanishes when we reflect that there are other instances in Scripture of passages which could only have been inserted at a date posterior to the events narrated. Thus in Gen. XXXVI 31 the words: "Before the children of Israel had a king," must belong to a later epoch, unless we accept the interpretation of those who by "King" understand chief. In Gen. XII. 6, the writer says: "Now the Chanaanite was at that time in the land," as though he had ceased to be there, when the words were written. The name Hebron used in Gen. XIII, 18, and elsewhere, is a post-Mosaic name for Kiriath Arbe (Josue XIV, 15, XV, 13). The name Dan for Laish is post-Mosaic (Josue XIX, 47).

There is no doubt that Pithom and Ramesses bore the impress of the great conqueror of that name, but Naville's excavations have proved that Tel-el-Maskhuta occupies the site of the ancient Ero or Heroopolis, where Josephus says that Joseph met his aged father, on the latter's entrance into Egypt.<sup>22</sup> The name may have been changed to Per Tum at a later period.

In Genesis XLVII., 11, we read that Joseph gave a possession to his father and his brethren in Egypt, in the best place of the land, in Ramesses, as Pharaoh had commanded." In the days of Joseph, there was no Ramesses, hence the name is retrospective, and attributed to a site known thus, when the text was written, but which, in Joseph's day, bore another name. In the 13th century B. C., the central portion of the Eastern Delta was known as the land of Ramesses, owing to the great enterprises there of the monarch of that name.

It is not at all unlikely that the city which, at a later period bore the name of Ramesses was the ancient Zoan or Tanis.<sup>23</sup> Thus we have an answer to this difficulty.

In what manner can the Israel stele of Merneptah be explained, on which it is stated that "Israel is destroyed; their crops are ruined?" Very easily. It is a matter of Egyptian history, that in 1222 B. C. or thereabouts, Merneptah undertook a campaign into Palestine to quell a revolt. His father, Ramesses, had fought in Syria before him, waging fierce wars in the Hittite country, where the famous battle of Kadish was fought. Egyptian suzerainty had evidently not completely died away in Palestine, where the Israelites had now been established more than two hundred years, waging wars

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<sup>22</sup> Antiquitates I II., C. VII., 5.

<sup>23</sup> See Egypt under the Pharaohs, by Brugsch Bell.

against the Canaanites and the Philistines. There is a likelihood, that the Jews may have borne arms against Merneptah and that his victory over them may be the one recorded on his stele.

I may here add that the mummy of Thotmes III was found in 1881 in the same place as that of Ramesses II., and that of Amenhotep or Amenophis II. was discovered in 1898, together with Merneptah, son of Ramesses, so that whether we regard Ramesses or Thotmes as the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Amenhotep or Merneptah as of the Exodus, we may now, after the lapse of thousands of years, gaze upon their inanimate forms

As time goes on, and the land of Egypt reveals to us more and more of the past, the conclusions of to-day will, no doubt, be modified tomorrow but the world will, at least, have the satisfaction of drawing nearer to the truth.

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## PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

WHEN the troops of the French Republic invaded Savoy in September, 1792, and began the long series of campaigns which had such disastrous results for Italy, that country had enjoyed uninterrupted peace during forty-four years, since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which in 1748 had put an end to the contest caused by the disputed succession to the throne of Austria. Italy was, therefore, in a prosperous condition; the population of all the states had increased, and, together with that of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia amounted to about nineteen millions;<sup>1</sup> the taxes were generally light, especially in the States of the Church and in those of the Republic of Venice; in Lombardy, Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples, the abuses to which the feudal power of the nobles had given rise, had been suppressed. Agriculture and commerce had been much developed, especially in Lombardy where the government of the Empress Maria Theresa had also introduced many financial reforms;<sup>2</sup> the hindrances to trade caused by the ancient system of levying tolls in the interior of the various states had been almost universally abolished, and both Pius VI and Leopold of Tuscany had brought large tracts of land under cultivation by the drainage works which they had carried on. Unfortunately, as a

<sup>1</sup> Carlo Denina—*Delle Rivoluzioni d'Italia*, Milano. 1820. III., p. 632.

<sup>2</sup> Cesare Cantù—*Storia degli Italiani*, Torino. 1877. XII., p. 295.

result of the long peace and of the love of pleasure which prevailed among all classes, most of all among those who should have been the leaders of the people, the warlike spirit which had of old distinguished the Italians, had become much enfeebled, and instead of the 600,000 soldiers which Italy could easily have maintained, there were not towards the end of the 18th century, more than 80,000 men under arms; half of whom formed the army of Piedmont, the only Italian State where the taste for a military career still existed among the aristocracy.<sup>3</sup>

Judging by the description of the country given by travellers in Italy in the 18th century the peasantry seem to have been on the whole contented with the governments and this was still more the case under the rule of the Pope and of the Republic of Venice, than under that of the reforming princes and ministers who were guided by the doctrines of "*les Philosophers*," such as Leopold I in Tuscany and du Tillot in the Duchy of Parma.<sup>4</sup>

The writings of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau had long been circulated in Italy, mostly among the middle classes, and had produced, though in a much less degree, the same feeling of discontent, the same desire of overthrowing all existing institutions, and the same hostility to religion which had prepared the way for the French Revolution.<sup>5</sup> The spectacle indeed of the outrages which followed the taking of the Bastille, and still more the massacres in Paris and other cities soon opened the eyes of many of those who were looking forward to the advent of an era of universal

<sup>3</sup> Denina—p. 630.

<sup>4</sup> Roland de la Platrière—Lettres écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, de Sicile, et de Malte par M. . . . Avocat au Parlement, a Mme. . . . a Paris en 1776-1778, Amsterdam 1780. II., p. 211. "Il faut rendre cette justice aux employés des Etats du Pape, qu'ils sont moins intéressés, qu'ils tracassent et vexent moins les voyageurs, que ceux d'aucun lieu de l'Italie et de la France." Idem IV., p. 412. (On arriving in the Papal States from Naples, 6th February, 1777.) "A resumer mes idées, d'après les examens que j'ai été à portée de faire et toutes les informations que j'ai pu prendre jusqu'ici, je trouve que le Gouvernement de l'Eglise, est un des plus doux, et que partout on l'influence de l'air n'est pas contraire aux hommes, ils sont en aussi grand nombre, aussi vigoureux, aussi actifs qu'aucuns Transapennins, et beaucoup plus que dans plusieurs parties du Royaume de Naples."

Idem II., p. 18, (At Parma.) "Les impôts sont excessifs, le dépense excède le revenu; la perception se fait avec rigueur, avec avidité, tout le monde y paraît aigre et nécessaireux."

Idem p. 116. (At Florence.) "On voit, dit-on, un despotisme réel, bien établi, et le but unique est de tirer beaucoup d'argent."

<sup>5</sup> Roland de la Platrière—II., p. 116. (At Florence.) "On y est fou de Voltaire on devore Jean Jacques Rousseau. . . . on fait de sciences et d'arts, on s'accorde à mettre la France au dessus de tout."

Idem II., p. 355. (At Palermo.) "Cependant la littérature Française perce ici . . . nos livres de philosophie surtout s'y répandent bien plus qu'on ne l'imagine. Les éditions qu'on a faites de l'Encyclopédie à Lucques et à Livourne, ont fourni à toute l'Italie, et en la Palerme."

Idem II., p. 408. (At Girgenti.) "On trouve chez eux (les habitants de Girgenti) l'Encyclopédie, édition de Lucques avec son plat commentaire."

liberty and equality, and their belief in the Utopias they had constructed was rudely shaken, but it was then too late to prepare to offer any resistance to a hostile invasion. The sovereigns of Europe had, however, begun to be alarmed by the anarchy which prevailed in France and by the diffusion of revolutionary ideas among their subjects; but, though they willingly gave an asylum in their states to the royalists who fled from France, they were restrained by their mutual jealousies from undertaking an armed intervention for the rescue of Louis XVI and the restoration of order, and they sought to obtain their objects merely by diplomatic methods.<sup>6</sup> The National Assembly soon obliged them to interfere more actively in the affairs of France, for along with the property of the French Church it confiscated the lands belonging to the Order of Malta, and to some of the Ecclesiastical Electors of Germany, and it annexed Avignon and the Comtor Venaissin which had been held by the Holy See since four centuries. This was not the only outrage offered to the Sovereign Pontiff; for, when the Brief of April 13th, 1791, by which Pius VI. formally condemned the *Constitution Civile*, and the members of the clergy who had taken the oath which it exacted, had become known, an effigy of the Holy Father clothed in Pontifical robes and wearing the tiara, was carried through the streets of Paris and burned in the garden of the Palais Royal; (May 4th, 1791), and as Mgr. Dugnani, the Papal Nuncio was unable to obtain any satisfaction or apology for this insult, he retired from his post, and the Holy See remained without a representative in France.

The flight of Louis XVI from Paris, his arrest at Varennes and the decree of the National Assembly surrendering him from the exercise of his regal functions, at last impelled the Emperor Leopold to seek to bring about some decided action on the part of Europe in defence of the unfortunate monarch. He therefore addressed a circular from Padua to the other sovereigns, inviting their co-operation in checking the excesses of the Revolution, and on August 27th, 1791, a conference took place at Pillnitz in Saxony between him and Frederic William II, the King of Prussia, but which had no other result than the expression of a hope that all the Powers would combine to take the most efficacious steps in proportion to their strength to enable the King of France to establish a monarchical government which should both acknowledge his rights, and be advantageous to his subjects; but no formal coalition was entered into.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Amedee Gabourd—*Histoire de la Revolution et de l'Empire*, Paris. 1848-51, I., p. 418.

<sup>7</sup> Comte d' Allonville—*Memoires tires des Papiers d'un Homme d'Etat*, Paris. 1821, I., p. 144.

On the acceptance by Louis XVI on September 13th of the Constitution drawn up by the Assembly the European powers suspended their preparations for war as they hoped that, at last, order was about to be restored in France. A further delay was caused by the sudden death (which has been ascribed to poison)<sup>8</sup> of the Emperor Leopold on March 1st, 1792, and the assassination on the 16th of the same month of Gustavus III, King of Sweden, who had long been anxious to take up arms against the rebellious French, and who had declared himself ready to land his troops at Ostend, if England would but support him with 12,000 Hanoverians.<sup>9</sup> But if the Powers in their negotiations, offered to desist from their warlike projects on condition that the monarchy should be re-established as it was in 1789; that Avignon should be restored to the Pope and the property of the French Church and of the German Electors given back; a part, at least, of the Assembly was anxious for a war, as it seemed the most efficacious means of imposing their ideas on the other nations. The strongest advocates of this method of spreading principles of the Revolution and therefore those who were really responsible for the war were the Girondins or Moderates,<sup>10</sup> who still consented to acknowledge a monarchical form of government, while the Jacobins, who were already ardent republicans, dreaded the popularity which a successful war might confer on the King and his Constitutional Ministry, and would have preferred to wait until their own party had obtained the supremacy.<sup>11</sup> As the Girondins then formed the majority in the Assembly, Louis XVI had been obliged to select his Ministers from among them and on April 20th, 1792, acting on the advice of General Dumouriez the Minister for foreign affairs he declared war against Austria.

With regard to the campaign which ensued on the northern and eastern frontiers of France against the armies of the Emperor of Austria and of the King of Prussia, it will be enough to remark that much of the ill-success of the Allies has been ascribed to the intrigues of the *Illuminati*, the members of the secret society founded by Weishaupt and affiliated to the Freemasons and Jacobins, who on many occasions rendered important services to the Revolutionary generals by causing the speedy surrender of fortresses which could otherwise have offered a prolonged resistance. The same secret

<sup>8</sup> Idem I., 157.

<sup>9</sup> Nicomede Bianchi. Storia della Monarchia Piemontese dal 1773 sino al 1861, Torino. 1877, I., p. 651.

<sup>10</sup> Gabourd—II., p. 133.

<sup>11</sup> d'Allonville—op. cit. I., p. 276. "Les emigres surtout deplorent la mort du roi de Suede. . . . La plupart attribuaient a la *propagande* la premiere idee du complot sous lequel venait de succomber ce prince. 'Le coup est parti de France, s'ecriaient ils, et les regicides preparent bien d'autres forfaits.'"

organizations had also been at work in Italy, and Victor Amedeus III (1726-1796), king of Piedmont was well aware of the agitation which was being excited in his states, especially in Savoy by the emissaries of the association known as the *Club de la Propagande*.<sup>12</sup> In October, 1791 he tried to induce the other Italian States to form a league for the purpose of hindering the diffusion of revolutionary principles and of rendering each other mutual assistance in the case of disturbances among their subjects, pointing out to them at the same time that Piedmont was their only protection against an inundation which threatened to devastate every part of the Peninsula.<sup>13</sup> The King's proposal met with no success, for the Italian princes dreaded the projects of aggrandisement which the House of Savoy was known to entertain, and the Republic of Venice declared that it would observe an absolute neutrality.

As the Girondins had no desire to plunge France into a war with all Europe, they sought to detach Victor Amedeus from the coalition and be at least assured that he would remain neutral; the French resident at Genoa, M. de Semonville was therefore instructed to proceed to Turin and to offer the King the Austrian possessions in Lombardy, which the rulers of Piedmont had long coveted, in exchange for Nice and Savoy, which would give France the Alps for a frontier. But as de Semonville was known to have Jacobin principles, and was accused of circulating seditious pamphlets throughout Italy to excite the people to rise against their sovereigns, Victor Amedeus ordered him to be arrested and expelled from Piedmont; (April, 1792) and when Dumouriez offered to send him a more acceptable envoy, he refused to negotiate "with a Government founded on the sands and while France was on the brink of a precipice."<sup>14</sup> And yet the King could not find out what were the exact terms of the agreement between Austria and Prussia; he did not know what conditions might be demanded from him in return for the assistance which might be given him or even if he could reckon on any. He was so sure however of his army that he declared himself to be ready to invade France and conquer Dauphine, if the Emperor would give him 15,000 men; but Prince von Kaunitz told

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<sup>12</sup> *Le Club de la Propagande* was a club founded about 1786 by Condorcet and Sieyes with freemasons of the highest order. By the subscriptions of its members it owned before the end of 1791 30,000,000 of livres (£1,200,000). Its object was to spread atheism throughout the world, and to excite the people everywhere against their governments.

L'Abbe Barruel. *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme*. London, 1797-98. Vol. II., p. 434.

<sup>13</sup> Abate Cristophoro Tentori—Raccolta cronologico—ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della repubblica di Venezia. August, 1799. P. 33.

<sup>14</sup> Bianchi—I. 662.

his ambassador at Vienna, that an alliance with Piedmont was not of much importance to Austria, as it was known that the King would make no alliance with France, and the Austrian troops sufficed to defend Lombardy. After repeated requests Victor Amedeus was at last promised the aid of 10,000 men, on condition that he should undertake to feed them; but, as he still refused to negotiate with France and to offer any reparation for the expulsion of de Semonville, Savoy was suddenly invaded by General de Montesquiours who crossed the frontier on the night of September 21st and occupied Chambery without resistance on the part of the Piedmontese troops, (for, though the men were brave, they were commanded by aged and incapable officers,) while Nice was seized by General Anslin. The Jacobins of Savoy were soon organized by emissaries from the Paris Commune, and a National Assembly of deputies from its 658 municipalities was convoked at Chambery, which confiscated the property of the Church, swept away all the ancient institutions of the country and declared for annexation to France. A decree of the Convention ratified this proposal on November 27th, 1792 giving to Savoy the name of *Département du Mont Blanc*; and on January 31st, 1793, the territory of Nice was also united as the *Département des Alpes Maritimes*.<sup>15</sup>

Four commissioners among whom was the victorious Gregoire, the constitutional bishop of Eure-et-Loir, were sent to introduce the institutions of the French Republic into Savoy. They immediately expelled the bishops; suppressed the religious communities, and proclaimed *la Constitution Civile du Clerge*, substituting, however, for its original oath, that more recently adopted, "to maintain liberty and equality," but which had also been condemned by the Sovereign Pontiff, for it implied the acceptance of the preceeding decrees which had been rejected by the Holy See. As had been the case in France, the great majority of the clergy refused to take the oath, and were either imprisoned or had to seek safety in flight; while the people remained firmly attached to their faith, though the churches and all they contained were seized, the bells carried off and melted down, and the steeples demolished under the government of Albitte who succeeded Gregoire in the administration of the department. This representative of the Convention persecuted not only the Catholic Clergy, but even those priests who had accepted the *Constitution Civile* and taken the oath, and many of them were driven by the terror which he inspired, to sign a declaration by which they openly apostatised and renounced their sacerdotal character.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Gabourd—III., p. 160.

<sup>16</sup> Ludovic Sciout—*Histoire de la Constitution du Clerge*, Paris 1872-1881. IV., p. 63.



As soon as Freemasonry had been introduced into Italy, the vigilance of the Sovereign Pontiffs had detected the power for evil which it derived from the secrecy in which it enveloped its proceedings, and the dangers with which it menaced both the church and the state in spite of its protestations of philanthropy and benevolence. It was therefore condemned in 1738 by Clement XII and forbidden under pain of excommunication, a sentence which was renewed in 1751 by Benedict XIV. Notwithstanding these prohibitions, a lodge bearing the name of "*Gli Amici Sinceri*" was opened in Rome in 1787 by an American, a Pole, and five Frenchmen, which received its instructions and watchwords from the *Grand Orient* of Paris, and was in correspondence with lodges in Milan, Naples, Lyons, Malta and other towns.

The celebrated Sicilian swindler and imposter Giuseppe Balsamo who, under the name of Count Cagliostro, had for many years, successfully traded on the credulity of all classes in various countries and who had been admitted into the society in London in 1777, joined this lodge on his arrival in Rome; and founded another in the Villa Malta on the Pincian Hill, according to the Egyptian rite of which he was the originator. He seems to have acquired some adherents among the higher classes, but at the end of December, 1789 he was arrested and condemned to be imprisoned for life in the fortress of San Leo where he died in 1795. But though the lodge was suppressed, and some of its members driven from Rome, it had left traces of its influence like those which had been established in other Italian cities, where they had served to organise the disaffected and prepare them to be ready to take the lead if they found a favourable opportunity.

Since the year 1769, France had been represented in Rome by Cardinal Francois Joachim de Pierre de Bernis, but when the *Assemblée Nationale* enacted from all functionaries the *serment civique*<sup>17</sup> by which they swore fidelity to the new Constitution and thereby accepted all the measures about to be decreed against the Church, he refused to take the oath, and resigned his post as French Ambassador on March 16, 1791. As the Comte Louis Phillipe de Segur who was named as his successor, had taken his oath,<sup>18</sup> the Holy Father refused to receive him, and France was thenceforth un-

<sup>17</sup> The *serment civique* was decreed by the *Assemblée Nationale* on February 4th, 1790. It was: "Je jure d'être fidele a la nation, a la loi et au roi, et de maintenir de tou mon pouvoir la Constitution decretee par l'Assemblée Nationale et acceptee par le Roi." Every public functionary was obliged to take it.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph du Tiel—Rome, Naples et le Directoire. *Armistices et Traites*, Paris, 1902, p. 4.

represented in Rome, save by the Cardinal's secretary, Alphonse Timothee Bernard.<sup>19</sup>

The French plenipotentiary at Naples was Armand Louis, Baron de Mackau,<sup>20</sup> who had been appointed by Dumouriez in April, 1792; when the Republic was proclaimed on September 22, King Ferdinand resolved to break off all diplomatic relations with France and requested him to leave, but before he took his departure, the arrival in the Bay of Naples of a French squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Latouche-Treville and the threat of a bombardment obliged the King to acknowledge the Republic and accept the Baron as its envoy. By the order of Lebrun, the minister of Foreign Affairs, de Mackau had sent to Rome in November his secretary Hugon de Bassville, not in any official capacity, but rather as a spy, to obtain information with regard to the plans of the Papal Government, and the state of its fortresses, especially Civita Vecchia. On his arrival in Rome, Bassville took up the position of protector of the turbulent French residents in Rome, mostly artists or tradesmen, who were well known to be ardent partisans of the Revolution and engaged in spreading its principles, and were therefore suspected by the Papal Government and held in detestation by the people. Though without other credentials than a letter of introduction from M. de Machan to Cardinal Zelada, the Secretary of State, and without intellectual gifts or diplomatic experience, he terrorised by his overbearing insolence the Papal Court, which was aware of its weakness, and knew that Admiral Truguet's fleet was coming off the coast of Italy; though it could not have learned as yet that its commander had been instructed by the Convention "to chastise the Pope and the Sacred College, and teach them the respect due to the French Republic." This dictatorial conduct on the part of Bassville produced intense irritation among all classes in Rome, and the bitter satires circulated against the French contributed to influence still more the anger of the people; but the disaster which overtook Admiral Latouche's fleet which, shortly after leaving Naples, was scattered by a violent storm and lost many vessels, relieved the anxiety experienced by the Papal Government and Bassville's influence declined. De Mackau still hoped to bring about some revolutionary manifestation in Rome against the Sovereign Pontiff, though nothing in the relations of the Roman people with its rulers denoted any seditious tendencies

<sup>19</sup> L. Vicchi. *Les Français à Rome pendant la Convention (1792-1795)*. Roma, 1892.

<sup>20</sup> His family, originally Mac Hau, emigrated from Galway in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to Warem in the Diocese of Liege (Belgium) and thence to Strasburg in 1675, and got the title of Barons of the Holy Roman Empire in 1608. Armand Louis Mackau served in the French army, then entered the diplomatic service, and was named by Dumouriez plenipotentiary at Naples, in 1792. (Masson p. 26.)

on their part, and to carry out his plans sent to Rome on December 20, one of Latouche's officers, Jean Charles de Flotte, a man of noble family, but an enthusiastic republican, with a circular which Mougé the minister of Marine had sent to all the French Consuls, ordering them to remove the scutcheons bearing the *fleurs-de-lis* of the Bourbons from all buildings belonging to France, and to replace them by the emblem of the Republic; the figure of Liberty wearing the Phrygian cap; provided that in so doing they met with no opposition.

Cardinal Zelada offered no objection to this order and the large stone scutcheon with the fleurs-de-lis over the door of the French Academy,<sup>21</sup> as well as that over the French Consulate were removed during the night of January 1st, 1793; but the Bourbon arms were still allowed to remain over the Churches belonging to France and over the French Embassy, where the Cardinal de Bernis still continued to reside though he was no longer ambassador. They were not, however, replaced by the image of the goddess of Liberty for M. Digne, the French Consul, would not allow it without the permission of the Pope, which the Holy Father refused to give, as his own arms had been torn down from the Papal Consulate at Marseilles in the month of August, dragged through the streets and burned. Bassville and de Flotte still continued their seditious manifestations; they appeared everywhere, even at the Vatican, wearing the tricolour cockade, and, together with the French students, they pulled down the statue of Louis XIV from its pedestal in the Courtyard of the Academy, and crowned with laurels a bust of Brutus which stood in their dining room. The Roman people deeply resented this conduct; there was a general feeling that a sudden outbreak of popular indignation might take place at any moment, and by Bassville's advice, most of the students left for Naples, where de Flotte had gone to bring to de Mackau a memorandum from Cardinal Zelada recapitulating the many insults which had been offered to the Holy See by France, and finally refusing permission to raise the emblem of the Republic.

De Flotte returned to Rome on January 12th, with de Mackau's orders to place the arms of the Republic over the doors of the Academy and of the Consulate within twenty-four hours; but M. Digne declined to obey him unless he were authorized to do so by

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<sup>21</sup> The French Academy in Rome was founded by Colbert under Louis XIV., in 1666, and occupied the Palazzo Mancini (now Salviati) on the Corso from 1725 until 1803, when it was removed to the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill.

In 1792 there were in Rome about 100 French artists and men of letters, besides workmen and shopkeepers. (Masson, p. 20.)

The French Embassy was then in the Palazzo de Carolis, opposite the Church of San Marcello in the Corso (Vicchi, p. 22.)

the Papal Government. On the same day Cardinal Zelada gave an audience to Bassville and de Flotte, and though the latter threatened him in the most violent language that, if he hindered the raising of the new scutcheon, a war might ensue which would result in the humiliation of Rome, he still refused to yield, and warned de Flotte to beware of taking any steps which might increase the irritation of the people. But this warning produced no effect on the two enthusiasts for they left the Vatican fully resolved to raise the arms at least over the French Consulate.

The following day, January 13th, was a Sunday; about three o'clock in the afternoon, at a time when the Corso is usually thronged Bassville and de Flotte together with Bassville's wife and child, and his secretary, drove along it in an open carriage wearing tricolour cockades in their hats as had the coachman and the two footmen. As they approached the Piazza Colonna the people closed round them, hooting and insulting them and became at last so menacing that the coachman turning his horses drove rapidly down a side street to the Palazzo Palombard in the Via dell' Impresa, the residence of the French Consul Etienne Moutte with whom Bassville was lodging. The crowd pursued him thither, smashed the windows of the palace with showers of stones, broke open the doors and rushed through the apartments seeking him; and before a patrol of soldiers which was in the neighborhood could come to his assistance, Bassville was mortally wounded, while de Flotte escaped through a window. Bassville was then carried by the soldiers to a guard-room in the Via Frattina where he died on the following day and the Papal Government assisted his family and de Flotte to leave Rome where their lives were not in safety, and return to Naples. The populace then sacked the French Academy and many French shops; it was restrained with difficulty from burning down the Ghetto, as the Jews were believed to be partisans of the Revolution and it was only by employing strong patrols and by sending missionaries to preach in the more disturbed quarters that order was again restored in Rome.

The minister of Foreign Affairs, Labrun, while still unaware of Bassville's death, had written to him to order him to return to his post at Naples, and to inform him that the Executive Council was about to send a representative who would treat with the Court of Rome; observing at the same time, that as the Pope had not recognised the Republic, the attempt to substitute so hastily its emblem for the ancient arms of France must have seemed strange to him. It was, in fact, a reprimand to Bassville and an intimation that his post was not at Rome but at Naples. When, however, the fatal

news was received in Paris on February 1st, the Executive Council in its report to the Convention declared that Bassville was invested with an official character and was the victim of a people led astray by the fanatical suggestions of its Government, and the Convention, without making any inquiry into the matter, decreed that the murder of Bassville, who was described as the *charge d'affaires* of the French Republic in Rome, should be promptly and terribly avenged.

In consequence of this decree M. Francois Cacault, the new envoy to the Sovereign Pontiff, was directed to request General Biron who commanded the troop at Nice to prepare an expedition against Rome; but the project could not be carried out, for Biron's army could hardly maintain its positions in front of the Piedmontese, and the finances of the Republic were not in a sufficiently flourishing condition to allow it to engage in a distant campaign. Cacault therefore, came on to Florence, and finding that the Papal Court still declined to receive a representative of the Republic, he remained there to watch the course of events; which Mackau, acting on his own responsibility, tried to induce the Neapolitan Government by the offer of a portion of the Papal States, to take up the cause of the Republic. This proposal was rejected; for the Court replied that public opinion would not allow any hostile measures to be adopted against the Holy Father; it broke off all relations with the envoy after the execution of Louis XVI, and on September 1st ordered him to leave Naples within eight days.

The wars in which the French Republic was engaged during the three following years on all its frontiers against the armies of Prussia, Austria and Piedmont, and in the interior against the royalists in la Vendee, hindered the Convention from carrying out the projects of vengeance it had formed against Rome; its armies, indeed, made but slow progress in Piedmont, where no decisive results were achieved on either side; but the influence of the Revolution gradually penetrated into the Kingdom and gave rise to conspiracies which gradually prepared the way for the eventual downfall of the monarchy. The arrival of General Bonaparte on March 26th, 1795, to take the command of the army of Italy, was followed by a rapid succession of brilliant victories over the Piedmontese and Austrians; until Piedmont was obliged to demand an armistice at Cherasco on April 26th, and by the treaty of peace signed on May 15th to place all its fortresses in the hands of the French. It must however be observed that this success was tarnished by the merciless plundering of the villages and the ill-treatment of the peasantry along the line of march of the Republican army and that in many

cases its operations were much facilitated by Piedmontese traitors in the pay of the Directory.<sup>22</sup>

After the occupation of Milan, the Directory wishing to execute the plans of the Convention against Rome and always seeking an opportunity of inflicting some injury on the Church, ordered Bonaparte to march with half his troops against Rome and Naples, leaving the other half under the command of General Kellermann to follow the Austrian army; but Bonaparte refused to undertake a distant expedition before the Austrians were completely driven from Italy and he even offered to send in his resignation, which the Directory, though they feared and mistrusted him, did not dare to accept as they dreaded the outcry which the disgrace of so successful a leader would have excited throughout France. Although therefore not in any immediate danger, Pius VI thought it prudent to come to terms with the conqueror, for the Dukes of Parma and Modena who had not taken any part in the war, had just been obliged to purchase an armistice by the sacrifice of several millions, and the King of Naples, who had indeed sent troops and vessels to help the English at the siege of Toulon, and who had still 2000 cavalry serving with the Austrian army, was preparing to withdraw from the alliance. So by a secret article in the treaty concluded between France and Spain<sup>23</sup> in the preceding year (23d July, 1795) it had been stipulated that in case any negotiation took place between the Pope and the French Republic, Spain would be allowed to mediate; the Holy Father requested Don Jose Nicolas d'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, to accompany his envoy the Marchese Gnudi for that purpose to Milan, where they arrived on May 28th.

The surrounding country was already in a state of revolt; there

<sup>22</sup> Memoires de l'Adjutant-General Jean Andrieux, chef d'Etat-major de la Cavalerie de l'Armee d'Italie, charge du bureau secret (1795-1797) Paris, 1893, I., p. 8. "Lorsque l'invasion de Ventose et Germinal de l'an IV. (March and April, 1796) commença, les esprits se trouverent disposes de telle sorte qu'il fut tres facile d'y trouver des traitres, au point que tout autre general, meme tres mediocre, y fut entre (en Italie) presque sans resistance."

P. 21. "Quantite d'individus parmi lesquels on comptait meme de tres honnetes gens . . . favorisaient en secret les nouvelles doctrines. . . . On dut meme a quelques uns de ces innocents de bons details sur quantite de sentiers inconnus ou il semblait que la chose seule fut passer. Ils en donnerent sur les positions diverses de l'ennemi, sur ses forces, sur ses desseins et sur ce que valaient les generaux qui nous etaient opposes. Ils ne furent pas meme etrangers aux marches faits avec quelques traitres qui liverent les principaux defiles."

<sup>23</sup> The recent discovery among the archives of the Vatican by the Vicomte de Richemont of Mgr. Caleppi's minutes and notes which had been considered as lost, has enabled him to publish in "*Le Correspondant*," of September 10, 1897, an interesting account of the negotiations in Milan, Bologna, Paris, Florence and Tolentino, by means of which the Papal government, though weak and friendless, was able to ward off for nine months the attacks of the Directory and its victorious general.

had been riots against the French at Milan, and the people of Pavia, irritated by the exactions of the invaders, who had been enthusiastically greeted on their arrival by the local Jacobins, who had at once planted a tree of liberty and formed a club, had risen on the morning of the 23d to the cry of "*Viva l'Imperatore*"<sup>24</sup> and forced the small French garrison which held the Castle to surrender. The peasantry of the environs had also taken arms, but the rising was speedily suppressed by Bonaparte who ordered the town to be plundered for several hours as well as the neighboring village of Bignasco, half of which was reduced to ashes. At Milan, in consequence of the disturbances eighty of the principal citizens had been arrested and carried away as hostages and the representatives of Pius VI saw the sacred vessels which had been taken from the churches of Pavia and Bignasco being sold in the streets.<sup>25</sup>

The Directory expected to find immense treasures in Rome, and when d'Azara began to negotiate with Soliceti and Garran, the commissioners of the Republic, they demanded the payment of a war tax of 50,000,000 of francs which the Envoy rejected as absurd, and offered ten millions; a proposal which required to be referred to the Directory. The answer did not arrive till a fortnight later, when Bonaparte invited the envoys to meet him at Bologna, which General Augereau had seized on June 19th without declaration of war. The Papal soldiers had offered no resistance, for Pius VI, who knew that the small detachments of troops stationed in the Legations could not stop the march of the Republicans, had given orders that the French should be received peaceably, but that the authorities should make a protest against the occupation.<sup>26</sup> Ferrara, Faenza, Imola and Ravenna were also taken by the French and the Papal Legates expelled; but though the middle classes in the large cities who were already gained over to the cause of the Revolution, hastened to manifest their hostility to the Papal Government, and the Senate of Bologna swore fidelity to the French Republic, the peasantry and the inhabitants of the small towns remained faithful to the Holy See. This was shown at Lugo not far from Ravenna;<sup>27</sup> where the people, irritated at seeing the reliquary of S. Ilara, the patron of the town, and the jewels which ornamented an image of the Blessed Virgin, carried away by the Commissioners charged with the collection of the war tax imposed by the French, rose in arms and called the peasantry from the surrounding villages to

<sup>24</sup> Silo Manfredi—*L'Insurrezione e il sacco di Pavia nel Maggio, 1796*. Pavia, 1900.

<sup>25</sup> De Richmont in *le Correspondant*, September 10, 1897, p. 804.

<sup>26</sup> Giov. Batt. Tavanti—*Fasti del S. P. Pio VI.*, 1804, III., p. 279.

<sup>27</sup> Giov. Fr. Rambelli—*Cenno storico del moto e saccheggioamento chi Lugo nel, 1796*, Bologna, 1834.

their help. They expelled two attacks of the French, but a third commanded by Augereau and supported by artillery overcame their resistance and after long and desperate fighting, the town was taken and plundered and the leaders of the insurrection shot.

When the negotiations began at Bologna, Bonaparte sought to intimidate the Papal envoys by the insolence of his demeanor, though he knew that while the Austrians were still in Italy, he could not venture to advance upon Rome, especially at that season of the year, when, as he wrote to the Directory, each day's march would have put 200 men on the sick list. Azara, indeed, soon contrived to elicit this fact from Saliceti and Garran, to Bonaparte's indignation, and he has been accused of not having made sufficient use of it to obtain less onerous conditions for the Holy See.<sup>28</sup> The armistice was signed on June 23rd, 1796 and by it the Sovereign Pontiff was obliged to pay to the French Republic 21,000,000 of livres tournois;<sup>29</sup> 15,500,000 in gold and silver, and 5,500,000 in provisions, merchandise, etc., and to give up 500 manuscripts from the Vatican library, as well as 100 works of art, among which should be the busts of Junius Brutus, and Marcus Brutus. A plenipotentiary was to be sent to Paris for the conclusion of a definite peace, and in the meanwhile the French troops were to occupy the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara, as well as the citadel of Ancona, but the town might still remain under the Papal authorities. All persons imprisoned for political offences were to be released; the ports of the Papal States were to be closed to the ships of the powers at war with France; and three hundred thousand francs were to be paid to the family of Bassville and to the persons who had suffered any loss by the riot in which he had lost his life.

Independently of the millions by which the Sovereign Pontiff was forced to purchase peace, enormous sums were raised in the Legation, where the cash in the public treasuries and the pledges in the *Monts-de-Piete* were seized and heavy contributions of corn and cattle imposed for the support of the army. The generals too, the army contractors, and the agents charged with the collection of the war taxes, plundered on their own account both the conquered people and their own government; amassing thereby colossal fortunes while the troops were starving and in rags, and though Bonaparte's efforts to put a stop to this disgraceful speculation were sincere, for he saw the odium and the contempt it was bringing on the French nation, and the dangerous animosity it was exciting among the Italian people, his protests and his chastisements were of no avail.

<sup>28</sup> Sciout—Le Directoire, Paris, 1897, I., p. 668.

<sup>29</sup> The value of the *livre tournois* in modern French Currency is 0.987 fcs.



The envoy sent to Paris to conclude a treaty of peace was the Abate Pieracchi, who, to satisfy the prejudices of the Directory, was obliged to lay aside the title and the dress of an ecclesiastic and travel as a layman. He was instructed to call attention to the fact that no satisfaction had as yet been made for the insults offered to the Sovereign Pontiff, for the invasion of his States and the annexation of Avignon and the Comtas Venaissin, but not to touch upon religious questions, with regard to which there could be no discussion. The Abate also brought with him the draft of a brief which was to be addressed to the Catholics of France, exhorting them to submit to their Government and expressing the hope that their submission might induce their rulers to protect religion and to tolerate the observance of the precepts of the Gospel and of the rules of Ecclesiastical discipline. But the Directory at their first interview with Pieracchi on August 12th, insisted, as a primary condition of the treaty, that the Holy Father should disavow, revoke and annul all the briefs, bulls, rescripts, and decrees which had been published relatively to the affairs of France since 1789; that is to say, all the acts by which he had condemned the *Constitution Civile du Clerge* and the schismatical church established by it, which the Directors, who were bitterly hostile to all religion, were, at that moment, engaged in persecuting quite as actively as they had persecuted the Catholic Church. They also demanded that Pius VI should pay 300,000 francs a month until the peace was signed; that he should give up Benevento and Pontecorvo as well as the Duchies of Castro and Ronaglione; close his ports to the enemies of France, and admit French garrisons into Civita Vecchia and Ancona.

As Pieracchi refused to discuss the question of the withdrawal of the briefs, he was ordered to leave Paris at once and he withdrew, without having alluded to the brief of which he was the bearer, but after his departure, the Directors received from Cacault, who was then in Rome, a copy of this document which had been communicated to him by Azara; they published it in the Press, but it excited only mistrust among the Catholics who refused to accept it, and it is not comprised in the official collection of the Acts of the Holy See.<sup>30</sup>

The decree by which the Directory put an end to the negotiation with the Abate Pieracchi, under the pretext that his powers were insufficient, was followed by another which authorized Garran and Saliceti, the commissioners of the Republic in Florence to treat with the plenipotentiaries who should be named by the Sovereign Pontiff. Mgr. Lorenzo Caleppi, who had already acquired the reputation of a talented diplomatist in his missions to Vienna and Naples,

<sup>30</sup> De Richmont, p. 812.

was the Envoy selected for the purpose, and the Cavaliere d'Azara again consented to act as mediator. Mgr. Caleppi was instructed to demand some mitigation of the harsh conditions imposed at Bologna, and with regard to the revocation of the acts relating to the French Church, to which Pius VI could not consent, he was authorised to state, that the Sovereign Pontiff had often declared in his briefs that his sole object was to guard the rights of the Church and of the Holy See; that he had never sought to interfere with the administration of temporal affairs, and that therefore, in order that there might be no doubt on the subject, he was ready to advise the Catholics to render obedience to their rulers, as long as religion was not in danger.

When Mgr. Caleppi met the French Commissioners in Florence on September 9th, he found them inflexible with regard to the question of the briefs, and not only resolved to make no concessions, but with orders to exact even more than had been demanded at Bologna. Still more of the Papal territory was to be ceded to France; heavier contributions were to be levied; the Holy Father was to treat as his enemies those of the Republic, to suppress the Inquisition and to proclaim religious liberty in his States, and that at a time when in France the Catholic clergy were under sentence of deportation or death.

On learning these conditions, Mgr. Caleppi immediately left for Rome to seek further instructions, without having been able to present to the French representatives the conciliatory proposals of which he was the bearer; and on his arrival a Consistory was summoned to deliberate on the question. Mgr. Caleppi's notes have preserved for us the opinions of the members of the Sacred College. They unanimously rejected the ultimatum of the Directory, and the reply to it, which Mgr. Caleppi was instructed to draw up, stated in frank and dignified language that it was absolutely impossible for the Holy See to withdraw its censures, or to submit to conditions which should be prejudicial to the Catholic religion or to the rights of the Church, and that the Sovereign Pontiff would persist in his refusal even at the risk of his life.

This resolute answer instead of provoking the indignation of the Commissioners, on the contrary surprised them and embarrassed them, and at Azara's suggestion they willingly agreed to accept the mediation of the King of Spain, to which the Holy Father consented; but only with regard to the temporal questions; as he could not recall the measures he had taken concerning the Church; and the responsibility for the interruption of the negotiations thus remained with the French Government. At the same time Pius VI

appealed to all the Catholic powers for assistance and suspended the execution of the conditions imposed by the armistice of Bologna. The herds of cattle, the sums of money and the works of art which were on their way to the French, were therefore brought back to Rome, for the Holy Father saw that the Republicans were bent on war and were only waiting for the payment of his contributions to continue it.

A civic guard of 6000 men was at once formed for the defence of Rome and the nobles showed their loyalty by offering large sums of money and raising soldiers from among the peasants on their estates; the most notable example being that of Prince Colonna who furnished a regiment of infantry of fourteen companies fully clothed and armed.

With the exception of the Emperor of Austria who sent one of his officers, Marshall Colli to take the command of the Papal army, the Catholic powers gave the Holy Father no assistance and by an incredible act of perfidy, while the Neapolitan envoy in Rome, the Marchese Del Vasto was negotiating an alliance between Naples and the Holy See, and promising the help of an army of 15000 men commanded by the King, the prime minister Acton ordered Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, the plenipotentiary in Paris, to conclude peace with the Directory, thus leaving the Holy Father completely isolated. It was a severe blow to Pius VI; but Ferdinand IV apparently repenting his action, wrote at once to the Directory that he feared that the peace would not last long if a republic were established on the frontiers of his kingdom, and that before ratifying the treaty he would wait until the inviolability of the Papal States was recognised. In reply, the Directors sent the King a vague assurance that they would do all in their power to maintain the tranquillity of the kingdom of Naples, and that the duration of the armistice with the Pope, would depend on the good faith with which its conditions should be observed by the Holy See.

General Bonaparte was then engaged in besieging Mantua, and hoped to carry the war against Austria into Tyrol; he must also have known that the irritation produced throughout Italy by the harshness of the French Commissioners towards Pius VI was such that if he were to experience the slightest defeat, the people would rise *en masse* and not a Frenchman should recross the Alps. He was, therefore, anxious for a peace which would have given him the money which he wanted, but the Holy See now declined to ask for peace and preferred to wait for the course of events; and when the general wrote to the Directory, to explain how impossible it was for him to lead an expedition against Rome, he expressed his displeasure

with their blundering diplomacy in beginning the negotiations for peace before the contributions demanded by the armistice of Bologna had been paid. As, nevertheless, the Directors were still obstinately determined to insist on the revocation of the briefs, and made no further attempt to come to an understanding, Mgr. Caleppi came back to Rome; but on October 28th, Bonaparte received full powers to negotiate with the Holy See, or to adopt hostile measures if he thought it necessary, provided he could reckon on the neutrality of Naples; and he instructed Cacault to request that a plenipotentiary should be sent to him for that purpose. Cardinal Busca, the Secretary of State, took no notice of his request for the Vatican could not discuss the question of the withdrawal of the briefs, and there was still some hope that a victory of the Austrians in the north of Italy would cause the retreat of the French and the restitution of the lost provinces. In the meanwhile preparations for defending Rome and what remained of the Papal States were actively continued; additional troops were raised and sent to the frontiers; on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1797, the Papal Standards bearing the Cross with the motto, *In hoc signo vinces* were solemnly blessed at St. Peter's; and on the 19th January, General Colli, sent by the Emperor to take the command of the Papal army, made a triumphal entry into Rome where he was received with enthusiasm by the people.

Cacault was still making vain attempts to enter into communication with the Vatican, which took no notice of his applications; but whilst he was complaining to the Directory that he had been waiting two months and a half for an answer, and that neither the Pope nor the Romans showed any signs of fear, Bonaparte seized at Mesola on January 10th a Venetian courier, bearing a letter dated January 7th from Cardinal Busca to Mgr. Albani, the Papal representative in Vienna, in which the Cardinal stated that the cession of Ferrara and Comacchio, which was the price demanded by Austria for an alliance, was out of the question; that as long as negotiations were being carried on at Vienna, he did not consider it honourable to treat with the French in spite of their threats, and of the efforts made to induce him to answer Cacault; and that the Directory was then intriguing with Spain, and offering to give Rome to the Duke of Parma in exchange for his Duchy; a measure which it was the interest of Austria to prevent.

Bonaparte was rendered furious by the discovery of this intended attack; he wrote to Cacault on January 22d to leave Rome within six hours; on the 1st of February he declared the armistice to be at end, and invaded the territory of the Holy See. On the 5th the Papal troops which defended the bridge over the Senio were defeat-

ed, Faenza and Ancona were taken without resistance Loreto was seized on the 9th, but the greater part of its treasures had already been removed to Rome, and when Bonaparte halted his army on the 16th at Tolentino, he was met there by the envoys sent by the Sovereign Pontiff to ask for peace. The plenipotentiaries were Cardinal Mattei, Mgr. Caleppi, Duke Braschii, the nephew of Pius VI, and Marquis Canillo Massini, along with Prince di Belmonte, the representative of Naples as mediator. Bonaparte had received full powers to treat, and he prudently put the religious question aside and made no demand for the withdrawal of the briefs, for he had no desire to excite a religious war in Italy by taking the defence of a schismatical Church which the Directory was then engaged in persecuting, and he was also anxious to avoid causing the intervention of the Neapolitan army, and return with as little delay as possible to the north of Italy after having plundered the States of the Church to the utmost of his power. M. Cacault had come to assist Bonaparte in the negotiations; he had learned from d'Azara that Emperor of Austria had refused to form an alliance with the Pope, and that the Cardinals in a consistory had decided on continuing the war; and both the general and the diplomatist, reckoning on the terror which the French army inspired, put forward the most exorbitant demands, while the Papal representatives were not allowed even three days to send to Rome to ask for further instructions. Bonaparte also reminded them that there could no longer be any question of the discussion of an ordinary peace but of the capitulation of a besieged city, for he considered Rome as being already in his power;<sup>31</sup> the dread of the devastation which would be caused in Rome by the invasion of a French army, at last induced the envoys to submit to the conqueror's will, and on February 19th, 1797 a peace was signed which was ratified by Pius VI on the 23d.

By this treaty the Sovereign Pontiff relinquished his rights to Avignon and to Contat Venaissin; to the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna, in favor of the French Republic, which was also allowed to occupy the towns and fortresses in the territory of Ancona until a Continental peace. He agreed to pay fifteen millions of *livres tournois*, of which ten millions were to be in coin and five millions in diamonds or other precious stones, to complete what still remained due of the amount promised by the armistice of Bologna; and besides that, another fifteen millions of *livres* in money or precious stones. The rare manuscripts and the works of art mentioned

<sup>31</sup> Mgr. Pietro Baldassari—*Relazione delle avversità e patimenti el glorioso Papa Pio VI.*, Roma, 1889, I., p. 129. (Mgr. Baldassari was Secretary to Mgr. Innico Diego Caracciolo, the *Maestro di Camera*, of Pius VI., and was, therefore, an eye witness of all the events which he relates.

in the armistice were also to be given up, and according as these clauses were executed, the French troops were to evacuate Umbria, and the provinces of Fano, Urbino and Macerata. Three hundred thousand *livres* were also to be paid as indemnity to those who had suffered any loss by the riot in which Bassville lost his life; all persons imprisoned for their political opinions were to be released, and the Holy Father was to renounce all offensive or defensive alliances against the Republic, and to refuse to give any assistance to its enemies or to receive their vessels into his ports.

The Papal Government spare no effort to collect the enormous amount of money exacted by the treaty; the works of art which had been sent to Terracina were brought back to Rome; a proclamation was issued calling on all Papal subjects to give up their jewelry and ornaments, and the Vatican was despoiled of its most valuable historical treasures. Among these were the gems which adorned the Papal chasubles and copes, some of which dated from the times of Innocent VIII, Julius II and Leo X; four tiaras which had belonged to Julius II, Paul III, Clement VII and Urban VIII; and the gold morse made by Benvenuto Cellini for Clement VII. The pearls and diamonds which had adorned the shrine of Loreto were also sacrificed, and before the 3d of June, 1797, Pius VI had paid 16,300,000 francs in coin, bullion, and bills, and 11,271,000 in precious stones; in all 28,071,000 francs. Even this did not satisfy the rapacity of the commissioner Haller, though Cacault sought in vain to check his insolence and dishonesty, for he insisted on having the jewels re-valued at Modena by a Jew who estimated them at a lower rate and he exacted a further contribution from the Holy Father to make up the deficit.

Although the Directory, which viewed the invasion of Italy chiefly as a means of replenishing their treasury, would have been willing to give back Lombardy to Austria after it had been drained of all its wealth, in exchange for Belgium, Bonaparte preferred to form it into a republic under the name of *la Repubblica Cisalpina* with Milan as its capital, which should be a menace to the States of the Pope, of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of the Duke of Parma, by keeping alive there a feeling of unrest, and a spirit of discontent, of which he might take advantage whenever he might wish to overthrow those governments. He then founded another at Modena, named *la Repubblica Cispadana* of which Reggio, Bologna and Ferrara formed part; it was united to the *Cisalpine* on July 18th, 1797, and the new republic was given a constitution similar to that of France with an Executive composed of five Directors, and a Legislature formed by two Councils.

The destruction of the Papacy and the establishment of a Republic in Rome had long been desired by the Directory who had sent emissaries there with that object, although Cacault, a man whose views were much more moderate than theirs, had begged of them not to encourage the Roman Revolutionists, as there was not enough of the Republican spirit in Rome to create a Republic, and whatever discontent existed, was directed against the French whom the people detested for carrying away their money and their artistic treasures.

The prudent advice of Cacault and also that of Talleyrand, then minister of foreign affairs, two experienced diplomatists would seem to have somewhat subdued the ardent Jacobinism of the Directors, for, when Joseph Bonaparte replaced Cacault as ambassador in Rome, he was not instructed to prepare the way for a Republic, but to defend the interests of the Directory in case Pius VI died and a Conclave were held for the election of his successor. This more moderate policy was also that of his brother, the general, who said to Cardinal Mattei at the signature of the peace of Tolentina, "If I were the master, we should have a Concordat tomorrow;" for he saw the necessity of pacifying France and that the Catholics, by whom he did not wish to be considered as an enemy of the Church, were gradually regaining power. Nevertheless Joseph Bonaparte brought with him to Rome a list of 35 persons, mostly lawyers and doctors together with a few nobles on whom he could reckon in case of any movement against the Papal Government, and the Palazzo Corsini, where he lived, soon became the meeting place of all the disaffected in Rome.

After the *coup d'état* in Paris, on the 18th Fructidor (4th September, 1797) by the more Conservative section of the two Councils and the more moderate members of the Directory, Barthelemy and Carnot were proscribed and deported, a more hostile policy towards the Holy Father was adopted by Rewbell, Barras and La Revelliere-Lepeaux who represented the intolerant and Jacobin party among Directors, for on October 10th Talleyrand wrote in their name to Joseph Bonaparte not to discourage the good dispositions of those who believed that it was time that the rule of the Popes should come to an end, but rather to encourage the aspirations towards liberty which the Roman people was apparently manifesting. General Bonaparte too laid aside the friendliness he had sometimes shown towards the Vatican; either because he felt that he had lost the influence he had had with the Directory with which he did not wish to quarrel, or because he was irritated by the refusal of the Holy See to acknowledge the Cisalpine Republic, as well as by the nomination of the Austrian General Provera to the command of the Papal army, and he also suspected that there was an alliance between the Pope and the

King of Naples. He therefore wrote to his brother on September 29th at a time when Pius VI was dangerously ill, that if the Pope were to die, he should do all in his power to prevent the election of another and to bring about a revolution, and the Directory approved of these instructions in a letter to the General from La Revelliere on October 21st, 1797.

In spite of the treaty of Tolentino, the Directory still continued to aim at the overthrow of the temporal power of the Holy See, by exciting insurrections in the towns which still remained subject to the Pope. Thus on November 19th the town of Ancona proclaimed itself an independent republic without any opposition from the French garrison, and the troops of the Cisalpine Republic consisting chiefly of Polish refugees and deserters occupied Rimini and Cesena. The Cisalpine Government even sent an ultimatum to Rome, demanding that the Holy See should recognise their Republic within eight days under pain of a declaration of war; but though the Papal Government yielded immediately to this request (25th November) the invasion still continued. The fortress of San Leo was seized on December 2d, Pesaro and Fano rose and established provisional Governments on the 22d, while Sinigallia, Macereta and Vinno were occupied by detachments of French soldiers from the garrison of Ancona, and Republican Governments were at once proclaimed in all these towns.

The Republican party in Rome had also sought on more than one occasion to excite an insurrection, and had even tried to blow up the Castle of St. Angelo on June 28, but were foiled in all their attempts. The French Government, however, openly took the defence of those whom the Papal police arrested for these crimes, and Joseph Bonaparte was instructed to demand the release of the prisoners, among whom were three men who had been accused of intending to assassinate the Pope; though, indeed, the Directory consented to allow these men to be expelled from Rome for some time, "until their presence should become necessary, when they might be brought back cautiously."<sup>32</sup> For the Directors, much as they desired to overthrow the Papal Government and plunder Rome, could not do so openly as they did not wish to incur the risk of a war with Naples which might also bring on a renewal of the hostilities with Austria; but to afford the revolutionists some assistance, a band of ardent Jacobin agitators, among whom were three adjutants-general, Avighi, Sherlock, and Duphot, was sent to Rome, and the last named is known to have had interviews with the leaders of the Republican party.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Sciout—*Histoire du Directoire*, III., 257.

<sup>33</sup> Augusto Franchetti, *Storia politica d'Italia*, Milano, 1881, P. 304.



An attempt at a rising took place at last on the night of December 27th, when a crowd of sixty or one hundred insurgents, after a banquet in the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill, came down the Via Sistina, led by the sculptor Ceracchi and a notary named Agretti with the intention of planting trees of liberty and calling on the people to revolt;<sup>34</sup> but they were dispersed by a patrol of dragoons and fled, leaving behind them their tricolour flags and cockades. During the following day money and tricolour cockades were distributed by the conspirators among the people in the poorer quarters of Rome, without, however, causing any disturbance; but in the afternoon a band of insurgents led by two Frenchmen, attacked the barracks occupied by a detachment of Papal troops near Ponte Sisto. They were driven away by a patrol of cavalry and the officer in command of the guard stationed an advanced post of a few soldiers under the Porta Settimiana, an archway which crossed the Lungara not far from the Palazzo Corsini, with orders to allow no persons in arms to pass, while the cavalry, accompanied by some of the foot soldiers, pursued the fugitives firing on them, towards the Embassy where they took refuge. Joseph Bonaparte accompanied by Generals Duphot and Sherlock, in uniform and with their swords drawn, came out to calm the disturbance, and ordered the soldiers to withdraw; they obeyed; but General Duphot rushed forward at the head of the insurgents, with the cry of "*Viva la Libertà*" towards the Porta Settimiana where the soldiers of the advanced post seeing themselves in danger of being surrounded by the armed mob, fired a volley beneath which he fell, and the rioters fled back to the palace in disorder.

Cardinal Doria the recently named secretary of State alarmed by the dangerous consequences which he foresaw would result from this unfortunate event, wrote at once to the ambassador to express his regret, but was unable to appease his indignation or to dissuade him from leaving Rome on the following morning, while the Directors on learning of the death of Duphot, arrested the Papal representative in Paris, Marquis Massini and seized his papers. They then prepared to put in execution their long cherished plan of destroying the temporal power of the Papacy by a sudden attack upon Rome; precautions were taken to guard against intervention on the part of Austria or Naples by assuring them that the Directory had no intention of seizing Rome, or inflicting any injury on religion, but desired merely to avenge the outrage offered to France in such a way that it should not be repeated. What the Directors really sought to guard against was an attempt on the part of these Catholic powers to assert the hardly veiled pretensions which their diplomatists had al-

<sup>34</sup> Baldassari, I., p. 270.

ready put forward to a share of the States of the Church as compensation for the aggrandisement of France and the foundation of the Cisalpine Republic.

General Berthier then in command of the French army in Italy was charged with the organisation of an expedition against Rome for which General Bonaparte sent him very detailed instructions, with regard to the disposition of his troops so as to guard against a sudden invasion of the Austrians in his rear. He was also to advance with the utmost secrecy and with the greatest haste so as to reach Rome before the Neapolitan army should be able to intervene; and when at two days march from Rome he was to threaten the Pope and his Ministers so as to fill them with terror and drive them to take flight. When in Rome, he was to employ all his influence to establish a Republic, but to avoid whatever might tend to prove that the Government had formed such a project. Berthier who accepted with much displeasure what Bonaparte termed "the honour of taking Rome," left Ancona at the end of January, after issuing a proclamation which declared that his expedition had no other object than to punish the murderers of Dufhot. His army, numbering 14,696 men, mostly unshod, badly fed, and without pay, encountered no opposition, with the exception of a rising of the peasantry near the town of Gesi which was soon suppressed, as the Papal troops had been ordered to fall back without resistance. While on his march, the General received a letter from Cardinal Doria stating that a friendly power was about to offer its mediation and requesting him to stop his advance, but he gave no reply to it. At Terni on February 7th, Berthier had an interview with Prince Belmonte the Neapolitan ambassador in Rome whom he assured that France would be satisfied with a humble apology, and that he would state the demands of the Directory when the French army should have reached the walls of Rome; but he refused to receive Cardinal della Somaglia, Mgr. Arrigoni and Prince Giustiniani whom Pius VI had sent to ascertain the conditions which he intended to impose. On the 9th Berthier reached La Storta about 10 miles from Rome while his advanced guard under General Servoni, a Corsican, occupied Monte Mario, the hill which commands the approach to Rome by the Ponte Molle, and where on the following day he established his headquarters.

General Berthier then sent for Cavaliere d'Azara and charged him to inform the Holy Father that as soon as the Castle of Saint Angelo should be given up to the French, he would state what was the satisfaction demanded by the Republic, and that the entrance of the French troops into Rome would not be of a hostile character, pro-

vided the people did not insult them. The Castle was surrendered at once, as Pius VI knew that it was useless to resist, though he placed no confidence in Berthier's assurances. Still, no republican movement took place in Rome and Berthier wrote despairingly to Bonaparte, that Rome was in a state of the utmost consternation; he had not found a trace of the spirit of liberty; he had been visited by only one patriot who had offered to set free 2000 galley slaves, and that it was easy to imagine how he had reached such a suggestion.

The principal conditions imposed by General Berthier which were made known to the Holy Father after the occupation of the Castle of St. Angelo by the French, were, that twelve hostages, among whom were four Cardinals and four Roman princes, were to be given up; several members of the Council of State were to be dismissed, and thirteen persons known to be hostile to the French, two of whom were Cardinals, were to be arrested and sent to the General within 24 hours. The Papal army was to be disbanded, with the exception of the Swiss guard and 500 infantry, a war tax of four millions of piastres in coin, and two millions of piastres in kind, was to be paid within thirty days, and three thousand horses were to be furnished for the use of the army within ten days. Everything belonging to the Governments at war with France or to their subjects was to be confiscated, and all the paintings, statues, books, manuscripts and works of art which a commission named for that purpose should judge worthy of being transported into France, were to be carried away. On the places where Bassville and Duphot had been assassinated, monuments were to be raised, bearing inscriptions recording both the crime committed and the satisfaction which had been exacted for it. Religion and its ministers, as well as the Churches and all private persons and their property would be respected. The French army was to march to the Capitol and there do homage to the great men who had rendered the Roman republic illustrious.

This convention, or rather capitulation, was signed on the part of Pius VI, by Prince Gabrielli and Giustiniani and on the 11th the advanced guard of the Republican army entered Rome and occupied several commanding positions; but General Berthier still remained in his camp on Monte Mario, waiting, as he confessed to the Directory, until he had organized the people into making a demonstration which was to ask him to grant them liberty. It took some days to do so; for the Roman Jacobins had perceived that they were not supported by the majority of the people, and the attitude of Joseph Bonaparte towards them had not been sufficiently frank to make them feel certain that France was resolved to support them in their rebellion against the Holy See. They therefore hesitated to declare themselves until Berthier had taken some decisive steps to convince

them of what were his real intentions. The demonstration which he required to enable him to throw off the mask was organised by an apostate priest, Jean Bassal, who had been constitutional parish priest at Versailles; then a member of the Convention, and President of the Society of Jacobins, and who along with his accomplices, by means of various false assertions, obtained signatures to a petition, which Berthier accepted as a proof of the desire of the Roman people for a Republic.

At last, on February 15th, the twenty third anniversary of the election of Pius VI while the Cardinals were assisting at Mass in the Sistine Chapel, a crowd of about three hundred patriots assembled at the foot of the Capitol on the Campo Vaccino, the site of the Roman forum where a numerous body of French troops commanded by Murat was drawn up. At the same time the leaders of the movement met on the square of the Capitol where, in presence of General Cervoni, they planted in front of the Statue of Marcus Aurelius, a tree of liberty decorated with the black, white and red tricolour flags of the new republic, and three notaries drew up in the name of the Roman people a manifesto which proclaimed its sovereignty and independence. A long list of functionaries, beginning with seven consuls named by Servoni, followed this document, and a deputation of which Duke Bonelli and Duke Sporza-Cesarini formed part was then sent to request Berthier to enter Rome. The general accompanied by a brilliant staff, came to the Capitol, where he made a speech in which he invoked the shades of Pompey and of Cato, of Brutus and of Cicero, and declared that the sons of the Gauls had come with the olive branch of peace to rebuild the altars of Liberty on the spot where they had been raised by the first Brutus; but in a few days he changed the provisional government, keeping only five of the seven Consuls, and appointing Bassal nominally as their secretary, but in reality as their master.

That evening General Cervoni came to the Vatican; Pius VI had already retired to rest but rose to give him audience, and his venerable and majestic appearance so overawed the General that he apologised in an embarrassed and hesitating manner for having come as the bearer of disagreeable intelligence. Being encouraged by the Holy Father to proceed, Cervoni was saying that the exercise of the Catholic religion had been guaranteed and that the spiritual power of the Head of the Church would remain free and intact, when he was interrupted by the Pope who said "that Spiritual power was given us by God and no human authority can take it from us." Cervoni then informed him that the Republican Government of Rome was under the protection of France, that Berthier would support it with his army, and that His Holiness had ceased to be a temporal sovereign.

He would still however be allowed to keep his guards, and the Roman Republic would provide for his subsistence. To these vague promises the Sovereign Pontiff merely replied that he humbly submitted to the inscrutable decree of Providence; that the good faith and the sincerity which he had always shown towards France ought to have withheld from his lips the bitter cup which he had been made to drink to the lees; but that he was consoled by the testimony of his conscience and by his confidence in the protection of God, and that he hoped that the Catholic religion would be respected, and that the blood of those who had served his government zealously and honourably, should not be shed.

The cavalry who had formed the Papal Guard and the soldiers who had been promised by Berthier, were disarmed and dismissed almost immediately; the French occupied the Vatican, and then handed it over to men of the civic guard which they had just formed out of the dregs of the populace, whose drunken cries and licentious songs resounded through the palace. The revolutionary party hoped by these insults and humiliations to wear out the patience of Pius VI and to oblige him to ask to leave Rome, as they dreaded the effect which the forcible expulsion of the Holy Father might have on the minds of the people, but he was determined not to leave Rome of his own free will.

On the 17th the Swiss Calvinist, Rodolph Haller, the treasurer-general of the French army whose duty it was to collect the forced contributions imposed on Italy, and who had organized for that purpose a body of "Agents for the seizure of Church plate," a man who was despised and looked upon as a robber by the revolutionists themselves, came with thirteen of his subordinates to the Vatican which he visited minutely and plundered without mercy, everywhere placing the seal of the French Republic. He seized the Pope's private library of 40,000 volumes which the Holy Father intended to leave to his native town, Ceneda; he seized his collection of precious objects and works of art which had been given or bequeathed to him during his reign, and threatened to break open the doors which were not unlocked at once. Entering then the room where the Holy Father was breakfasting, and seizing a small box on the table, he asked insolently if it contained diamonds, but the Pope replied that it held only biscuits and courteously offered them to him. As he was convinced that there were many jewels still concealed in the Vatican, he obliged the Holy Father to open all the presses in his bedroom, although assured that all the precious stones from Loreto and much besides had already been given up. Haller also tried to persuade the Sovereign Pontiff to leave Rome, telling him roughly

that the Roman Republic wanted his palace; that he ran great danger of being the victim of some popular tumult, and that he would do well to provide for his safety by a speedy departure. But the Holy Father replied that he had no reason to fear the people; that his safety had just been publicly guaranteed; and that he would never leave the Vatican voluntarily. That evening, however, by General Berthier's orders, Cardinal Doria informed the Holy Father that both the French and Roman authorities insisted that he should quit Rome without delay, as otherwise he should be carried away forcibly in the custody of a French officer, and yielding to the Cardinal's advice he consented to leave, and fixed upon Florence as his future place of residence. Any attempt to escape in the meanwhile was impossible, as the two rooms which were all that was left to the Holy Father, were watched by sentinels at the doors who allowed no one to have access to him without the permission of the officer on guard in the anti-chamber.

The necessary precautions had already been taken by the Sovereign Pontiff to provide for the safety and legality of the election of his successor, for after the death of General Duphot and the departure of Joseph Bonaparte he had foreseen the dangers which the Holy See was probably destined to encounter, and he therefore decreed by a Bull dated 30th December, 1797, that the Cardinals present in Rome at the time of his death should at once decide by the votes of the majority in what place it would be convenient to hold the Conclave; and also, in case of any popular tumult or war taking place, to advance or retard the date of its opening, instead of waiting until the tenth day after the death of the Pope according to the usual custom.

About an hour before dawn on the morning of February 20th, in foggy, rainy weather, while the streets of Rome and the road lead from the Porta Angelica to the Ponte Molle were patrolled by numerous detachments of cavalry and infantry, Pius VI left the Vatican accompanied by Mgr. Caracciolo his "*maestro di camera*," Mgr. Giuseppe Rossi, his doctor; Father Maroti, a former Jesuit, his secretary, as well as sixteen other members of his household, and escorted by two majors of the French army and a squadron of dragoons. On the previous day eleven thousand Roman crowns had been given to the Holy Father by the Republican Government, and it was all that he ever received from it, although it had promised to provide for his subsistence.

As soon as the Sovereign Pontiff had left Rome, the plunder of the Vatican by Haller and his agents began. The sacristies of the Papal chapels were robbed of their chalices, crosses and illuminated

missals, as well as of two jewelled mitres and several richly embroidered vestments, which had been carefully concealed, until a faithless servant revealed their hiding place. These were burned for the sake of the gold and silver they contained, and the same fate befell one of the celebrated tapestries designed by Raphael which were sold to a Genoese Jew. All the linen of the palace and even the kitchen utensils and the locks of the doors were also carried off. Masons were employed to sound the walls of the palace lest other treasures might be concealed there. The Vatican library lost its precious collections of cameos, coins and medals, only a few of which were restored after the fall of Napoleon. The same devastation took place in the Churches, monasteries and convents of Rome, either then or in the course of a few months; in some places even tombs were broken open in order to obtain the leaden coffins they held, and if those of the Popes were spared, it was because it was feared that the expense of breaking them open would be greater than the profit to be derived from them.

As in spite of the enormous sums which had been plundered not only from the public treasuries but also from the wealthy inhabitants in every town which the Republican armies had invaded, the French soldiers were still in rags, unshod and without pay since five months, serious mutinies had taken place in Mantua and other towns of the north of Italy and had only been appeased by exhorting more money from the conquered countries. In Rome the arrival of Massena, who was accused of being the most rapacious of all the generals, to replace Berthier was the signal for a revolt of all the officers under the rank of major, who protested against the shameless system of plundering carried on by their superiors and the agents of the Government, to lead a life of scandalous luxury, while the officers and soldiers were in the utmost misery, and they insisted on being paid within twenty four hours and on the restitution of all that had been stolen from private houses and from the Churches belonging to Powers which were at peace with France.

While the generals were vainly attempting to appease the indignation of their officers and restore discipline, the inhabitants of the poorer quarters of Rome, the Trastevere, the Monti, and the Regola rose in arms on the night of February 25th, to the cry of "*Viva il Papa,*" but the insurrection was suppressed by General Berthier after four hours fighting, and twenty two of the rebels were shot on the following days in the Piazza del Popolo.

The mutiny of the officers was ended by the substitution of General Gouvion Saint Cyr for Massena, and the payment of a portion of the arrears due to the soldiers; but the example of the people of the

Trasteverc was followed in many of the small towns near Rome: at Albano, L'Ariccia, Genzano and Velletri, the peasantry took arms and marched towards Rome to the number of seven or eight thousand until met by a French column commanded by Murat who defeated them with great loss. Other insurrections soon followed caused by the exactions of the French troops and the seizure of the Church plate by the Commissioner of the Roman Republic; that at the end of April in the mountains round Lake Trasimene was only suppressed after a desperate resistance; and though the risings at Orvieto and in the villages round Ascoli, were not of much importance, a much more serious revolt took place in July in the Hermician mountains and the plain at their feet, where Ferentino and Frosinone guarded by their ancient walls, and Terracina protected by the surrounding woods and marshes, were after a stubborn defence, taken at the point of the bayonet by the Polish troops in the service of the Cisalpine Republic, which had been sent to the assistance of the Roman Government.

But in Rome, the expulsion of the religious orders from their monasteries and convents, and the sale of Church property was carried on unmercifully, though checked for a short space of time by the invasion of the Neapolitan army.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

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### MEDIAEVAL COURTESY.

**I**N an age when it is constantly thought, and frequently said, that chivalry is dead, courtesy dying, and good manners dead and buried in the past, it may not be amiss to take a peep into the middle ages when courtesy was an art if not a science, whose principles formed a considerable part of the education of the youth of the nobility and gentry.

There is no lack of material left to show us how our ancestors behaved to each other; how the young treated the old and were treated by them; how servants served their masters; how the tables of the rich were appointed; how they carved, how they ate and drank; how they comported themselves at table; how they dressed; how, in short, the machinery of daily life was oiled, and how it worked. Rather is there an "embarras de richesses" among the various "Books of Nurture" and "Books of Courtesy" which remain to us and have been edited and published by the Early English Text Society.



Of these the three oldest are "Stans Puer ad Mensam," attributed to Lydgate, date 1430. "How the Good Wife taught her Daughter," and the companion, but inferior, poem, "How the Wise Man taught his Son," of about the same date, 1430, though it is possible "The Wise Man" may be much older. The "Book of Courtesy" from the Sloane MS. is rather later, from 1430 to 1440. The MS. of John Russell's "Book of Nurture," sometimes thought to be an older work touched up and edited by him, instead of an original composition, is considered to date about 1460 to 1470. The "Babees Book," perhaps the most popular of all, bears date about 1475, and "The Young Children's Book," a few years later, 1480. The oldest extant edition of Wynkyn de Worde's "Book of Carving" is 1858. Hugh Rhode's "Book of Nurture" was first printed in 1554, and Seager's "School of Virtue" a few years later, 1557.

Thus the period dealt with in these various works ranges over a century and a half, and probably longer, as the original MSS. of the earlier ones may be still more ancient than 1430. With the exception of the "Book of Carving," and two or three chapters of Rhodes's "Book of Nurture," all these treatises were written in verse, that they might the more easily be committed to memory.

It was the custom as far back as the 12th century, among the upper classes in England, to send their sons and daughters to the houses of other nobles or gentlemen, to learn to read and write, to talk French and Latin, and especially, and before all else, to learn manners and courtesy, the art of carving, and a knowledge of the rules of precedence; and these three last items were considered the most important part of the education of the nobility and gentry.

This same system of bringing up prevailed also among what we should call the lower middle classes, where the young were sent away from home to learn some trade, and to live meanwhile with their masters, to whom they were bound as apprentices, and a very hard time they had of it, for they were servants as well as apprentices, though in due course they became masters.

These Books of Courtesy, however, were intended for the use of the upper classes, between whom and the people the line of demarcation was much more strongly marked then than at present, when all classes shade upwards into each other, each striving to be in the one above it.

Yet Society was really more knit together then than now,

when money is the only medium of exchange between employer and employed; in the olden times, when old feudal customs prevailed, and the tenants had to fight for their liege-lords, and labor was paid in land, or in kind, or in meals taken so many times a week, at the baronial hall, below the salt, rich and poor were much more dependent on each other, and the bonds between them were much stronger than at present.

The first thing that strikes a reader who dips for the first time into one of these old Books of Nurture, is not how well the people behaved at table in those days, when they learnt so much about manners, but how villainously, if such instructions, some of which are quite impossible to quote, were necessary.

It is rather a comfort in what some would have us believe to be our degenerate days, to find that disgusting manners and customs, such as we cannot conceive a ploughman would be guilty of now, actually then prevailed among the aristocracy to such an extent that the young had to be taught to avoid them.

The fact that similar instructions are given in all the books, shows that the customs alluded to above must have been pretty general, and the authors took care to call a spade a spade; there are no veiled allusions; they left us no doubt as to their meaning.

But if on the one hand we have certainly improved in our manners at table, and our personal habits, as we shall presently see, on the other hand, in more important matters, such as the conduct of children to parents, of servants to masters, and in mutual courtesy in our social relations we have to confess we have deteriorated to such an extent that many of the instructions here given seem to us to be ridiculous and laughable, rather than praiseworthy and to be imitated.

In the present day parents and masters and mistresses err perforce on the side of leniency; in the Middle Ages they erred on the side of severity; and this plan of sending their children to other people to bring up alienated the affection of both children and parents from each other, as complained of in some works of the time.

Very harsh treatment was meted out to girls as well as to boys; grown up girls were beaten sometimes by their mothers, and pinching and nipping were favorite methods of correction; boys were cruelly beaten by their schoolmasters, servants and apprentices by their masters; flogging was looked upon rather as a virtue, and is highly recommended in some of these old books.

"The Good Wife" taught her daughter to beat her children

well if they were rebellious, in the following lines: (slightly modernized)

"And if thy children shall rebel, and will not to thee bow,"

"If any of them do wrong, neither ban them nor blow," (strike)

"But take a smart rod, and beat them in a row,"

"Till they cry mercy, and learn their guilt to know."<sup>1</sup>

The author of "*Stans Puer ad Mensam*" holds similar views to the "*Good Wife*" on the virtue of corporal punishment, and says when children quarrel and complain, let the parent pay no heed to their complaints, but punish them:

"To their complaints give no credence,"

"A rod reformeth all their negligence;"

"In their courage no rancour does abide,"

"Who that spareth the rod all virtues sets aside."

Hugh Rhodes, who wrote a hundred and twenty-five years later, is more merciful, and though he advises severity, yet he recommends that it be tempered with mercy, when he cautions parents to choose for their children such schoolmasters:

"As fear God and live virtuously, such as can punish sharply, "with patience, and not with rigour, for it doth oft-times make "them to rebel and run away, whereof chanceth oft-times much "harm."<sup>2</sup>

Rhodes must have been of a very gentle nature himself, as he is at great pains to inculcate gentleness and politeness, as well as reverence to parents.

"Unto your elders gentle be,"

"'Gainst them say no harm."

\* \* \*

"Reverence to thy parents dear

"duty doth thee bind;

"Such children as (in) virtue delight,"

"Be gentle, meek and kind;"

"Against thy parents multiply"

"no words, but be demure."

"It will redound unto thy praise,"

"and to thy friends pleasure."

It was the custom for children to bow and courtesy to their parents, and to kneel and ask their blessing if they had been away for any time. Thus Seager in "*The School of Virtue*," says:

<sup>1</sup> How the Good Wife taught her daughter, line 188-192.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Nurture, p. 14. Ibid lines, 27-48.

"When that thy parents come in sight,"  
"do them reverence;"  
"Ask them blessing if they have"  
"been long out of presence."<sup>3</sup>

It appears inferiors knelt on one knee before superiors, for in "The Babees Book" the author telling the Babies how to enter their lord's place, says:

"Hold up your head, and kneel but on one knee,"  
"To your sovereign, or lord whether he be."<sup>4</sup>

and in the "Book of Courtesy," (Sloane MS.) the reader is counselled to:

"Be courteous to God, and kneel down,"  
"On both knees with great devotion;"  
"To man thou shalt kneel upon the one,"  
"The other, to thyself thou hold alone."<sup>5</sup>

In Seager's "School of Virtue" children are taught on returning from school to say good-bye, at the door of their home, to their companions, and:

"The house then entering, in thy parent's presence,"  
"Humbly salute them, with all reverence."

This is the latest of the "Books of Courtesy," but here two directions are given to children to wait upon their parents at table, and if they were big enough, to bring in the dishes:

"When thy parents down to the table shall sit,"  
"In place be ready for the purpose most fit;"  
"With sober countenance looking them in the face,"  
"Thy hands holding up, begin this grace."

\* \* \*

"Grace being said, low curtsey make thou,"  
"Saying, much good may it do you."

words which evidently bore a different meaning then from the ironical sense in which we use them.

"Of stature then, if thou be able,"  
"It shall become thee to serve the table;"  
"In bringing to it such meat as shall need"  
"For thy parents upon that time to feed."  
"Dishes with measure thou oughtest to fill,"  
"Else mayst thou happen thy service to spill."  
"On their apparel or else on the cloth,"  
"Which for to do would move them to wrath."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Rhodes's Book of Nurture.

<sup>4</sup> Babees Book, line 63-4.

<sup>5</sup> The Book of Courtesy, Sloane MS. line 63-63.

<sup>6</sup> Seager's "School of Virtue," 330-344.

This last contingency seems exceedingly probable in days when such mishaps were treated as serious faults, and probably met with severe punishment.

After instructing his readers how to wait at table, the curtesy is again mentioned as a duty, much in the way country people will still tell their children to "make their duty" to their superiors, in some counties.

"All things thus done, forget not thy duty,"

"Before the table make thou low curtesy."<sup>7</sup>

Hugh Rhodes, in his "School of Good Manners," a part of his "Book of Nurture," urges the same act of obeisance at the end of dinner; after saying "Much good may it do ye," which appears to have been the regular formula at the close of a meal, he tells the child:

"Then go to your Sovereign,"

"Give him obeisance duly;"

"That done, withdraw thyself aside,"

"At no time prove unruly."

This expression so frequently used, of "Sovereign" as applied to the master, who might be of noble birth, perhaps, but was not a king, shows in what reverence superiors were then held, and what sovereign rights they exercised over their dependents.

In many cases the boys who served at table were of as high rank as their "sovereigns" or their "lords," but they were not allowed to sit down in their presence, nor in that of their parents, until bidden to do so, even at table.

In all the books this attitude of standing is insisted on, and as we have seen, it gives the title to one book. Even the "Babees" of tender age, "whom blood royal with grace, feature and high ability hath adorned," are told to take no seat till commanded to do so, but to be ready to stand<sup>8</sup> and serve their lords, with clean hands, till the time comes for them to sit down to their own meal.

In the "Young Children's Book" the same rule is given:

"Stand, and sit not forth-withal,"

"Till he bids thee, that rules the hall;"

"Where he bids, there must thou sit,"

"And for none other change nor flit."

"Sit upright, and honestly,"

"Eat and drink, and be fellowly," (sociable)

"Share with them that sit thee by"

"That teaches thee Dame courtesy."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 420-421.

<sup>8</sup> The Babies Book, lines 78-9.

<sup>9</sup> The Young Children's Book, 93-6.

To take the seat assigned to them is insisted on in "*Stans Puer ad Mensam*," and there they are also cautioned not to lean against a post or stare.

"Sit thou in that place thou art assigned to."

"Be simple in cheer, cast not thy look aside,"

"Gaze not about, turning thy sight over all,"

"Against the post, let not thy back abide,"

"Neither make thy mirror also of the wall."<sup>10</sup>

Hugh Rhodes, who seems to have been a clerk or chaplain of the King's Chapel, and probably write his book primarily for the gentlemen and boys of the king's chapel, devotes a whole chapter to the rules of precedence and carefully directs his clients on no account to go up higher than the place appointed to them.

"And of this thing, beware, I wish,"

"Press not thyself too high;"

"Sit in the place appointed thee,"

"For that is courtesy."<sup>11</sup>

Apparently it was the custom for these boys for whom Rhodes wrote, to wear their caps during meals, and they were to remove them and stand, when spoken to by their masters.

"And if thy master speaks to thee,"

"Take thy cap in thy hand;"

"If thou sit at meat when he talketh"

"To thee, see thou stand."

"Lean not aside when thou shalt speak,"

"Upright be thou standing;"

"Hold still thy hands, move not thy feet,"

"Beware thou of trifling."<sup>12</sup>

We find similar instructions with regard to standing quietly, without leaning or staring; and as to sitting where told to sit, in the "*Book of Courtesy*, Sloane MS."

"Also, if thou have a lord,"

"And standest before him at the board,"

"While that thou speakest, keep well thy hand,"

"Thy foot also, in peace let stand."

"Gaze not on walls with thine eye,"

"Far nor near, low nor high."

"Before thy lord no mouths thou make,"

"If thou wilt courtesy with thee take."

"Look thou sit—and make no strife—"

"Where thou art commanded, or else thy wife."

<sup>10</sup> *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, 8-12.

<sup>11</sup> Rhodes' *Book of Nurture*, 134-136.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 142-150.

Evidently this striving after a high place at table was a common fault, for we find it alluded to in all these books. Seager, whose "School of Virtue" is rather more religious in tone than the other books, though all are pious works, says:

"Presume not too high, I say, in no case,"

"In sitting down, to thy betters give place."

"Suffer each man, first served to be,"

"For that is a point of good courtesy."

It was the custom during the period over which these books extend, to wash the hands before and after eating at table; and in large households a good deal of ceremony attended the function. It was the duty of those who waited to bring the basin and ewer and towel to their "sovereign," or lord, or parents, before and after the meal. There was a cloth or upper towel on purpose to spread over the table-cloth during the washing, which was called the "sur-nape," and was like the side-slips which were in fashion some years ago, that were removed before dessert.

In Russell's "Book of Nurture," which is the most valuable for its record of table manners of the period, elaborate directions are given for the folding and laying of this sur-nape, which the marshall was to slip along the table, and after it was finished with, the chamberlain was to remove it with both his arms, and carry it back to the ewery.

John Russell, be it said, was usher to a royal prince, Duke Humfrey, of Gloucester, and his book is a guide to the duties of the Butler, Footman, Valet, Carver, Taster, Server, or Arranger of Dishes, Hippocras-maker, Usher, and Marshall of the Noblemen of the period, so his instructions as to the ritual of this hand-washing are very elaborate.

In the "Babees Book" the ceremony is simplified:

"Now must I tell in short, for I must so,"

"Your observance that ye shall do at noon;"

"When that ye see your lord to meat shall go,"

"Be ready to fetch him water soon."

"Some pour water; some hold till he hath done,"

"The cloth to him, and from him do not pace"

"Whilst he be set, and have heard said grace."<sup>13</sup>

And again at the end of dinner the "Babees" are bidden, some to fetch water, some to pour it over their lord's hands, and some to hold the towel.

In the Sloane "Book of Courtesy" directions for washing the lord's hands, both before and after dinner are given in the Third

<sup>13</sup> The Babees Book, 127-133.

Book, which was written for the servants in the courts of great noblemen.

The Ewerer first pours water into two basins and folds a towel "with full great lore" on the top of the upper one; the water is then "assayed," which seems to mean here, poured into a cup of white wood by the carver and "tasted." Two knights then hold the towel "before the lord's sleeves, that be so dear," which is an allusion to the elaborate, long and fantastically cut sleeves of the period. One knight holds the upper basin, while the carver pours water into the lower, apparently through the upper.

"For a pipe there is inside so clean"

"That water devoids of silver sheen,"

"Then sets he the lower, I understand,"

"In the other, and voids with both his hands."<sup>14</sup>

The whole of this passage is obscure, but it seems to mean: The lord held his hands between the two basins, while the carver poured water through the clean and shining pipe of the upper one into the lower.

The tasting or "assaying" of food and water was to discover poison if there had been any foul play, and was only done for the highest ranks down to an earl.

After dinner the sur-nape and a broad and narrow towel were spread before the lord and lady and after they had washed their hands and grace had been said, these were removed.

In the "Young Children's Book" the child is directed to wash his own hands before he leaves the table.

"And sit thou still, what so befall,"

"Till grace be said unto the end;"

"And till thou have washen with thy friend."

"Let the more worthy than thou"

"Wash before thee, and that is thy prow" (duty)

"And spit not in the basin,"

"My sweet son, that thou washest in."<sup>15</sup>

In "Stans Puer ad Mensam" the boy is directed, not without reason if the boy of 1430 resembled him of 1905, to wash his hands and clean his nails before he comes to table, and Hugh Rhodes gives the same advice:

"Before that you do sit, see that"

"Your knives be made bright,"

"Your hands clean, your nails pared;"

"It is a goodly sight."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sloane's Book of Courtesy, lines 696-720.

<sup>15</sup> The Young Children's Book, 82-88.

<sup>16</sup> Book of Nurture, 169-173.



Perhaps it was also somewhat a rare one, as it was evidently one devoutly to be desired.

Seager in his "School of Virtue," anticipates that the towel may be wanting, which suggests that perhaps the custom of washing at table was falling into disuse, when he wrote, or it may be only because he wrote for simpler households, where the children served the parents. When they have cleared the table he tells them:

"A clean towel then on the table spread,"  
 "The towel wanting, the cloth take instead,"  
 "And basin and ewer to the table bring,"  
 "In place convenient their pleasure abiding."  
 "When thou shalt see them ready to wash,"  
 "The ewer take up, and be not too rash."  
 "In pouring out water more than will suffice."  
 "The table then void that they may rise."

Knives seem to have been very inferior articles in those days, for all these authors direct, that the knives be not only cleaned, but sharpened, before they are brought to table.

The "Babees" are enjoined to keep their knives sharp and clean, and not to cut their meat like farm-labourers, who reckon not how they hack their food; and when the meal is over, they are to clean their knives and put them back in their places.

The "Young Children's Book" has similar instructions:

"Keep thy knife both clean and sharp,"  
 "And be not busy for to carp," (kerpe—to chatter)  
 "Cleanse thy knife with some cut bread,"  
 "Not with thy cloth as I thee rede." (advise)

Wynkyn de Worde tells the Carver that his knife must be fair, and his hands clean, and that in carving fish, flesh, fowl or bread he must be careful to put only two fingers and a thumb on his knife. He also adds that the carver must carve carefully, especially for ladies, as they soon get angry, "for their thoughts be soon changed, and some lords will be soon pleased and some will not, as they be of complexion;" which seems a very reasonable criticism from one who had doubtless had a good deal of experience, of the humours of women and the tempers of men.

There were no salt-spoons, even when the latest of these books, "Seager's School of Virtue," was written. So to take salt with your knife was the proper thing to do, and certainly it was better than dipping the meat into the salt-cellar, as those who were wanting in "good courtesy" used to do.

In some of the earlier books, "The Babees" and the "Young

Children's," the use of the knife as a salt-spoon is not mentioned, but the children are warned in both, "not to dip their meat in the salt-cellar, but to lay the salt honestly on their trenchers."

In "Stans Puer ad Mensam" the knife is recommended:

"And wheresoe'er thou be to dine or sup,"

"Of gentleness take salt with thy knife;"

"And be well ware thou blow not in thy cup,"

"Reverence thy fellows; begin with them no strife."<sup>17</sup>

Hugh Rhodes mentions both customs:

"Dip not thy meat in the salt-cellar,"

"But take it with thy knife."

"The Book of Courtesy" (Sloane MS.) alludes to dipping food in the salt-cellar as a vice; and Seager counsels his readers to reach and take salt with the knife.

The use of the knife as a tooth-pick is frequently inveighed against; it is first mentioned in the "Young Children's Book," and Hugh Rhodes has a very quaint suggestion to offer as a substitute.

"Pick not thy teeth with thy knife,"

"Nor with thy fingers' end;"

"But take a stick or some clean thing,"

"Then you do not offend."<sup>18</sup>

The "Book of Courtesy" forbids picking the teeth at all at table, whether with knife or straw or stick.

Forks were not introduced till later, and are not mentioned in any of these books; spoons were used, and various hints are given as to their management:

"And when thou hast thy pottage done,"

"Out of the dish thou put thy spoon."<sup>19</sup>

and again:

"In thy dish set not thy spoon,"

"Nor on the brink, as unlearned done."

is the advice of the author of "The Young Children's Book."

It was the approved fashion to wipe the spoon at table; this is recommended in "Stans Puer ad Mensam," and in Rhodes's "Book of Nurture," where the owner is cautioned to take care it is not stolen; from which we gather each person had but one spoon and had it in his own keeping. The "Book of Courtesy" quaintly says:

"Lay not thy spoon on thy dish side,"

"But cleanse it honestly without pride."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Stans Puer ad Mensam, 64-68.

<sup>18</sup> Book of Nurture, 246-250.

<sup>19</sup> Young Children's Book, 41-45.

<sup>20</sup> The Book of Courtesy, 73-74.

Handkerchiefs were not in general use in the 15th century, but by Hugh Rhodes's time they had come into fashion, as he mentions them. The management of the nose is a topic dealt with very plainly, and also exhaustively in all these books, and evidently the advice given was very necessary.

It is rather singular to find that to cut your bread instead of breaking it is considered better manners by all these authorities on courtesy; thus we find the "Babees" told to "cut with your knife your bread and break it not," the "Young Children" are ordered not to break their bread, and not to put pieces into their pockets, thus the mediaeval version of "eat all you like, and pocket none," is

"The morsels that thou beginnest to touch,"

"Cast them not in thy pouch."

People apparently sometimes shared the same dish and ate out of it together, as late as Rhodes wrote, for he says:

"If any man eat of your dish, crumb you therein no bread."

He also advises the bread be cut into little bits to put in the soup or broth: "Of bread, slice out fair morsels to put into your potage."

The Sloane "Book of Courtesy" directs minutely how the bread, evidently a dinner roll, was to be cut:

"Pare thy bread, and carve in two,"

"The upper crust the nether fro' ;"

"In four thou cut the other dole,"

"Set them together as it were whole."

"Then cut the nether crust in three,"

"And turn it down, learn this from me."

A few lines further on it is directed that bread be broken, not bitten, and the remains given to the poor:

"Bite not thy bread and lay it down,"

"That is no courtesy to use in town ;"

"But break as much as thou wilt eat,"

"The remnant to the poor thou shalt let."<sup>21</sup>

The reader is also warned in this book not to sop his bread in his "dish," and after biting it, dip it in again:

"Thou art unkind if thou do so."

This giving of some of the food from the tables of the rich to the poor was a regular custom and a religious duty; in large households there was an officer called the "almoner," whose duty it was to bring in the alms-dish and keep the broken food and wine that was left, and he was sworn to give it all to the poor. The first loaf was put into this dish by the carver, and a piece of

<sup>21</sup> Book of Courtesy, Sloane MS. 35, 41-50.

everything the lord was served with, except any tit-bit that the lord sent to any stranger.

After the washing of hands the almoner said grace and set down the alms-dish :

"Therein the Carver a loaf shall set,"  
 "To serve God first without let." (hindrance)  
 "The other loaves he pares about,"  
 "Lays it in the dish without doubt;"  
 "The almoner a rod shall have in hand,"  
 "As for alms-office, I understand."  
 "All the broken meat he keeps, I wate," (know)  
 "To deal to poor men at the gate;"  
 "And drink that is left served in hall,"  
 "Of rich and poor, both great and small."  
 "He is sworn to oversee the service well,"  
 "And deal it to the poor."<sup>22</sup>

In Bishop Grossetest's "Household Statutes," it is laid down that these alms are to be given to the poor and sick, not to the servants for their table. The date of the MS. is about 1450, the directions are worth quoting for the sake of their delightful frankness.

"Command ye that your alms be kept, and not sent to boys and knaves, neither in the hall nor out of the hall, nor be wasted in suppers nor dinners of grooms, but wisely, temperately, without bate or betyng (abating or eating) be it distributed and then parted to poor men, beggars, sick folk and feeble."

The balance between the relative values of speech and silence is very evenly held in these old books especially by Seager, whose judgment in this matter we must quote:

"Let not thy tongue at the table walk,"  
 "And of no matter neither reason nor talk;"  
 "Temper thy tongue and stomach alway,"  
 "For 'measure is treasure,' the proverb doth say."

\* \* \*

"For silence keeping, thou shalt not be shent,"  
 "Whereas thy speech may cause thee repent."  
 "Both speech and silence are commendable,"  
 "But silence is metest in a child at the table."

\* \* \*

"And Cato doth say that 'in old and young,"  
 "the first of virtues is to keep thy tongue." "<sup>23</sup>

The "Babees" are admonished not to chatter, and when their

<sup>22</sup> Book of Courtesy, 730-744.

<sup>23</sup> School of Virtue, 472-492.

lord is drinking, to observe "right stable silence without loud loud laughter, or jangling; whispering, joking or any other insolence."

The Book of Courtesy (Sloane MS.), while urging moderation in speech, truthfulness and prudence, and forbidding arguing with the lord or whispering, tells the reader to answer cheerily when greeted, and not to be dumb, lest people say, "he has no mouth."

"Go not forth as a dumb freke," (fellow)

"Since God has left thee tongue to speak."

The author of "The Young Children's Book" makes a very wise and true remark, on the evil of much speaking, as dangerous a habit in those days as now.

"Look thou laugh not nor grin,"

"And with much speech thou may'st do sin."

and again:

"Of whom thou speakest, where and when,"

"Advise the well, and to what men."

"Advise thee well, and to what men."

easy to do, and sums up too much talking very succinctly and perhaps very truly also:

"Babble not o'er much, my friend,"

"If thou wilt be called wise,"

"To speak or prate, or use much talk,"

"Engenders many lies."

The counsels to servants in his "Book of Nurture," especially in the matter of speech, are very shrewd, as for example:

"Be not checkmate with thy master,"

"For one word give not four;"

"Such a servant continueth too long,"

"If he pass but an hour."

and apparently would have received prompt notice to quit if Mr. Rhodes had been his master.

"Few words in a servant wise,"

"Deserveth commendation;"

"Such servants as be of much speech"

"Are ill of operation."

Yet Mr. Rhodes did not approve of changing servants often:

"A hasty or wilful master,"

"That oft changeth servant;"

"And a servant of fleeting,"

"Lack wit and wisdom, I warrant."

He would have a servant put up with his master's temper:

"For a servant to suffer in anger,"

"To his master is a treasure,"

and dress according to his degree, and avoid looking at himself and his clothes:

"Behold not thyself in thy apparel,"

"In church nor in the street."

"To gaze on thyself men will think,"

"It is a thing unmeet."

We have not space to quote further from Rhodes's instructions for the "Waiting Servant," which are very diffuse, and can only not be called prosy because they are written in verse.

Bishop Grossetest ordered that all the servants were to be made to sit together in the hall, not three or four in one place and the rest at another table, and no private meals were to be allowed them, "for of such cometh great destruction, and no worship thereby groweth to the lord."

On the whole enough has been quoted, though the worst customs have been omitted, to show that although as said above in many ways the manners, especially at table, of the Middle Ages, strike us as disgusting, yet our want of courtesy to elders and superiors would shock our ancestors equally. Courtesy with them was a religious duty, moreover they realized what we have long since forgotten, that:

"Courtesy came from heaven,"

"When Gabriel our Lady greet,"

"And Elizabeth with her met,"

"All virtues be enclosed in courtesy."<sup>24</sup>

So while we reserve to ourselves the right of thinking we have vastly improved in some ways since Rhodes and Russell wrote, in other ways we are willing to stand aside and let the Middle Ages pass before us,

"For that is Courtesy."

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<sup>24</sup> Young Children's Book, 6-9.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER,  
POPE PIUS X.TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN THE CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS,  
AND BISHOPS OF FRANCE AND TO THE FRENCH CLERGY AND PEOPLE,

PIUS X., POPE.

*Venerable Brethren and Beloved Sons, Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

ONCE again the serious events which have been precipitated in your noble country compel Us to write to the Church of France to sustain her in her trials, and to comfort her in her sorrow. When the children are suffering the heart of the Father ought more than ever to go out to them. And so, now that We see you suffer, from the depths of our fatherly heart floods of tenderness break forth more copiously than ever, and flow to you with the greater comfort and sweetness.

These sufferings, Venerable Brethren and beloved sons, now find a sorrowful echo throughout the whole Catholic Church; but We feel them more deeply still and We sympathize with a pity which grows with your trials and seems to increase day by day.

But with these cruel sorrows the Master has, it is true, mingled a consolation than which none can be dearer to our heart. It springs from your unshakable attachment to the Church, from your unflinching fidelity to this Apostolic See, and from the firm and deeply founded unity that reigns amongst you. On this fidelity and union We confidently reckoned from the first, for We were too well aware of the nobleness and generosity of the French heart to have any fear that on the field of battle disunion would find its way into your ranks. Equally great is the joy that We feel at the magnificent spectacle you are now giving to the world; and with our high praise of you before the whole Church, We give thanks from the depths of Our heart the Father of mercies, the Author of all good.

Recourse to God, so infinitely good, is all the more necessary because, far from abating, the struggle grows fiercer and expands unceasingly. It is no longer only the Christian faith that they would uproot at all costs from the hearts of the people; it is any belief which lifting man above the horizon of this world would supernaturally bring back his wearied eyes to heaven. Illusion on the subject is no longer possible. War has been declared against everything

supernatural, because behind the supernatural stands God, and because it is God that they want to tear out of the mind and heart of man.

The war will be bitter and without respite on the part of those who wage it. That as it goes on harder trials than those which you have hitherto known await you is possible and even probable. Common prudence calls on each of you to prepare for them. And this you will do simply, valiantly, and full of confidence, sure that however fiercely the fight may rage, victory will in the end remain in your hands.

The pledge of this victory is your union first of all amongst yourselves, and secondly with this Apostolic See. This twofold union will make you invincible, and against it all efforts will break.

Our enemies have on this been under no misapprehensions. From the outset, and with the greatest clearness of vision, they determined on their objective; first to separate you from Us and the Chair of Peter, and then to sow disorder among you. From then till now they have made no change in their tactics; they have pursued their end without rest and by every means; some with comprehensive and catching formulas; others with the most brutal cynicism. Specious promises, dishonorable bribes offered to schism, threats and violence, all these have been brought into play and employed. But your clear-sighted fidelity has wrecked all these attempts. Thereupon, thinking that the best way to separate you from Us was to shatter your confidence in the Apostolic See, they have not hesitated, from the tribune and in the press, to throw discredit upon Our acts by misrepresenting and sometimes even by calumniating Our intentions.

The Church, they said, is seeking to arouse religious war in France, and is summoning to her aid the violent persecution which has been the object of her prayers. What a strange accusation! Founded by Him who came to bring peace to the world and to reconcile man with God, a Messenger of peace upon earth, the Church could only seek religious war by repudiating her high mission and belying it before the eyes of all. To this mission of patient sweetness and love she rests and will remain always faithful. Besides, the whole world now knows that if peace of conscience is broken in France, that is not the work of the Church but of her enemies. Fair-minded men, even though not of our faith, recognize that if there is a struggle on the question of religion in your beloved country, it is not because the Church was the first to unfurl the flag, but because war was declared against her. During the last twenty-five years she has had to undergo this warfare. That is



the truth and the proof of it is seen in the declarations made and repeated over and over again in the Press, at meetings, at Masonic congresses, and even in Parliament, as well as in the attacks which have been progressively and systematically directed against her. These facts are undeniable, and no argument can ever make away with them. The Church then does not wish for war, and religious war least of all. To affirm the contrary is an outrageous calumny.

Nor has she any desire for violent persecution. She knows what persecution is, for she has suffered it in all times and in all places. Centuries passed in bloodshed give her the right to say with a holy boldness that she does not fear it, and that as often as may be necessary she will be able to meet it. But persecution is in itself an evil, for it is injustice and prevents man from worshipping God in freedom. The Church then cannot desire it, even with a view to the good which Providence in its infinite wisdom ever draws out of it. Besides, persecution is not only evil, it is also suffering, and there we have a fresh reason why the Church, who is the best of mothers, will never seek it.

This persecution which she is reproached as having provoked, and which they declare they have refused, is now being actually inflicted upon her. Have they not within these last days evicted from their houses even the Bishops who are most venerable by their age and virtues, driven the seminarists from the grands and petits séminaires, and entered upon the expulsion of the cures from their presbyteries? The whole Catholic world has watched this spectacle with sadness, and has not hesitated to give the name which they deserved to such acts of violence.

As for the ecclesiastical property which we are accused of having abandoned, it is important to remark that this property was partly the patrimony of the poor and the patrimony, more sacred still, of the dead. It was not permissible to the Church to abandon or surrender it; she could only let it be taken from her by violence. Nobody will believe that she has deliberately abandoned, except under the pressure of the most overwhelming motives, what was confided to her keeping, and what was so necessary for the exercise of worship, for the maintenance of sacred edifices, for the instruction of her clergy, and for the support of her ministers. It was only when perfidiously placed in the position of having to choose between material ruin and consent to the violation of her constitution, which is of divine origin, that the Church refused, at the cost of poverty, to allow the work of God to be touched by her. Her property, then, has been wrested from her; it was not she that abandoned it. Consequently, to declare ecclesiastical property unclaimed on a given

date unless the Church had by then created within herself a new organism; to subject this creation to conditions in rank opposition to the divine constitution of the Church, which was thus compelled to reject them; to transfer this property to third parties as if it had become *sans maitre*, and finally to assert that in thus acting there was no spoliation of the Church but only a disposal of the property abandoned by her—this is not merely argument of transparent sophistry but adding insult to the most cruel spoliation. This spoliation is undeniable in spite of vain attempts at palliating it by declaring that no moral person existed to whom the property might be handed over; for the state has power to confer civil personality on whomsoever the public good demands that it should be granted to, establishments that are Catholic as well as others. In any case it would have been easy for the state not to have subjected the formation of associations cultuelles to conditions in direct opposition to the divine constitution of the Church which they were supposed to serve.

And yet that is precisely what was done in the matter of the associations cultuelles. They were organized under the law in such a way that its dispositions on this subject ran directly counter to those rights which, derived from her constitution, are essential to the Church, notably as affecting the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the inviolable base given to His work by the Divine Master himself. Moreover, the law conferred on these associations powers which are the exclusive prerogative of ecclesiastical authority both in the matter of the exercise of worship and of the proprietorship and administration of property. And lastly, not only are these associations with drawn from ecclesiastical jurisdiction but they are made judicially answerable to the civil authority. These are the reasons which have driven Us in Our previous Encyclicals to condemn these associations cultuelles in spite of the heavy sacrifices which such condemnation involved.

We have also been accused of prejudice and inconsistency. It has been said that We had refused to approve in France what We had approved in Germany. But this charge is equally lacking in foundation and justice. For although the German law was blameable on many points, and has been merely tolerated in order to avoid greater evils, the cases were quite different, for that law contained an express recognition of the Catholic hierarchy, which the French law does not do.

As regards the annual declaration demanded for the exercise of worship, it did not offer the full legal security which one had a right to desire. Nevertheless—though in principle gatherings of the faith-

ful in church have none of the constituent elements proper to public meetings, and it would, in fact, be odious to attempt to assimilate them—the Church could, in order to avoid greater evils, have brought herself to tolerate this declaration. But by providing that the “cure or officiating priest would no longer,” in his church, “be anything more than an occupier without any judicial title or power to perform any acts of administration,” there has been imposed on ministers of religion in the very exercise of their ministry a situation so humiliating and vague that, under such conditions, it was impossible to accept the declaration.

There remains for consideration the law recently voted by the two Chambers.

From the point of view of ecclesiastical property, this law is a law of spoliation and confiscation, and it has completed the stripping of the Church. Although her Divine Founder was born poor in a manger, and died poor on the Cross, although she herself has known poverty from her cradle, the property that came to her was none the less hers, and no one had the right to deprive her of it. Her ownership, indisputable from every point of view, had been, moreover, officially sanctioned by the state, which could not consequently violate it. From the point of view of the exercise of worship, this law has organized anarchy; it is the consecration of uncertainty and caprice. Uncertainty whether places of worship, always liable to be diverted from their purpose, are meanwhile to be placed, or not placed, at the disposition of the clergy and faithful; uncertainty whether they shall be reserved from them or not, and for how long; whilst an arbitrary administrative regulates the conditions of their use, which is rendered eminently precarious. Public worship will be in as many diverse situations as there are parishes in France; in each parish the priest will be at the discretion of the municipal authority. And thus an opening for conflict has been organized from one end of the country to the other. On the other hand, there is an obligation to meet all sorts of heavy charges, whilst at the same time there are draconian restrictions upon the resources by which they are to be met. Thus, though but of yesterday, this law has already evoked manifold and severe criticisms from men belonging indiscriminately to all political parties and all shades of religious belief. These criticisms alone are sufficient judgment of the law.

It is easy to see, Venerable Brethren and beloved sons, from what We have just recalled to you, that this law is an aggravation of the Law of Separation, and we can not therefore do otherwise than condemn it.

The vague and ambiguous wording of some of its articles places

the end pursued by our enemies in a new light. Their object is, as we have already pointed out, the destruction of the Church and the dechristianization of France, but without people's attending to it or even noticing it. If their enterprise had been really popular, as they would not have hesitated to pursue it with visor raised, and to take the whole responsibility, they try to clear themselves of it and deny it, and in order to succeed the better, fling it upon the Church their victim. This is the most striking of all the proofs that their evil work does not respond to the wishes of the country.

It is in vain that after driving Us to the cruel necessity of rejecting the laws that have been made—seeing the evils they have drawn down upon the country, and feeling the universal reprobation which, like a slow tide, is rising round them—they seek to lead public opinion astray and to make the responsibility for these evils fall upon Us. Their attempt will not succeed.

As for Ourselves, We have accomplished Our duty, as every other Roman Pontiff would have done. The high charge with which it has pleased Heaven to invest Us, in spite of Our unworthiness, as also the Christian faith itself, which you profess with Us, dictated to Us Our conduct. We could not have acted otherwise without trampling under foot Our conscience, without being false to the oath which We took on mounting the chair of Peter, and without violating the Catholic hierarchy, the foundation given to the Church by our Savior Jesus Christ. We await, then, without fear, the verdict of history. History will tell how We, with Our eyes fixed immutably upon the defence of the higher rights of God, have neither wished to humiliate the civil power, nor to combat a form of government, but to safeguard the inviolable work of Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ. It will say that We have defended you, Our beloved sons, with all the strength of Our great love; that what We have demanded and now demand for the Church, of which the French Church is the elder daughter and an integral part, is respect for its hierarchy and inviolability of its property and liberty; that if Our demand had been granted religious peace would not have been troubled in France, and that, the day it is listened to that peace so much desired will be restored in the country.

And, lastly, history will say that if, sure beforehand of your magnanimous generosity. We have not hesitated to tell you that the hour for sacrifice had struck, it is to remind the world, in the name of the Master of all things, that men here below should feed their minds upon thoughts of a higher sort than those of the perishable contingencies of this life, and that the supreme and intangible joy of the human soul on earth is that of duty supernaturally carried

out, cost what it may and so God honored, served and loved, in spite of all.

Confident that the Immaculate Virgin, Daughter of the Father, Mother of the Word, and Spouse of the Holy Ghost, will obtain for you from the most holy and adorable Trinity better days, and as a token of the calm which We firmly hope will follow the storm, it is from the depths of Our heart that We impart Our Apostolic Blessing to you, Venerable Brethren, as well as to your clergy and the whole French people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's on the Feast of the Epiphany, January 6, 1907, the fourth year of Our pontificate. ,

PIUS X., POPE.

## THE CHURCH IN ABYSSINIA.

EARLY in the year 1905 the attention of the Catholic world was drawn to the heroism of two mendicant friars, two French Capuchin missionaries who in the seventeenth century suffered martyrdom in Abyssinia in defence of the Catholic Faith against heresy—Father Agathange of Vendome and Father Cassien of Nantes, whom the Living Voice of the Church, speaking in the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius X, has solemnly beatified.

The story of their lives opens up a page of the early history of the Capuchin Order, when that austere reform of the observance of the Franciscan Rule was in high repute in France, when the Capuchins were in their first fervour, drawing all hearts towards them and leavening French society, high and low, with their own spirituality, counting among them cloistered ascetics and great missionary preachers. The Bourbons were still firmly seated on the throne and the descendants and successors of St. Louis had no apprehension of the great revolutionary cataclysm which about a couple of centuries later was to overthrow throne and altar and involve Church and State in one red ruin.

Francois Noury, to be known hereafter in the annals of hagiography as the Blessed Agathange of Vendome, was the son of Francois Noury and Marguerite Begon and was born at Vendome on July 13, 1598. His father belonged to the magistracy or *elite* of Vendome, occupied an important official as well as social position and was related to the Beauvillier family of Blois which produced counts and dukes of Saint-Aignan. Marie de Beauvillier, daughter of Claude de Beauvillier, Count of Saint Aignan, was abbess and reformer of the Benedictine Abbey of Montmartre at Paris, where from 1598 to 1656 she admitted to profession 227 religious, forty of whom were called to direct other nunneries. Of her Henry IV said his conscience had no misgivings when he recommended as superioress a nun formed by Mdme de Beauvillier. Cardinal de Saurdis sent her as spiritual director and counsellor an eminent Capuchin, Father Benedict of Canfeld who was subsequently imprisoned for three years in England in the penal times and was succeeded in his charge at Montmartre by another distinguished Capuchin, Father Ange de Joyeuse. The Beauvilliers were very devout to St. Francis and very generous to the Franciscans. Honorat de Beauvillier, Count of Saint Aignan, married Jacqueline de la Grange de Montigny, daughter of Marshal de Montigny, governor of Berry and built at his own expense in 1616 the Capuchin convent at Saint Aignan. His

wife, full of confidence in the holiness of Father Benedict of Canfeld, earnestly commended herself to his prayers in order to obtain a son. The friar made her promise, if her prayer was answered, to give the child the name of Francis and clothe him in the Franciscan habit. He then foretold that she would have a son who himself would become the father of a son whose glory would surpass that of all his family. Nine months afterwards she gave birth to Francois de Beauvillier who wore the Capuchin habit until he was seven. He entered the army, distinguished himself by a bravery worthy of his birth, was made Governor of Louisiana, of the city and castle of Loches and Havre de Grace, cultivated literature successfully and became an Academician and in 1667 took the Caen prize for a Franciscan thesis on the Immaculate Conception. He was beloved and esteemed by Louis XIV, was a prominent figure in the Court of the Grand Monarque, and died in 1687, leaving a son, Paul de Beauvillier, Duke of Saint Aignan, a man of austere virtue who likewise gained the affection and esteem of the King who confided to him the education of the Dauphin, Duke of Burgundy, and then the Duke or Anjou (Philip V) and the Duke of Berry. It was he who made choice of Fenelon and formed an intimate friendship with the great Bishop of Cambria which nothing could alter. He became Minister of State and acquired considerable influence at court through the king's affection for him and the authority he exercised over the Dauphin. Profoundly Christian, he never allowed himself to be dazzled by the deceptive brilliancy of human dignities, and always fulfilled his duties with scrupulous exactitude. He died in 1714.

The Capuchins were established in France for a quarter of a century and already possessed numerous convents, the cities and towns vying to procure those austere and charitable friars who were among the most powerful adversaries of Protestantism, which then threatened the tranquility and prosperity of the kingdom. In compliance with a petition from the leading inhabitants of Vendome, who procured a suitable site, a church and convent, begun in 1606 and finished in 1611, were built in that town where Francois Noury, father of the Blessed Agathange, was syndic or temporal father to the community, the man of business of the convent, so to speak; a Franciscan lay office usually filled by a member of one of the best families, in order to leave the religious more time to devote themselves to prayer, study and the work of the ministry. It was one of those links in the providential chain of events which has identified him and his family with the Order, culminating in the recent beatification; and it was in the fitness

of things that he should have taken the most active part in the foundation of the Capuchin friary at Vendome.

Young Francois Noury was eight when Father Raphael of Orleans took possession of the site, and thirteen when the community was definitely formed. Brought up in an exemplary Catholic home, he was deeply impressed by the enthusiastic reception given to the Capuchins by the inhabitants of Vendome and at the sight of men and women of every age and condition laboring with their hands at the building of the convent. A few years previously, in 1601, the city of Tours had offered a still more moving spectacle of the same kind. He must have heard of the vow of his noble relative and seen the young Francois de Beauvillier clad in the Capuchin habit. He frequently visited the convent along with his father and was gradually attracted to the life he saw led within. He was hardly twenty when he entered the novitiate at Le Nans and received from Father Giles of Monnay the Capuchin habit and the religious name of Brother Agathange. After his profession, he was sent to the convent at Poitiers to continue his studies under the direction of Father Ignatius of Nevers, then assisted by the celebrated Father Joseph du Tremblay, and three years subsequently to Rennes for his philosophy and theology. Nothing specially marked him out from his fellow students, except great generosity in the fulfilment of duty and a love of silence, sometimes called taciturnity; charity alone inducing him to quit his converse with God to converse with men. It was in these dispositions he prepared to receive the priesthood to which he was called by obedience just when he was finishing his studies in 1625. His ardent desire to be employed in the missions was gratified by Father Joseph who secured him for the mission of Poitou, then under his direction. When he delivered the Lenten sermons at Vendome in 1626 he made a deep impression on his fellow citizens and acquired a reputation for learning and eloquence which was not effaced a century later, when the Abbe Simon introduced him into his *History* among the distinguished personages of Vendome.

Father Joseph du Tremblay who, by order of Louis XIII and his Minister, Cardinal de Richelieu, had founded the mission of the Levant, with the double object of promoting the growth of Catholicism and ensuring French preponderance in the East, and having been nominated by the Pope Prefect Apostolic, was seeking in all the Provinces of France for religious suitable for this ministry. One of those selected having been stopped from going by a serious malady, Father Francis of Treguier at once called upon Father Agathange to take his place. "Give me two hours



to think it over," said the latter, who went and passed the time in prayer before the altar. Then, rising, he took his breviary and travelling staff and returned to the superior. "Here I am," said he, "send me wherever you like"; and, having knelt and received his blessing and advice, rose at once and set out.

He went, with a companion, as the disciples were sent by the Saviour or the first Franciscans were sent by the Seraphic Father, on foot, braving all weathers and all difficulties, begging their daily bread or a night's lodging. Knocking at the door of a monastery or some Catholic house at sundown after they had wearily wended their way some distance and asking in the name and for the love of God for the hospitality which was rarely refused. The next morning, after saying Mass for them, they thanked their hosts, and, leaving behind them their blessing in exchange for their generosity, they resumed their journey. Thus they traversed the whole of France from Rennes to Marseilles. Those were happy times for French religious, whatever the faults, follies and short-comings of the *ancien regime* may have been from a moral or economic point of view, when they could thus travel leisurely and unmolested under the blue sky and bright sun by day or when the tender tints of twilight softened the light upon the horizon; courteously and charitably treated by the people. They stopped a few days in Paris to receive from Father Joseph the needful obedience and instructions for their mission. At Marseilles they found a vessel about to set sail for Syria, and, after a good passage, they landed at Alexandretta, from whence they proceeded to Aleppo to which their obedience assigned them, and where the Capuchins had a house founded and maintained by the liberality of Louis XIII. Aleppo was then, as now, a considerable city and its population extremely mixed, the numerous native Christians belonging to every denomination—Latin Catholics, Greeks, Maronites and Syrians, Schismatic Greeks and Armenians, Nestorian heretics or Jacobites mingling with the Mussulmans. The Christians were allowed freedom of worship and self-government on condition that they did not try to convert the Mussulmans, which was forbidden under the death penalty. Father Agathange varied the study of Arabic with an active apostolate among Europeans and natives, getting a large number to return to the truth and the practice of virtue by his exhortations. A Greek Schismatic bishop abjured his errors and became a fervent apostle and powerfully seconded the zeal of the European missionaries. The Mussulmans themselves listened attentively to his exposition of the Gospel and some asked to pass into Europe in order to embrace Christianity. The Turkish

Pasha was favorable to this movement and gave all the protection in his powers to the missionaries' preaching.

Toward the close of 1629, being able to address the people in Arabic, he was invited by the Maronites to preach in their church. "They were," they said, "like children asking for bread and no one to break it to them." But the Vicar-General of the Patriarch of the Maronites would not, despite their entreaties, permit him to preach in the churches dependant on his authority, and Father Agathange was sent to the mission in Egypt. In crossing the mountains of the Lebanon to reach his new post he visited the Maronite Patriarch who received him with great kindness, disapproved of the action of his vicar, and asked him to return to his mission. This was impossible, but he consented to remain some months in the Lebanon, evangelizing the populations. He visited almost all the villages where his preaching produced abundant fruit, his austerity of life making a deep impression on the people, so that in a short time the religious condition of these mountaineers, who long remembered his edifying sojourn among them, was marvellously changed. After eight months he took leave of the Patriarch and his diocese and proceeded to his destination, Cairo, which contained the largest population in Egypt, composed of Arabs, Turks, Moors and the older inhabitants of the country reduced to a kind of serfdom by successive conquests and elbowed at every step by negroes from Central Africa, Jews and Europeans or Franks. All the sects of Islam, every Christian communion being represented in an ethnological conglomerate in the midst of this Babylon, as it had been called in the middle ages. The Catholics, properly so called, were comparatively few, most of the Christians, very numerous and in the enjoyment of religious freedom, having been separated from the church for centuries through adoption of the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus, to which they added a crowd of practices borrowed from Judaism or the ancient religious traditions of their country. They have several bishops, a large number of priests and monks, and are under the jurisdiction of a self-styled Patriarch of Alexandria. Their priests, married like those of the Greeks, are very illiterate; only the monks and bishops, chosen from among the monks, have preserved the traces of learning. They are proud of the antiquity of their church, which dates from the Apostolic age, and, ignorant of theological and historical truth, hold strongly to their errors and still more to their independence. Attempts at reunion, which occasionally gave some grounds of hope, have been only partly successful.

Father Agathange possessed everything desirable for such an

undertaking, solid learning an intelligent appreciation of the position, striking virtues and austerity of life, which yielded nothing to that of the Coptic monks. Those who preceded him in the Cairo mission had only addressed themselves to individuals; he resolved to go at once straight to the heart of the difficulty and labor to lead back to Catholic unity the Patriarch himself; for he alone is independent and his conversion should determine that of all the others, bishops, priests, monks, and laity. He found the Patriarch, Mattaios, who usually lived in the monastery of St. Macarius, a venerable old man, gentle in speech, of affable manners, extensive information, elevation of mind, piety and uprightness of judgment which inspired the best hopes. He only needed to have been brought up in the Catholic religion to be one of the most remarkable prelates of his time. The Capuchin missionary was received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. After a few days spent in gaining his good graces, he made known the object of his journeys. His overtures met with a favorable reception, and conferences on the controverted point at once began. Several weeks were passed in discussions in which the spirit of charity always prevailed. The Patriarch, who showed the greatest good faith, finally declared himself convinced and recognized the truth of Catholic doctrines. There only remained the question of the reunion of the church. The Patriarch held out the greatest hopes, he even gave assurance of his intention of effecting it solemnly and soon. He had to go to Cairo for his visitation and he would avail of that occasion to assemble a council, exhort his suffragans and all his subjects and put a final seal upon this great work. He got Father Agathange to write to Rome to have everything ready. The Prefect of the congregation of Propaganda replied in a most fraternal and affectionate letter to the Patriarch, encouraging him to overcome the last irresolutions which still withheld him far from unity. The Patriarch then wrote to Pope Urban VIII, manifesting the greatest desire for union. Unhappily Mattaios was old; his great age prevented him from going to Cairo and assembling his council; his irresolution returned, perhaps also the regret of renouncing the Primacy still restrained him; and he died a few years afterwards without abjuring his error, at least publicly.

Returning to Cairo with a letter of recommendation from the Patriarch in which he enjoined all his priests to receive the Latin missionary in their churches, allow him to celebrate Mass according to the Roman Rite, catechise the people and disseminate Catholic doctrine, and the faithful were exhorted to hear him as a minister of Jesus Christ whose teaching was true, morals

edifying and faith free from error, he immediately put himself in relations with the Coptic priests who served the fourteen churches in the city, and who promised to help him in the fulfilment of his mission. Numerous conversions rewarded his zeal and a general movement towards the Catholic Church became more marked every day and filled the hearts of Father Agathange and his companions with joy.

Realizing that it is from the monasteries the religious initiative should come, he returned to his primitive project, the conversion of the monks. Built by Saints contemporaries of St. Anthony, St. Macarius and St. Athanasius, the monasteries still contain a large number of religious, following the same rule as of yore. Successors of the saintly Ascetics of the Thebaid, these monks have preserved a great number of antique traditions and their manner of life is a distant reflection of the austerities of the early anchorites. Despite the ravages of time and the successive invasions which have devastated Egypt, some remnants exist therein of the libraries founded in every monastery by order of St. Athanasius and increased by his successors, so jealously guarded that modern travellers find great difficulty in getting to see them and taking an inventory of the literary treasures they contain. The monks, more careful perhaps, to preserve their books than to study them, are generally uncultured, but nevertheless some are found above the ordinary level. Besides they are very superior to the secular clergy and their learning, such as it is, adds a lustre to their piety which gives them great influence. It is from their ranks the Patriarch and bishops are always chosen, for celibacy, which is not obligatory upon secular priests, is for bishops among the Copts as well as the Greeks. The esteem they are held in, the conviction of their influence and learning, far inferior, however, to that of the Latin clergy renders them self-opinionated and difficult to lead into Catholicism. The monasteries are still very numerous, and there were three large communities. They recognize no superior distinct from the Patriarch, but they are united by the bonds of charity, mutually helpful, and the monks can readily exchange from one to the other. Father Agathange went to the monastery of St. Anthony, one of the most celebrated in Egypt, but after successive conferences only one could make up his mind to return to Catholicism and abjure his errors. Recalled to Cairo by the needs of his mission, new converts were added to the precious ones who were confirmed, while the multitude promised to submit to the Roman Church as soon as the Patriarchs set them the example of submission. Meanwhile reflection, aided by grace.

had its effect on the hearts of the monks, the good seed he had sown had fructified, and they all expressed a wish to see him again. Upon his return he received the abjuration of a certain number who became apostles in turn and zealously strove to Catholicise the entire community.

Father Agathange's attention was diverted from these controversies by the arrival of a Syrian Catholic bishop who came to invite him to accompany him into his diocese. These Christians called Syrians on account of their rite, and Jacobites from their sect, were subject to a Patriarch who, later on, yielding at the instance of the Latin missionaries, made submission to Pope Alexander VII (1660). At the epoch referred to (1634) this submission had not yet taken place, but the prelate was already giving evidence of better dispositions, and was not preventing the bishops and faithful of his obedience from submitting to the authority of Rome. The bishop who had come to see Father Agathange was already a Catholic and had under his jurisdiction a rather numerous Christian flock scattered over all lower Egypt. They visited the Syrian Christians together and paid a short visit to the monastery of St. Macarius. On his return to Cairo he found Father Cassien of Nantes, who was to be the companion of his labours and to share in his martyrdom.

Father Cassien, who was born at Nantes on January 15, 1607, belonged to a family of Portuguese origin. Loppez Netts, his father, was very much attached to his native country, and his mother, Guyonne d'Almeiras, was also a Portuguese. It is said that on their arrival at Nantes, after their marriage, a beggar, who got mixed up among the crowd of relatives and friends who went to welcome them, exclaimed, "See the bride! She will have three boys, one of whom will be crowned." The family consisted of three boys and three girls. The eldest son was a doctor, who exercised that noble profession in a spirit of charity on a par with his scientific attainments, and died at Saint Bruens in great reputation of sanctity, having edified the whole town by the practice of every Christian virtue. One of the girls, Beatrix, twin sister of Father Cassien, refused the most advantageous offers of marriage in order to serve God with more freedom of mind and without entering religion, led a celibate life in the world. The youngest of the sons was the only one who was married, to perpetuate the name and family of Loppez-Nelto in Nantes. Father Cassien, the second son, received in baptism the name of Consallo, and when very young was confided to the care of pious priests who then directed the

college of Saint Clement. Even in his youth he began to practice mortification and to cultivate a spirit of prayer, rising very early in the morning to spend an hour meditating on the Passion. The Capuchin convent being very near his father's house, he made acquaintance with the friars who liked to talk with him and looked upon as an angel. They related to him the life of St. Francis, taught him the methods of mental prayer, and were astonished as well as edified by the ripe wisdom of his observations. Moved by a desire to communicate the faith to infidel peoples, he was already wishful at nine of being admitted into the Order. The missions of the Levant had been founded and the home missions, organized to bring back to Catholicism the provinces which Protestantism had invaded were attended with the happiest results. The Capuchins engaged warmly in both. The son of Loppez-Nelto doubtless heard the friars often talk of them and, listening eagerly, believed himself called by God to join in this work. He asked Father Giles of Mounay, then guardian of the Nantes convent, to admit him into the noviciate in order to prepare to convert heretics and infidels, but the latter smilingly replied, "You are yet too young: then to convert heretics and pagans needs learning and piety. Strive to become a learned man and a saint and, in a few years, when the rules of the church will permit, we may make you a novice and a religious, later on a missionary and perhaps, a martyr." He applied himself earnestly and successfully to study and when he was fifteen, and had finished a course of rhetoric, he renewed his request to the Capuchin Superiors who consulted his parents. At his father's suggestion his entrance was deferred for two years and, that period of probation having elapsed, he repaired to Angers where the noviciate of the province of Bretagne and Touraine was situated, and where he received the Capuchin habit and the name of Brother Cassien on February 16, 1623, being admitted to profession the year following.

He studied at Rennes under Father Francis de Treguier who had taught Father Agathange and formed several other religious who shed their blood or spent their lives in the missions of Syria, Palestine or Egypt. In the year he was ordained, 1631, Rennes was ravaged by the plague. The victims were so numerous and the terror so widespread that it was difficult to get parents to care for their kindred when stricken with the contagion. All the sick were then conveyed to the sanatorium, transformed subsequently into a general hospital. It was given in charge of the Capuchins. Father Cassien was one of those sent to serve the

sick. Although he caught the infection he did not cease to administer the spiritual and temporal succor needed, forgetting himself to think only of others, taking no rest until he was worn out with fatigue. When the last vestiges of the contagion disappeared, he returned to the convent to resume his course of studies which he finished in 1663.

For a long time the foreign missions had been the object of all his most ardent desires and he had earnestly begged his superiors to send him. At length he got his obedience for the Cairo mission from Father Joseph du Tremblay and set out with Father Benedict of Dijon, who had been his companion in the noviciate. After a long voyage from Marseilles, during which a furious tempest threatened to engulf the vessel, and a few weeks sojourn at Alexandria, he arrived at Cairo and at once applied himself to the study of Arabic. Some Portuguese from Abyssinia, on their way to Jerusalem to visit the holy places, passed through Cairo and asked hospitality of the French Capuchins. Father Cassien, who spoke their language perfectly, received them with great cordiality. They expressed a wish to see new missionaries in Abyssinia replace the Jesuits, persecuted and driven out of the country. Father Agathange, then in Cairo, listened to this conversation and, along with Father Cassien, conceived the project of going to sustain the faith in Abyssinia, menaced after the persecution of the Jesuits. They wrote to Father Joseph to obtain the necessary permission from Rome. Meanwhile Father Cassien acquired from the Portuguese pilgrims the elements of the Ethiopian language, and both the Capuchins pursued their missionary work, feeling the sacred thirst of martyrdom deep in their souls with the growing consciousness that Abyssinia was to be the scene of their combats.

Christianity had been primitively introduced into Ethiopia, now known to us as Abyssinia, by the eunuch whom St. Philip baptized; but it does not seem to have made much progress in the beginning. In the fourth century that great Christian apologist and doctor of the Church, St. Athanasius, sent thither a bishop\* and missionaries formed in his school and soon the reign of Christ extended over the vast plains of equatorial Africa. This new and flourishing Church depended on the patriarchal See of Alexandria and shared its destinies. When schism and heresy were seated on the throne which had so long been the bulwark of the faith, the different churches dependent on it became infected with the same moral poison. The errors of Dioscorus and

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\* Frumentius consecrated by Bishop of Ethiopia by St. Athanasius, A. D.

Eutyches took possession of all minds, distance from the centre of unity and unceasing political revolutions favoring their growth. Old Jewish or pagan traditions still existing were mingled with this degenerate Christianity, without, however, changing the implicit and earnestness of the people's faith. When Islamism overflowed like a torrent and subjected the greater part of the eastern countries, Ethiopia remained free under the authority of kings or emperors called Negus-Nagasti (king of kings) who pretended to be direct descendants of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; but, isolated from every other portion of Christendom, it was, as it were, shut up in error and has since remained more or less stationary. Only one bishop, called Abun or Abouna, sent by the Schismatical Patriarch of Alexandria, resides there; subject to him are a multitude of priests and monks who follow a rule analogous to that of the Coptic priests and monks already referred to. History records several attempts at reunion with the See of Rome; delegates were sent to several councils; union was even officially proclaimed, but in vain, for soon this feeling evaporated through the malevolence of princes. The zealous ambition of Egyptian heretics and all the causes that had contributed to the planting of schism there. In 1605, the grand Negus Zadinghel, enlightened by some Portuguese travellers, had sent ambassadors to Pope Clement VIII and Philip III of Spain to ask for missionaries capable of instructing his people and bringing them under obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. Both Pope and King, delighted with this proposition, confided the mission to the Portuguese Jesuits. Numerous conversions quickly followed, the Catholic Hierarchy was established, a Patriarch of Ethiopia was sent from Spain (Spain and Portugal were then united) and the time when all Abyssinia would become Catholic seemed imminent. But Zadinghel, not content with this progress, however rapid it was, wanted to hasten conversions, and actuated more by his own blind zeal than the true spirit of the gospel, which gives no sanction to constraint as a method of apostolate, issued an edict ordering all heretics or schismatics to quit his kingdom if, within a given time, and a short time, they did not embrace Catholicism. The time having elapsed, he put to death a considerable number of obstinate non-conformists. The others revolted against his despotism, took up arms, and the well-meaning but misguided monarch fell in an engagement with the rebels.

Sussries, or Sussinios, his son, succeeded and walked in his footsteps. A still more general rising threatened him with the



loss of life and scepter; but he triumphed over his enemies and established his throne upon a land steeped in blood. During the rest of his reign, willingly or unwillingly, in good faith or through hypocrisy, Catholicism seemed to prevail over the whole country. But Sussries did not live long enough to realize all that he expected from his victory and violence; he died soon after, leaving the throne to his son Basilides, too young yet to govern by himself, but old enough, however, to have seen his father's faults, the troubles he had experienced and the dangers he had run for the cause of religion. His mother, Sussrie's widow, seized the reigns of government. She had never been a Catholic at heart, although she outwardly appeared to be. As soon as her husband was dead she threw off the mask, and, encouraged by Europeans who made her dread the power of Spain, she resolved to destroy Zadinghel's and Sussrie's work. An edict was soon issued which forbade, under the severest penalties, the exercise of the Catholic religion; Catholics at court who remained steadfast in the faith were exiled; the Jesuits were proscribed and forbidden to enter the kingdom; those who remained, despite the prohibition, had to conceal their identity and several fell victims to their zeal. To consummate the schism the King sent to the Patriarch of Alexandria for an Abouna or bishop.

Since the departure of Alfonso-Mendez, Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, there was no other bishop in the country but an Egyptian imposter who was neither priest nor cleric and did not even know how to read. He drove the priests ordained by the Jesuits out of the churches and inducted others whom he "consecrated" by breathing on their faces and pretending to read some words in an Arabic book. The King finally discovered the imposter and it was then he sent to the Patriarch Mattaios for a bishop.

Father Agathange was with his friend the Patriarch when the delegates arrived. His heart was painfully moved when he heard in detail of the events of which he had partial knowledge from the Portuguese pilgrims. He was, nevertheless, not discouraged, but even strengthened in his design of going to the succor of the few Jesuits hiding in the country or intrenched in the mountains where some Catholics were defending themselves against the troops of Basilides. But time was needed for the obedience from Rome and the delegates would not tarry any longer. Father Agathange, availing of the good dispositions of Mattaios, already a Catholic at heart, although outwardly a schismatic,

got him to consecrate as arch bishop of Ethiopia, a monk of the Abbey of St. Anthony, won over to Catholicism, and upon whom he thought he could count.

This was Abbot Mark Ariminios. In a letter to the exiled Patriarch Mendez he wrote: "I have often conferred with him on several articles of faith and found by the grace of God that he was persuaded that all the dogmas of religion we profess are true. I cannot, however, venture to assure you that he is a Catholic, which I should greatly desire, but I may say that he is well intentioned towards the Roman Church. He is taking with him a Lutheran of German origin who gives no real ground for alarm. I know his bad designs and he has been a great obstacle to the propagation of the faith here. I hope God will bring his influence to naught, and that all the efforts the devil is making against us will turn to his confusion and our advantage. The Patriarch Mendez was at Souakim when Ariminios and Peter Heyling, the Lutheran referred to, delivered this letter. He had several conversations with them and formed a different opinion of them than Father Agathange. He foresaw that the Abouna, frankly Jacobite and crafty, would be a persecutor of the Catholics, and found Heyling mild and insinuating, but did not think there was much likelihood of the spread of Lutheranism through his instrumentality as the Abyssinians are very much attached to their religion. In the sequel Ariminios was the cause of the failure of Catholicism in Ethiopia and the Lutheran was the instigator of his shameful apostacy. Of Swedish extraction and by profession a doctor, Heyling, better known by the name of Peter Leo, was animated with the deadliest hatred of Catholicism and resolved on its destruction in Abyssinia. To reach his ends he first disguised his Lutheranism under the guise of Catholicism. Father Agathange, who had intimation of his secret designs, did everything to prevent his going to Ethiopia and, along with Father Michael of Saxony, superior of the Dominican mission in Egypt, had him closely watched. He saw in the consecration of Ariminios a favorable opportunity for the executions of his project and, under an assumed name asked the Patriarch Mattaios to receive him into his monastery, affecting a great desire to help in the instruction of his monks and to embrace Catholicism. Admitted to the noviciate, in order to receive the habit of the monks of St. Macarius he submitted to the ceremony of circumcision, and after a short time was professed. Having obtained permission to accompany the newly-appointed bishop and a letter of recommen-

dation to the Negus, he warmed himself into the confidence of Arminios during the voyage and tried to wean him from the true faith. He pretended to be very zealous for the Coptic Church, which he rated above all others, saying that it ought not to be subject to the Roman Pontiffs, that if the Coptic bishops listened to the emissaries of Rome they would soon be overthrown and the long series of the successors of St. Mark, St. Athanasius and other great Patriarchs would be interrupted. The bishop began to conceive a dread of the Roman Church and of union with it. Seeing that the prelate cherished a great affection for Father Agathange and had a great veneration for his virtues, Heyling impressed him with the latter's superiority, and insinuated that, in getting him consecrated bishop, his only object was to introduce himself into Abyssinia to gain, under the shelter of the episcopal throne, the confidence of the King and people, when nothing would remain for Ariminios but the fate of Simeon his predecessor who, vanquished in a public discussion by the Jesuit Paez, was covered with confusion, obliged to leave the kingdom and earn his living as a miller. Who knows, he added, if Father Agathange has not had himself consecrated bishop in place of Alfonso Mendez, driven out of your See and exiled by King Basilides? He so far prevailed over the weak and distrustful character of Ariminios that the latter resolved to keep Agathange at bay. Heyling went farther. He resolved to compass his death. In these dispositions they arrived in January, 1637, at Gondar, one of the capitals of Ethiopia, where they found Basilides with his mother and his whole court. The Negus received the Abouna with great demonstrations of piety and solemnly installed him, and Ariminios presented Heyling who promptly acquired such influence that on account of his knowledge which appeared greater to the ignorant Abyssinians than it really was, he was asked to open a school, which was soon filled with scholars into whose lessons he introduced his Lutheran errors. Meanwhile Ariminios saw that things were hardly favorable to union with Rome; that the resistance to the Jesuits, the civil war which had desolated the country, and the old prejudices revived and strengthened by victory would not admit of a movement in that direction. He threw his lot in with the party which suited his interests and gave himself up completely to schism; he even obtained from the Negus an order to stop at the frontier all foreigners who were trying to penetrate into the country on the pretext that they only wanted to introduce disorder. Heyling now felt assured of the success of his scheme and fancied the day

was near at hand when all Abyssinia would be captured by Lutheranism.

After making a pilgrimage to the holy land, to pray in the very place where our Lord had shed His blood for love of us, for courage to shed theirs for love of Him and obtained letters for Basilides and Ariminios from the Patriarch Mattaios, who suggested, as a measure of safety, wearing the Coptic religious habit over that of the Capuchins, they prepared to proceed to Abyssinia, their obediences having arrived from Rome during their absence in Palestine, Father Benedict of Dijon and Father Agathange of Morlaix being included therein. It was more difficult then, than now, to get to Abyssinia from Cairo. Happily Providence came to their relief. The Sultan of Constantinople exercised a certain authority over the city of Souakin where a Pacha ruled in his name. A new Pacha had just been named and the missionaries, having got permission to accompany him, set out on December 23, 1637, reaching Souakin about the middle of March. From Souakin they made their way to Arkiko, one of the principal ports on the Red Sea, in the escort of a Turkish official, and from thence in a caravan towards Dembea, where the Negus and his court then were, having as a precaution donned the Coptic habit. After eight days march, they arrived at Barba, the capital of one of the Ethiopian provinces, the governor of which had received orders to stop all foreign religious, a priest sent by Ariminios seeing carefully to the execution of this order, furnished with an exact description of the French friars, who were immediately recognized on their arrival. Questioned by the governor, Theodore and the Albounas envoy, the missionaries did not at first say what they were, but simply bearers of letters from the Patriarch Mattaios to the Negus, the bishop, and the Abyssinian people. Theodore ordered their luggage to be searched, whereupon the discovery of portable altars, sacred ornaments and European books caused them to be recognized as priests and missionaries. They thought their letters would ensure their being respected, but even these letters, with everything that belonged to them, were seized; they were stripped of their Coptic habits, loaded with heavy chains and thrown into a dungeon. The governor of the province, Mathias, informed of what was going on, sent for the letters, forwarded them to Gondar and ordered the prisoners to be strictly guarded. His orders were rigorously executed. They were kept for three entire days without food. God, however touched the heart of a good Coptic nun named Monica, sister of the Governor Theodore, who visited the imprisoned

friars, brought them provisions, and cared for them. She was rewarded by being led back to the true faith by their words, was absolved from her heresy, and later on, merited to be miraculously informed of the martyrdom of her benefactors. During the forty days of their captivity they only partook of a half pound of bread and some water every day, wishing by mortification to prepare for martyrdom, for which they daily yearned since their departure for the missions.

At length the Emperor's orders arrived. He commanded the prisoners to be sent to Gondar, well guarded, and treated as state criminals. They were then completely stripped of their habits, bound with thick cords so tightly drawn that they penetrated the flesh, attached to the tails of mules ridden by their guards, whom they were obliged to follow on foot, with no time for rest except what they were forced to give the animals. The journey took nearly a month. At last they reached Gondar on June 3, 1638. Then their religious habits were returned to them, and they were presented to the Emperor, who, without caring to hear them, sentenced them to be hanged. The missionaries, without complaining of this sentence, asked to be allowed to speak to the Albouna. Basilides had a great veneration for this prelate and did nothing without consulting him. He would not proceed further without having his advice. The prisoners were sent away under guard, pending the audience.

Ariminios, fearing to face Father Agathange, who had received his objuration and whom gratitude obliged him to venerate for many reasons, moved in addition by Heyling who dreaded losing his influence, refused this interview. He would have wished to obtain the immediate execution of the death sentence; but the King, who already regretted his first impulse, and who did not know the secret motives of Ariminios' insistence, persisted in his opinion and finally fixed a day for the interview.

The Catholics, still rather numerous, apprised of what was going on, crowded to the prison gates, drawing along with them a multitude of heretics. Father Cassien, who spoke their language, discoursed to them on the blindness of those who were separated from the See of Rome. His style of speaking naturally pleasing, and the Ethiopian language, very sweet sounding in itself, further favored his talent, so that his address made a great impression on the people, but the court, informed of this, had him thrown into a dungeon until the day of audience.

The tribunal at length assembled, the Negus himself presiding, having near him the Abouna, the whole court being present,

as well as a considerable number of people. The friars came forward with courage and boldness, but without vain audacity, and, confiding in the promises of Christ, replied to the questions put to them. The Negus first asked them who they were and why they had come to Abyssinia. Father Cassien replied that they were Catholics, religious of the Order of St. Francis, called Capuchins, that their country was France, that they might have lived there happy and tranquil, but that a divine inspiration urged them to leave their country to carry the light of faith to infidels; that this same inspiration had led them to Abyssinia to labor for the reunion of that country to the Roman Catholic Church, out of which there was no salvation. They were not asked what they had to say to the Abouna who was present and ready to hear their message. "All we have to say to him," responded Father Cassien, "is contained in the Patriarch's letter to the Negus, the Abouna, and the people of Abyssinia." Ariminios and Heyling had prevented Basilides from opening these letters. They were now brought and publicly read. Matteos recommended equally to all to receive with honor Fathers Agathange and Cassien as men of holy life and irreproachable monks; he exhorted the King and his subjects to hearken to their doctrine as the only true one concluding by praying God to bless these apostles that they might do as much good in Abyssinia as they had done in Egypt where he had known and conversed with them long enough to be able to answer for their virtue and religion. Ariminios, who had listened impatiently to the reading of these letters, as soon as it was over, broke out into a furious invective against the Patriarch, "That monster, half Copt, half Roman"; adding that Father Agathange had taken advantage of his senility to fascinate and pervert him and was a scoundrel worthy of the greatest punishment. "I have seen him in Egypt," he pursued. "I know better than anyone his malice and hardness, and I have sad experience of it. . . . People should not be deceived; this Father was sent by the Pope of Rome to be Archbishop of the Abyssinian Catholics, as he was already of the Egyptian Copts." He ended by ordering, as bishop, that the chalices and ornaments, and all the objects of worship found in the luggage of the Catholic religious should be burnt or broken up as objects of witchcraft or abomination.

The Negus, without letting himself be carried away by this attack, continued the examination and asked the missionaries why they had dared to penetrate into Abyssinia despite the edicts forbidding entrance to all Roman Catholic foreigners. Father Cas-

sien replied that truly they knew of the edicts prohibiting entrance into the kingdom by Portuguese Jesuits, but that they were Frenchmen by birth and were not included in this prohibition, since their country never had any contest with Abyssinia; that, moreover, they were bearers of letters from the Patriarch of Alexandria, whose jurisdiction was recognized in the whole country, and that, consequently, they did not think they were disobeying the laws. "But why," continued Basilides, "assume the costume of Coptic monks? People are not thus disguised except for grave reasons and to conceal bad designs." "No, assuredly," responded Father Cassien, "We had no evil designs; we acted thus in obedience to the Patriarch, who thought we should have less to suffer and more facility of approaching you in that costume venerated by everybody, than in ours which is unknown to you."

After the examination, Basilides and his officers were thinking that it would suffice to send away the missionaries without inflicting any other punishment upon them, and, pending their expulsion, to keep them in prison. But this moderation was not pleasing to Ariminios, no more than to the Queen-mother and Heyling, who used their influence to move the people to a seditious tumult to clamor at the palace gates and furiously proclaim that the Negus was favoring Catholics like his father and that it was on that account he was keeping the prisoners at Gondar in order to later on do all that the Pope's emissaries would wish. They loudly demanded their immediate banishment and that of the bishop of Nissa and two other Jesuits still in the country. Ariminios's instructions had not been understood by the crowd, so the insidious prelate availed of the opportunity to return to the charge, exaggerated to the Negus the importance of the rising and told him that if he wished to preserve his throne and live more tranquilly than his father, he should not send the missionaries out of his kingdom, but compel them to profess the Coptic religion under the outward guise of which they had penetrated into Abyssinia, or on their refusal to put them to death; thus, the people would be appeased and the throne rendered more secure.

This expedient was deemed wise by the council. They at once sent to the prison for the friars and had them brought before the tribunal, again presided over by the Negus. They were asked if they were baptized and circumcised. Father Cassien replied that as Christians they were baptised, but not circumcised; circumcision being a ceremony of the old law, became not only need-

less but even prohibitory under the new law. The Abyssinian people adhere strictly to this Mosaic ordinance, although all do not submit to it; they regard it as a mark of greater perfection. On hearing Father Cassien the crowd grew indignant with the missionaries and called them Jews, children of fornication, pagans.

As soon as this clamor ceased, Basilides said, "What you say is very well, but it proves nothing; you have only to choose between the Alexandrine religion and the Roman religion. If you choose the former, you shall have life, liberty, riches and pleasures; if you choose the Roman Communion, death awaits you. Make haste, then, and decide for our worship, otherwise your blood be upon you."

Father Cassien promptly made an eloquent profession of faith, of submission to the council of Chalcedon which condemned the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus, and to the Roman Church, out of which there is no salvation. "We are too little attached to life," he added, "that the fear of death should make such a great impression upon us, and if, as Capuchins, we have renounced the pleasures and possessions of this world, it was not now to acquire them by a shameful apostacy. We shall remain firm in our belief, and we prefer death a thousand times to forgetfulness of our God," The Negus, not irritated by this language, and perhaps touched by the constancy of the servants of God, or calling to mind the Catholic truths he had professed in his father's reign, turned to Father Agathange and asked him if he was of the same sentiments as his companion. The latter did not at once understand the King's words, the Ethiopian language not being sufficiently familiar to him; but, when Father Cassien explained them, he made his profession of faith in Arabic and Turkish, unable to make it in Ethiopian. They then conversed for a few minutes in a language which none present understood, after which Father Cassien said to the Emperor: "My companion thoroughly shares my sentiments; we have both been sent by the Sovereign Pontiff, not to seek your gold and pearls, which we despise like dirt, but to get you to enter into communion with the Catholic Church, the only true church, to follow the example of your illustrious father and grandfather; and if our words cannot convince you, we shall willingly shed our blood for you, and, dying, pray God that our death may be more effective than our speech. Ariminios would not let them continue, but rose in a fury and declaimed passionately against the Pope and the Catholics, and in conclusion said: "These two men who want to separate you from our traditions and precipitate you into error,



are not worthy of life, they deserve death"! The people applauded, the King did not venture to contradict him, and pronounced anew the sentence which condemned them to be hanged for not embracing the Ethiopian religion.

Both religious, hearing this sentence, fell on their knees to thank God for a favor they had long asked, gave each other absolution of their faults and the plenary indulgence granted by the Church to missionaries who die while engaged in missionary work; then, rising, Father Cassien began to again make profession of the Catholic faith, and, addressing the faithful mingled with the crowd, exhorted them to persevere to the last in their faith and in submission to the Church of God.

The executioners did not leave them time to make long speeches, but led them to the customary place of execution, stripped them of their garments, and prepared to hang them from the trees which served the purpose of gallows. In their precipitation they had forgotten the ropes; Father Cassien perceived it, and said smilingly: "There should be no ropes needed here, since we have two which we use as cords." The executioners seized them and threw them round the necks of the friars whom they hanged from the trees. But the ropes were too thick and the suffocation was not quick enough to gratify the fury of the people. Then the heretics, at the instance of the Abouna, who had threatened with excommunication those who would not aid in the execution of the French religious, took up stones ready to hand and stoned them until they were dead. They next cut them down from the trees and continued to shower stones upon them so that their bodies were soon completely covered, and even then everyone wanted to bring his stone and co-operate in this work of death. Thus died these two holy religious, victims of their zeal for the conversion of heretics and of their attachment to the Catholic faith. The crown of martyrdom, which they had so earnestly asked, at last encircled their brows.

God was not slow to shew for the glory of His servants. The very night following their martyrdom, brilliant lights, which attracted all the inhabitants of Dembea were seen over the heap of stones under which they were buried. The prodigy should have made them enter into themselves and recognize the truth of the missionaries' teachings; but they were content to admire and remark, "See what a fire these Jews make." The Catholics, on the contrary, were transported with joy, and strengthened in their belief, and came every night, with the heretics to look at these lights which lasted eight days. Basilides was informed of them

and despite the entreaties of Ariminios and Heyling, who sought to persuade him that it was only a specimen of the witchcraft or knavery of the Catholics, he would see for himself what it was and examine everything attentively, resolved to punish severely those who were the cause of this deception. But, after a conscientious examination, he was convinced of the reality of the fact and seized with admiration and dread; but was not converted on that account. However, on returning to his palace, he sent orders to have the bodies of the two Capuchins interred in a more becoming place. They set to work, and had removed a portion of the stones which covered them, when a sudden storm of extreme violence arose and dispersed the terrified schismatics; whereupon the Catholics, reassured by the prodigy and full of joy, carried away the precious remains out of the precincts of the city and interred them without external pomp but with lively gratitude for the grace which God had accorded them in the martyrdom of these two religious.

Other marvels likewise signalized their glorious death. On the night following it, Father Cassien appeared to the nun whom he had converted at Barba during his first captivity; he was radiant in glory and ascending to Heaven holding in his hand a glistening standard. Simultaneously another apparition of the martyrs appeared to the Capuchin nuns in Tours.

Ariminios, after getting rid of the French Capuchins, remained confronted by the Swedish Lutheran, Heyling or Peter Leo who had made profit out of the spoils of the Jesuits and by his learning acquired considerable influence over the court and the people. Immediately after the events narrated he tried to disseminate his errors and first attacked the worship of the saints, then combatted the honors paid to the Blessed Virgin and even forbade his pupils to recite the Hail Mary at the beginning and conclusion of class. The angry parents complained to the Abouna who, less through zeal than the jealousy which was already devouring him, the growing influence of Peter Leo detracting from his, echoed the people's voice, and, after a rather long resistance on the part of the King, finally obtained Heyling's banishment. Basilides, however, as a token of his good will, loaded him with rich gifts which, added to what he already possessed, would have enabled him to lead a life of pleasure wherever he liked. But the blessing of God did not rest upon this money, stained with the blood of His servants. When Heyling, escorted by a large number of slaves and carrying all his ill-gotten wealth with him, reached Souakim, the

Pasha—the same who had so well received the French Capuchins—knowing the share he had in their death, had him seized on his arrival and at once beheaded. The Turk then took possession of all his property, with the approbation of the whole town.

The martyrs long continued to be objects of veneration in Abyssinia and Egypt, even schismatics and Turks made pilgrimages to their grave. The Capuchins of Cairo, when they heard of their death, sought to secure authentic accounts of their martyrdom. Letters verifying it from Father Antonio of Virgoletta and Father Bonaventure of Lude, Capuchin, were sent in 1639 to Propaganda, and in the year following others from Father Sylvester of Sant 'Aniano, Capuchin, Father Antonio of Virgoletta and Father Antonio of Pietrapagana observantines. At the same time and shortly after was added the testimony of the exiled Patriarch Alfonso Mendez, who had retired to Goa. This prelate, on December 1, 1639, sent to Father Peter of Viviers and Father Zeno of Bange, Capuchin missionaries in India, an account he had received from Father Louis of Cardeira, a Portuguese, and Father Bruno of Santa Croce, Italian, two Jesuits who had been in Abyssinia at the time of the persecution, which record had been already sent to Urban VIII. The two Observantine Fathers, who had been sent to Abyssinia as missionaries Apostolic, were most diligent in procuring exact information for Propaganda and never relaxed their labors until they were able to send a complete, authentic and circumstantial relation of the acts of the two Capuchin martyrs, confirmed by a letter from the Most Rev. Francesco Antonio of San Felice, Archbishop of Mira, and Verbally by Father Elzear, Capuchin.

Nor was Rome, with its solicitude for all the Churches and its particular maternal solicitude for its missionaries, who form the vanguard of its sacred armies, slow to move. Already on June 27, 1639, the Cardinal of Sant 'Onofrio had communicated the matter to Propaganda, of which he was Prefect, and the Cardinals having diligently examined them, advised Innocent X to begin the Process of Beatification which, by a decree of February 17, 1648, was begun, and had already made much progress when on January 7, 1655, the Pope died. His successor, Alexander VII was petitioned by several distinguished personages in France, notably Louis XIV in a letter dated May 17, 1655, to authorize its resumption, which he did, but it was often interrupted on account of other and more urgent affairs. The process was again retarded by the death of Alexander on May 22, 1667. It was

only after the lapse of two years, on July 20, 1669, under the Pontificate of Clement IX that a definite result was reached when the Congregation of Rites replied, conformably to the conclusions of the Promoter of the Faith, to the relations or authentic records submitted to its consideration by Propaganda. Further information being required, a more extensive and circumstantial account was prepared by one of the Capuchins; and most important documents, long sought for, having subsequently been discovered, Leo XIII, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated January 10, 1887, granted the petition of the Most Rev. Father Maurus of Leonessa, Postulator General of the Causes of the Servants of God of the Capuchin Order, that these documents be accepted in lieu of the Process of the Ordinary. It was reserved to Pius X, happily reigning, the seal of his Pontifical authority to the ultimate conclusion of the Congregation of Rites and beatify these two Capuchin martyrs.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

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## THE FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION.

**R**EQUISITE formalities not being completed last year, the measure carried in such hot haste through the French Parliament at the close of December is known as the Law of January 2, 1907.

In the Encyclical Letter, dated The Epiphany, January 6, addressed to the French Cardinals, Episcopate, Clergy, and people, the Vicar of Christ categorically condemns it as "a law of spoliation and confiscation that has completed the stripping of the Church. From the point of view of the exercise of worship this law has organized anarchy; it is the installation of uncertainty and caprice. Uncertainty whether places of worship, always liable to be diverted from their purpose, are, meanwhile, to be placed, or not to be placed, at the disposal of the Clergy and faithful; uncertainty whether they shall be reserved for them or not, and for how long: whilst administrative arbitrariness regulates the conditions of their use, which is rendered eminently precarious. Public worship will be in as many diverse situations as there are parishes in France; in each parish the priest will be at the discretion of the municipal authority.

And thus an opening for conflict has been organized from one end of the country to the other. On the other hand, there is an obligation to meet all sorts of heavy charges, whilst at the

same time there are draconian restrictions upon the resources by which they are to be met. Thus, though but of yesterday, this law has already evoked manifold and severe criticisms from men belonging indiscriminately to all political parties and all shades of religious opinion. These criticisms alone are enough for passing judgment upon the law.

It is easy to see from what has just been summarized that this law (of January 2, 1907) is an aggravation of the Separation Law, and we cannot, therefore, do otherwise than condemn it.

The vague and ambiguous wording of some of its articles places the end pursued by our enemies in fresh light. Their object, as we have already pointed out, is, the distraction of the Church and dechristianization of France, but without people generally attending to it or even noticing it. Their evil work does not respond to the wishes of the country. Universal reprobation, like a slow tide, is rising round them.

As to the annual declaration required for exercising public worship, though it does not offer all the legal security that can properly be desired, to avoid still greater evils to come the Church might have been induced to tolerate the said declaration. But, by the provisions that, the parish priest or the celebrant would not henceforth be anything more in his Church than an occupant without legal title there; that he would no longer be entitled to perform any administrative act there; a situation so vague and humiliating is created for the ministrants of public worship when exercising their ministry that under such conditions, it is impossible to accept the said declaration.

A pastoral letter to his diocesans from Mgr. Gieure, Bishop of Bayonne, which is the centre of a zealous and important Basque Catholic population, supplies an admirable supplement to the Encyclical. This Prelate points out: "Dechristianizing France goes on with as much perseverance as passion, bishops and religious are consoled with, for, undoubtedly, they are despoiled, hunted down, persecuted. But, in reality, the greatest injury will be suffered by the Christian population. To whom do these stolen properties really belong? To the people. From whom did they originally come? From the people. Who has mainly profited by them until to-day? The people. Bishops, priests, religious, will, if they must, get away safely and will, wherever they may go, take their religion with them. If recruiting the clergy be stopped through closing seminaries, if priestly ministrations be rendered impossible, how can the population practice religion? Who will distribute the sacraments? Who will aid the sick?

Who will bless remains of the beloved dead? If the people clearly understood all they would perceive that, in the long run, they will be the principal sufferers in this savage war. To such lengths has hatred of Jesus Christ brought us. To destroy His beneficent reign over souls, over the French nation, everything has been sacked or shattered; individual apostasy, national apostasy, have brought us to this pass at last."

Before the Epiphany Encyclical was published the Chambers reassembled, after the holidays, on January 8, when M. Passy—Deputy Senior in age—presiding at the opening, told his colleagues some wholesome truths about "the course of events and the new mechanism of parliamentary organization which have hurried political parties into manifestations that disturb the partisans and friends of a Liberal Republic." A few extracts from this bold discourse are relevant here, for they remind one "Still waters run deep," and reveal under currents of feeling that will not be unseen forever.

"Honor, in governing, means justice, and justice for every citizen ought to be the aim of a Republic. The only method of attaining that ideal of justice is Liberty; a word so attractive, so necessary, that all men, all parties, aspire to and claim its advantages, though everyone understands it in his own way; and liberty for you may mean servitude for me. We can say to-day, we shall say for a long while yet, with Madame Roland as she ascended gloriously the steps of her scaffold, 'O Liberty! how many are the faults committed, and that will be committed, in thy name!' Liberty does not exist without security for persons and for interests. Now neither the constitution nor our political customs give us this complete security. Parliamentary omnipotence, exercised on every subject matter under the pressure of political passion and pre-conceived systems, is a permanent danger for the security of French citizens. Liberty in the press is not enough for us, and to ensure that security there must be created, as in the United States of America, institutions for guaranteeing it. In this ministerial declaration the Premier told us 'the legitimate exercise of Liberty must first of all be guaranteed against administrative arbitrariness.' Well, a proposal to suppress the motto on our coinage, 'God protects France' was rejected in 1899 by the Chambers; in 1906 it was adopted without any Parliamentary report as preliminary, with Government's consent.

Yet the word and the idea of "God" are important factors in mundane policy, for, if suppressed from republican language

they will still remain a reason for concord in universal language, and it is a political mistake to break any bond of international solidarity. The Ambassador Count Tornielli, speaking on New Year's day for the whole diplomatic corps, finely told the President of the Republic, 'nothing happening to-day to any people is indifferent to the other peoples of the world. Deliberate appreciations and judgments prevailing among all nations of equal civilization form the commonalty of an universal public opinion.' Happily, the time has yet to come when the nations of the world shall all renounce the word and the idea of "God." And all who see brilliantly shining in infinite space those lights of hope and justice which nothing shall ever extinguish will continue to say from their hearts' inmost depths, "May God protect France!"

The allusion is, of course, to the following passage in the speech (that was placarded at cost of the State in every town, village, and hamlet, as well as in all cities) delivered by the Socialist, atheist, and Minister of Labor, M. Viviani, on November 3, 1906, in the Chamber: "Unitedly, our fathers, our elders, and ourselves, we have been devoted to the work of anticlericalism and irreligion. From the human conscience we have plucked our belief in another world. Together, with dignified attitude, we have extinguished in the heavens lights that no one shall again kindle." On this insensate falsity the Protestant Pastor of Monod, of Roven, well said: "To extinguish the lights in heaven Christ must be taken away, but that is an impossibility. If ever there was an attitude of dignity it is that of Christ dying on the cross at Golgotha, and giving to His brethren in humanity supreme consolations, supreme hopes."

To procure by lawful agitation constitutional reforms, of which M. Passy so courageously affirmed the crying need, is the chief work undertaken by the powerful Catholic association "Popular Liberal Action," whose founder and President (the Catholic Parliamentary leader) M. Pion, at their annual congress held last November in Lyons, described it thus: "Without constitutional reforms public liberties and citizens' rights are unguaranteed. The way whereby Parliamentary majorities manage to play ducks and drakes with essential liberties and the most sacred rights proves there is a worse tyranny than that of an individual, namely, a collective anonymous tyranny which coolly does as it pleases. France, deeming herself initiator of progress, and civilization's leader, lives under a regime none of the neighboring countries would endure a day. She is without, or at the best has only half a constitution. Turkey is the one European country

worse off in this respect than we are. Our legislators in 1875 hastily drafted and voted a law upon the organization of State powers, but they omitted guarantees of private rights. In 1797 the Chambers placarded on schools and town halls the famous declaration of the rights of man, but as that declaration was abrogated two years afterwards, and the abrogation has been confirmed by a series of subsequent constitutions and charters, the pompous placarding was a deception, it was one of those expedients whereby the masses are mystified and duped. The declaration is so much waste paper. A Frenchman has not one right of which he cannot easily be deprived." After declaring every liberty had been violated; liberty of association, liberty of teaching, liberty of public worship, M. Pion proceeded: "If we had a constitution, if we had a Supreme Court that would make our rights respected, if our electoral system were sincere and honest we should not have been perpetrated, one after another, the outrages against liberty from which our country so cruelly suffers. Freedom of conscience is imperilled when the despoiling State, professedly irreligious, pretends to represent the Christian community and to impose upon Christians a system of worship organized by itself."

However, to M. Etienne Flandin, deputy for the Yonne, belongs the honor of taking the first decisive practical step in Parliament in the direction of indispensable reforms.

Failing to obtain a hearing in December for his proposed amending clause to the Spoliation Law then being discussed with fire and fury, this genuine Statesman moved on January 15, a short project of law providing that public meetings might freely be held without preliminary authorizations, declarations, or other formalities, anywhere excepting on the public roads, but subject to being dissolved by the constituted authorities in case of trouble developing, or threatening to develop, into violence or blows.

Almost unanimously approved at once the project was referred to a committee, to whom exactly a week later the Government submitted (by a decree of the President of the Republic) a project of law of their own, drafted by M. Clemenceau, as follows:

Article 1. Public meetings, for whatever object, may be held at any hour without any preliminary declaration.

Article 2. Everything contrary to the foregoing that may be in the laws of June 30, 1881, Dec. 9, 1905, and January 2, 1907, is here abrogated."

With this project the Ministry submitted a lengthy statement of reasons and agreements for the altered course it had so suddenly been decided to steer.



The committee having expressed their satisfaction, M. Flandin withdrew his own proposal, and the Ministerial project being immediately considered, he was requested as their chairman to return it with their report thereupon, which he did on January 22, that the Premier might move this supremely important measure. M. Flandin's analytical report concludes: "This law doubtless brings a solution of temporary difficulties, but before all else it is a common law, creating no privileges, available for all Frenchmen, and increasing our patrimony of freedom. Let us be less suspicious of freedom, let us have a more generous faith in it. If France has, perhaps, profited less than other peoples by those ideas of emancipation she first preached it is because, too often among us, the mania of making rules for people and keeping them in leading-strings, has discouraged initiative and paralyzed progress." This bill, moved on January 29, after an excited discussion lasting two days was carried by 532 votes against 4, two brief amendments dealing with the duty of mayors to provide places for meetings, and with provisions for repairs having been added to the original draft as given above. On January 31, the Senate received the bill with a request from the Cabinet to discuss it without delay. For unless promulgated as law on February 3, the law of January 2 operates to suppress stipends to priests contravening its requirements of a declaration. However, the Senate, even more anti-clerical than the Chamber, shelved discussion by adjourning until February 7, so that Government must, applying the law of January 2, proceed as before against priests guilty of the (still legal) crime of celebrating Mass without a declaration. This move on the part of the Senate was possibly a pre-arranged one, for there have been grand squabbles not only in the Bloc but between Messieurs Clemenceau and Briand; now should a Ministerial crisis ensue and a change of Cabinet result, it might easily happen that this excellent bill could not become law.<sup>1</sup> The actual political situa-

<sup>1</sup> That any grand international matter has altered a fixed deliberate policy to destroy Christianity, pursued during a generation by M. Viviani, his father, elders, and associates, is unlikely; because, were any such cause known to these men of yesterday, it would surely be known at the Vatican. Rome is now a leading political centre. At this season the Eternal City is crowded by diplomatists and Statesmen of the first distinction. Now, at the Vatican, three or four days after the Briand circular nothing more, evidently, was known as to why it was indited than is known by the present writer. The French Government is credited there with sincerity, and with being animated by loyal intentions, so that peace is now considered possible and even probable. It was said, in the Papal entourage, two envoys from the French bishops are expected with information for the Holy Father and instructions to represent need of urgency for a Papal pronouncement, inasmuch as the fall of the Ministry before signature of the contracts would upset everything, which, once signed, restoration of existing incoherence would be very hard.

tion is one of latent and lasting Cabinet crisis, not alone due to the ecclesiastical revolution, but to Socialistic proposed legislation on several matters not at all to the taste of the Senate. In the language of a deputy of the right, the proposed income tax if suitable to the Socialists means, coalition of Senators against the Cabinet; if framed in a spirit of compromise means war to the knife with extremists in the Bloc; hence the Clemenceau Ministry is tolerably sick after three months of office.

The third meeting of the French episcopate, held at the Chateau de la Muette, Paris, January 15-19, resulted in a declaration (approved by the Holy See) of their unanimous consent to essay the organization of public worship in churches to be placed at the Bishops' disposal free; an essential condition being a legal contract (authorized by Government) between themselves or their clergy and the Prefects or Mayors to whom such churches (sequestered in December) have been handed or will be handed over; the contract to be for a term of eighteen years, during which term (being fixed by the common law for municipal leases of communal properties) neither Mayors nor Prefects shall in any way interfere either in parochial administration or in regard to the conditions of occupancy of the edifices, which must be, as regards police, under control of the priest in charge, the mayor intervening only on grave occasions when his official duties require him according to law to re-establish disturbed order.<sup>2</sup>

This document, published on January 29, was immediately with a form of contract, sent by each Bishop to the Parish priests in his diocese with a request to be informed immediately whether the proposed contract would be entered into by their respective

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<sup>2</sup> Now, the declaration of the Bishops on January 29th, expressly proclaims their solidarity, and announces that if private worship is not to become general, the Mayors, the whole country, must universally accept the proposal their Lordships make as to leases. "All or none."

Governments have, of course, far better means of knowing the truth than the writer, who himself believes anything approaching to national unanimity in favor of leasing for eighteen years churches seized a few weeks ago in virtue of powers to despoil and confiscate given by an overwhelming national vote less than a year ago, is in the last degree unlikely.

These anti-Christians are, perhaps, confident there can be no such revulsion. At any rate it is highly suspicious the extreme anti-clericals in the Chamber refused to "interpellate," or they actually approved in conversation the circular of M. Briand, who was absent (having, it was given out, been obliged to go home, "suffering from influenza"; immediately after settling the draft contract in Council); although an adequate explanation of the Ministerial and party silence during the week ending with the departure of King Edward may be, that visit; which certainly, at such an inclement season, would not have been undertaken without good reason.

mayors, and instructing them if possible to get it signed at once and return it to the Bishop. Of course, from every parish where Catholics are strong and zealous the signed contracts were quickly obtainable or obtained. But so soon as the Minister of worship learned these proceedings, he circularized the Prefects of France on February 1:

"You will shortly receive instructions concerning the application of the Article in the Law of January 2, 1907, providing that free use of Communal buildings intended for worship, and of their fittings, may, subject to the requirements of Article 13 in the law of 9 December, 1905, be accorded by an administration act of the mayors to the ministers of worship specified in declarations of worship-meetings. It is extremely urgent, to prevent mayors being entrapped into giving their signatures, that you should telegraphically warn them, they are not entitled to enter into a contract of this kind without preliminary deliberation by their municipal council, and that they should, pending the vote of that body, confine themselves, if asked for it, to giving an acknowledgment of receipt of any request for use of edifices they may have received. You will also assure them they shall at a very early date receive instructions defining the conditions to be observed to render such contracts valid, and will direct them to do nothing until those instructions reach them."

It is due to M. Briand to acknowledge: first, that he lost no time whatever in fulfilling this promise; second, that his new circular on the application of the law of January 2, 1907, which bears date Paris, February 3rd, and was published the following evening, lays down regulations concerning the leases of Churches and Communal Chapels which on the face of these are fair, reasonable, and likely to be universally acceptable. The main conditions are, approval of the agreements by the municipal councils, failing which mayors cannot enter into them; maximum term to be eighteen years; the lessee (whether a cure, or a worship association) to keep the buildings in proper repair; leases for longer periods than eighteen years to be sanctioned by the prefect; that the cure acts by permission of his ecclesiastical superior may be stated in the lease, but such superior is not to be entitled in any way, once the document is signed to interfere, or exercise authority. It is not clear whether the bishop may himself contract with the Mayor, and there are words in one clause of the circular which may be taken (and perhaps are designedly used) to mean that the contracting cure must previously make a declaration as required by the law of January 2, 1907. If this be the

meaning, the lengthy circular is merely pompous waste paper.<sup>3</sup>

In Paris the appearance of the circular was hailed with satisfaction by Catholics and reasonable men. Paul de Cussagnac regards it as a departure to Canossa, all honor being, he says, due to the Episcopate's final noble attempt to save public worship, and as a practical summary of conditions embraced within pontifical teachings. Opinion generally is, the circular manifests a sincere intention of concessions upon the main issues, is the paraphrase of the Episcopal declaration of January 29th, and accords satisfaction to the principles laid down as necessary by the Holy Father. In the afternoon of Monday, February 6th, the Paris cures met at the Archbishop's, where they learned Cardinal Richard had determined to authorize "declaration de reunion." Monsignor Ametta, coadjutor of the Cardinal Archbishop who was slightly indisposed presided and declared that contracts with prefects or mayors on the conditions indicated in the circular, guaranteed sufficiently the dignity and security of the situation of the Church; the circular indicated in precise terms the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and expressly recognized the hierarchical principle.

Mgr. Amette concluded: "The contract gives the cure a juridical title to use the Church and, consequently, the right to perform administrative acts, so that he ceases to be a mere bird of passage in the Church, and is no longer in the vague and humiliating situation given to him in previous ministerial instructions. Such being the case the reasons for refusing a declaration have disappeared on which the Supreme Pontiff wisely laid so much stress. Accordingly Cardinal Richard deems it proper and useful to direct his priests to make the declaration, after the contract is duly signed, and when His Eminence shall authorize them to make it." In the political world the anti-clericals are displeased; disagreement between Messieurs Clemenceau and Briand is inferred, interpellations are spoken of. "A circular is not a law" people say. There is no denying that M. Briand has

<sup>3</sup> The French Cabinet on Tuesday, February 5th, settled the form of contract they desired. The only fresh feature in this document is the final novel, excessively objectionable, and most dangerous clause, as follows: "La cession du benefice du present acte est subordonnee a l'adhesion du Prefet"; that is to say, "The grant of the advantages accruing from the present contract is subject to the Prefect's adhesion thereto." In other words, Government, whose creatures the Prefects (several being Jews and Freemasons) generally, are, and each of whom holds office absolutely at the pleasure of Government,—reserves to itself power to tear up through Prefectures any or all of many thousands of leases before legal effect is given to the contract obtained after so much exertion! Probably every American and Englishman of business who reads the clause, be his profession or opinion what they may, will say, "This is not business," and will agree with Messieurs. Passy and Pion as to the need of Constitutional reforms.

acted more like a statesman desirous of religious peace than as a sectarian hungering for the applause of the dangerous maniacs of anti-clericals. Why this sudden volte face is taken remains a mystery, but the motive is in all likelihood one of an international character, and therefore providentially enforced upon the Freemason Pontiffs.

M. Briand had announced as soon as he saw the declaration that he considered it to be the first evidence of ecclesiastical dispositions to behave legally, although it was worded harshly, threateningly, and prescribed absolutely unacceptable conditions. M. Clemenceau in the Chamber next day, January 30th, denounced it as "An insolent ultimatum the Government kicks out of its way (*repousse de pied*): if it is said to be an overture to discussion the Government declines any; they tell us the Church asks for all or nothing; in that case the Government reply, nothing you shall have. The document amounts to nothing, or to no more than a bad newspaper article." In the course of his speech he remarked that M. Briand, author of the Separation Law, had never anticipated its condemnation in Rome. "M. Briand foresaw everything except what actually happened. Consequently it is perfectly true that we are floundering in quagmires. But it is not I who plunged into them. I was placed there and I remain there" (in 'incoherences').

Incoherent indeed is the political situation. While the anti-Christian Minister of Worship cogitates conditions that shall prevent the Mayor of Toul from contracting if he wishes in the twentieth century with the dispossessed Bishop for using the Cathedral for Christian devotions it is announced, "The Masonic Lodge of Toul has expressed the hope that the Cathedral will be converted into a public market."

The chapel of the Marist Brothers, 46 Rue Pernety, Paris, has been sold to a cafe-concert proprietor, and, after closing all seminaries and sending over 3500 inmates to barracks for two years, ministers announce that the seminary of St. Sulpice is to be turned into a picture gallery. From vulgar impertinence, political quagmires, intrigues, incoherence, inconsequence, sacrilege, and impious absurdities, it is a relief to turn to actions by a few men of sense and principle. Here are some.

The Prefect of the Dordogne, M. Estebé, in January, circularized the mayors of his department as follows:

"Communal Churches, notwithstanding that, in default of worship association they are now legally possessed by the communes, retain, along with their fittings, their former character.

They must remain open as formerly to the faithful and to the ministrants of worship. The cures or priests in charge are therefore not to be asked to give us the keys they have; both on account of containing to hold them and because of their occupancy of the Churches they incur responsibility to the communes, and are bound by a ministerial circular of December 1, last, not to allow third parties to damage the buildings or the objects furnishing the buildings. Accordingly, when exceptional circumstances arise, and while the present state of things lasts, there seems to be no need, notwithstanding the absence of sequestration, for you to organize a guardianship that would risk creation of obstacles to worship."

The Count of Pimodan, Lieut. Col. of Cuirassiers in January retired from the army, sacrificing his career to his convictions, and as a token of respect (*noblesse oblige*) for the cause in which his father, General Pimodan, laid down his life at the head of pontifical troops in the field of Castelfiardo. The Count was among the youngest officers of equal military rank, and has published accounts of his travels in Japan and Algeria. Capt. Le Texier, a Breton, resigned his commission rather than assist at an inventory, and Captain Magniez, in the North of France (who, like Captain Le Texier had arisen from the ranks) had to do the same because he refused to obey orders counter to his Catholic convictions of right and wrong.

M. Belard, Secretary to the Mayor of Ispagnac (Lozere) declined to assist in taking the inventory at the Church, protested against that proceeding, and was sentenced in December to a fortnight of imprisonment.

The Garde-Champetre, or rural policeman, of Saint-Martin du Bec (Seine-inferieure) a widower with ten children (a fact that speaks volumes) in 1905 had one of them sick with typhoid fever and his wife on her deathbed. The parish priest during several nights watched beside mother and son. Last December the poor man (who is no more clerically minded than his fellows) was ordered to witness his benefactor offering Mass and take notes for the purpose of prosecuting the offender. He refused and was instantly dismissed. So far as I know this martyr to gratitude has received from his Catholic countrymen and brethren no more aid in his terrible position than a ten franc piece from one of them.

M. Maurice Trubert was offered by the minister for foreign affairs the post of secretary to the French legation in Buenos-Aires, but resigned, considering, he said, "I, as a Catholic can-

not any longer represent abroad, where my future career should be, a government officially proclaiming its irreligion and treating the head of the Church as it does."

Such heroic examples of conduct unhappily are exceptional and more than rare. But it is an edifying fact that in the department of Magenne, where at the elections last year Catholics won all along the line, the Assize Court in January had to close after opening, there being no offenders to try.<sup>4</sup>

An heroic defence of hearth and home was made by the superior and 160 seminarists of the Angers diocesan seminary of Beaupreau on Saturday, January 19. The expulsion was to have been by surprise before dawn at 6 o'clock, and troops from Angers and Cholat were ordered to march thither during the night; but the country was on the *qui vive*, and the alarm was given at 3 in the morning by automobile from Angers. The tocsin being sounded Catholics flocked in to defend, and they succeeded in keeping the considerable force engaged at bay the whole day. The first assault being repulsed dynamite was used by the besiegers, all the windows within a radius of fifty to sixty yards being broken and the flooring of a neighboring house giving away. During the fight, the Sub-Prefect of Cholet, the commander of the gendarmerie, and the commissary of police were wounded, the last seriously. Reinforcements were sent for to Cholet and to Angers. About 2 in the afternoon the prefect of Angers and the commandant of gendarmerie there arrived with army sappers and miners, and at 3 a fresh attack was made, the soldiers with fixed bayonets and trumpets sounding the charge. The besieged, from dormitory windows flung on the assailants articles of furniture; fifteen soldiers in this assault being wounded and the colonel of the 77th Line Regiment getting his jaw bone broken. This attack was vigorously repulsed. The superior, to avoid more effusion of blood, then negotiated, and, after obtaining a promise

<sup>4</sup> In the department of Magenne, (that of exclusively Catholic deputies and of white gloved assize) in the first forty-eight hours 150 Mayors agreed and seven refused to contract. In that of Aveyron 420 accepted and ten refused. In the diocese of Auch, 180 accepted and ten refused. At Lyons on the other hand, the second city of France, and a Catholic centre with its Cardinal Archbishop, its shrine of Fouvrieres, its annual universal illumination on December 8th, and its primitive martyrdom rendering it an ideal City of the Saints, the Mayor on February 5th, informed his municipal council that three cures had, on behalf of all the Lyons cures, inquired whether he would contract, and had been told he declined to entertain their application or even to submit it to the council, which it would have been his duty to do had cures separately applied, each for himself. It is significant, perhaps, that the first example since Robespierre's dictatorship of an indispensable resort to private worship, was simultaneous with the Briand circular. At Pellestre, near Perpignan, the Mayor took on himself (illegally) to close the Church! so the cure has been forced to celebrate functions in private houses.

that no proceedings would be taken against any of the defenders, capitulated. The total number wounded was some 150, one-third seriously, the police commissary dangerously.

Despite the promise given by the prefect, early in the following week proceedings were taken by the authorities against M. Bonnet, manufacturer; M. Subileau, carpenter; M. Setieroe, hairdresser; M. Lampriere, painter; M. Saulard, mason; and Madame Bourget, cultivator, for manifesting against the despoiling force. A fortnight after the siege the War Minister, General Picquart, visited Angers and distributed sundry decorations and medals to the officers, soldiers and gendarmes who had distinguished themselves!

A significant contrast to this brave struggle was the seizure on January 24th, of the Minor Seminary of St. Anne-d'Auray, in the diocese of Vannes, Brittany, by the prefect of Vannes, the sub-prefect of Lorient, and M. Hennion, a director of the Paris police, specially sent; protected by an imposing force of 2,000 troops (200 being gendarmes) commanded by General Lamezac. Sainte-Anne d'Auray is a famous place of pilgrimage; on the annual feast 100,000 may be seen there. In so Catholic a district, naturally all the country people crowded in from the earliest hour; at half-past 7 the tocsin sounded; at 8 the peasantry poured in by all the roads; at 11 the troops. The seminary door being burst open, the great Basilica was entered by the soldiers, to take the inventory (already taken) being the purpose; and a skirmish between them and the people in the church followed; the Abbe Daniel and a few laymen, including the Marquis of Anglade, were arrested, together with his Lordship's sister, the Marchioness of Caverville, accused of striking with her parasol the police commissary.

M. Hennion expelled the vicar-general, the superior, and several professors, while the Catholics outside cheered the expelled students and chanted hymns. At half-past 4, the inventory was finished and all was over; the troops departed amid loud hootings, with cries of "Long life to the Prussians!" and "To Berlin!" The local account concluded: "The courage and nerve of the population has greatly increased, and their anger was intense when, contrary to expectation, a new inventory of the church properties was taken. It was a splendid, imposing manifestation of Catholic faith. One hundred and twenty gendarmes and two companies of sappers and miners slept in the Basilica which remained open all night."

This is a case, I submit, where a few works like to those at



Beaupreau would have impressed France and the world more than such "imposing" faith; while doing more for the cause of Christ.

Uncertainty, arbitrariness, incoherence, characterize the numberless cases where prosecutions for contraventions of recent laws have been instituted. Fines for the same offence of saying Mass have varied from a franc to ten francs, while probably there have been fewer condemnations than acquittals of accused priests or bishops.

In the provinces about a dozen minor churches up to the end of January had been closed. The first to enjoy that distinction being at Azay-sur-Indre (in Indre et Loire) under the following circumstances: The mayor, M. Boucher, on December 16th, wrote to the cures: "In execution of the law of 1881, and failing any worship-declaration I have the honor to inform you the commune of Azay-sur-Indre to-day takes possession of the Presbytery and Church which you are requested to quit at once. In case of your refusing, a statement of contravention will, conformably to law, be drawn up against you." The Archbishop gave unlimited leave of absence to the cure, who left the parish, and the church was closed.

The Paris courts have to settle a singular case arising out of the sequestration and proposed retention by the State of moneys bequeathed for Requiem Mass. M. Isely, a musical publisher, deceased in 1904, left by will 7,000 dollars each; to a lady, the faculty of medicine and the three *conseils de fabrique* of the three Parish churches of Notre Dame le Lorette, Saint Vincent Paul, and Notre Dame des Champs; each church to employ the interest of the 7,000 dollars bequeathed to it in Masses forever for M. Isely and his two parents. The lady and the faculty claim their respective proportions of the \$35,000; and the executor, M. Graux, seeks a judicial decision on the following points: First, Ought the  $3 \times 7,000 = 21,000$  dollars bequest to be annulled, since no worship-associations have been formed that might claim the money; or, second, ought the will to be annulled on the ground of bequests to unknown persons? or, third, should the 21,000 dollars be handed over at once to institutions for benevolent uses (as provided in the recent ecclesiastical legislation)? In that case ought not the court to refuse to decide finally upon the will until the 21,000 dollars are actually handed over? The Government propose to "reserve" those 21,000 dollars.

A schismatic worship-association (the first of these bodies) was organized last November at Culey in the department of

Meuse, by the cure (repudiated by his bishop) and the municipality. The civil tribunal of Bar-le-Duc decided in January that, notwithstanding the Separation Law requirement of episcopal acquiescence, the sequestrator of the Church and properties must hand over to this worship-association, (excommunicated by the bishop) forthwith, all deeds, documents and moneys. This, although the Council of State (not consulted) alone has legal status to decide whether the Culey worship-association has been validly constituted; because the Council of State has not, up to the present, made any pronouncement against that course.

A personage tolerably well-known to ritualistic circles in America and England, viz: the Frenchman by race but American citizen by naturalization, styled "Archbishop Vilatte of the ancient American Catholic Church" arrived in Paris in December, and, in the parish of Notre Dame de Lorette, together with a few laymen, founded (of course, without consulting the cure or the Cardinal Archbishop) a worship-association that (equally of course) filed a demand for the handing over to it of the parish church and its possessions. In the meantime the Archbishop established himself at 22 bis Rue Legendre, formerly belonging to Barnabite Fathers (expulsed) and provided with a chapel, where a public function of high Mass was partly celebrated on Sexagesima Sunday by the Abbe Roussin, from the diocese of Toulouse, a priest under a cloud, who is to be the cure of the ex-Barnabite chapel, and who preached, in presence of his pontiff arrayed in full figure. Much disorder and tumult followed upon his appearance in the pulpit, which he was speedily forced to quit by missiles flung at him. The Archbishop having vainly, from the sanctuary, tried to quell the storm was also obliged to beat a retreat. M. Vilatte, born in Paris in 1854, was validly baptized, and educated by gallican-minded parents in gallican opinions. His sister, ultramontane he says, is an expulsed Augustinian now at Cape Breton, formerly in the Montronge, Paris, convent.

He was ordained in the priesthood in June, 1885, by the Bernese Old Catholic Bishop Herzog, himself ordained and consecrated by the famous Reinkens; and seven years later was consecrated Archbishop in Ceylon on the Feast of Pentecost, by the Archbishop of that island and of Goa; Antoine, Francois-Xavier, Julius I, "By the grace of God," aided by the Eastern Bishop of Kottayam, and the Bishop of Ninanam Malabar, as is certified by M. Morey, United States Consul, Ceylon. This episcopal consecration is generally assumed to be valid, but the Cardinal

Archbishop of Paris, in the official portion of the February 2 *Semaine religieuse*, warns the Catholic public against the soi-disant "French Catholic worship" installed in the Rue Legendra by "a certain M. Vilatte, styling himself Archbishop, and a M. Roussin taking the title of non-Roman Catholic Priest. For, it appears from a document dated 3 September, 1889, signed by Monsignor Bonjean, Archbishop of Columbo in the island of Ceylon, that validity of the episcopal consecration of the oriental prelate who would have conferred episcopal consecration on M. Vilatte was doubtful, wherefore M. Vilatte's consecration is itself uncertain. However that may be, both M. Vilatte and M. Roussin are out of communion with the Catholic Church.

Offices celebrated by them are consequently illicit and sacrilegious, and Catholics are forbidden to assist thereat."

The majority of the congregation present at this debut of "French Catholic worship" were, however Catholics; but they did not "assist" sympathetically, on the contrary. The chapel was crowded with men, only a couple of score ladies venturing in and a few hundred persons had to remain outside, where a force of police kept the road clear.

In the nave were collected Jews, Protestants and persons professing no religion. M. Des Houx, the well-known apostle of schismatic associations, whereof he has formed about seventy that are officially recognized, though all but a dozen or less are still without priests, was in the chapel with his family. At 10.45 Messieurs Vilatte and Roussin entered the choir, accompanied by a sacristan and two choir-boys in scarlet cottas and white slips. After Asperges the Mass began, and after the gospel M. Roussin mounted the pulpit; when cries of insignificant oh! oh! began. The preacher declared the worship celebrated there would be Catholic; "we are tolerant, we shall say nothing to offend others," he said, and proceeded to eulogize Vilatte, "consecrated by the Patriarch of Antioch, successor of St. Peter," whereupon the row began. M. Roussin threatened to call in the police, and did so, which restored calm, and resumed, "Roman Catholicism is merely a part of universal Catholicism," a statement provoking fresh clamor; and M. Vilatte, advancing to the choir front, informed the congregation he had travelled as missionary during thirty-six years and had been through America and India, where, "you should have stayed," was shouted.

Taunted with being excommunicated he called out, "Yes, it is true and I am all the better for it." A wine dealer next twitted him with failing to pay his wine bill of some 300 dollars, the

police interfered, order was re-established, the office was resumed and concluded, after 200 persons had been expelled from the chapel.

M. Vilatte was excommunicated by decree of the Holy Office April 15, 1896. At Rome to-day the assurance is given his consecration was absolutely invalid, and that he is no bishop.

J. F. BOYD.

Plymouth, England.

## Book Reviews

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"LES SAINTS." SAINT THEODORE, par *L'Abbe Marin*. Pp. IV., 195.

LE BIENHEUREUX FRA GIOVANNI ANGELICO DE FIESOLE, par *Henry Cochin*. Pp. X, 285.

LA BIENHEUREUSE VARANI, PRINCESS DE CAMERINO, par *la Comtesse de Rambuteau*. Pp. VIII., 187. Paris, Lecoffre, 1906.

The collection of Lives of the Saints whereto these volumes are the latest accessions possess a many-sided interest; nor need we go beyond these same volumes for illustration of at least three distinct types thereof—devotional, historical and apologetical. All of them manifest, though in different degrees, the latter quality, since the living embodiments of holiness which they portray are the most convincing testimony to the faith that alone fructifies in genuine sanctity. All of them, it need hardly be said, are devotional else did they not deserve a place in the series to which they belong. No less obvious, however, is the historical element which indeed would alone justify their existence and give them a unique value in the eyes even of those to whom the personal note in their respective subjects might unfortunately not so much appeal.

St. Theodore is almost an unknown saint to the modern mind. And yet he is one of the most striking figures of imperial Byzantium and the story of the Eastern Church in the Ninth Century. One of the last of the Catholics of Constantinople he was probably the very last ecclesiastical writer there who refused to become a tool of the Greek emperors. His eloquence, which rivalled that of Demosthenes and Chrysostom, was ever raised in warning against the perils threatening Christian faith and discipline, while he defended Catholic morality by his intrepid condemnation of the divorce of Constantine VI., and by his fearless scourging of the court theologians. He lived in the midst of persecutions which resemble in various aspects those that now beset the Church in France, and his sufferings are almost the exact parallel of those endured by St. Paul.

The works of St. Theodore constitute an entire volume of Migne's Greek Patrology. Here are found two early lives of the Saint. One, by the Monk Michael, a disciple of Theodore, was written a few years after the death of the latter; the other was left anonymous, but follows closely the earlier narrative.

The Abbe Marin, while utilizing the material furnished by these biographies, and the works of St. Theodore, embodies in the present volume the results of much original research into other

sources bearing on the history, religious and political, of the age of the Greek schism. The work thus enables one to view the great champion of faith, morality and liberty and his relation to the spiritual and secular surroundings of his times, their influence on him and his corresponding reaction.

What M. Marin has done for St. Theodore, the warrior saint of the ninth century, M. Cochin has done for Fra. Giovanni the artist saint of the fifteenth. The reader whose judgment has been prepossessed by an uncritical estimate of the "ages of faith" is wont to picture the blessed religious of Fiesole painting on his knees in his lonely cell those gentle Madonnas that have been forever associated with the sanctified genius of Fra. Angelico. Doubtless such an idealization has a foundation and expresses at least one side of the actual. But, as the author of the present life insists, Fra. Angelico is a Florentine, and a Florentine of the fifteenth century. He is a Friar Peachur, *et un Frere Precheur reforme*. He expressed what he himself saw and believed, as well as the aspirations of other religious souls at the opening of the fifteenth century, and the eve of the great schism. He is the symbolical historian of the Thomistic theology within his order, but likewise of the interior life and Christian thinking in Italy at the close of the Middle Ages. He is a witness of events and ideas which he in great measure wrought or moulded. He can never be understood unless one know the personages, events, doctrines that went to form his mind and his character—unless one study him in the contemporary trusty social and religious of his country, his order and the Church. It is the singular merit of the present biography that it enables one to see its subject in this historical environment. Though based on Vasant, who enjoyed exceptional advantage in getting at the original data, it has failed to utilize no source of information that reflects light on the times and life of Fra. Angelico. The evidence of thus thorough research is manifest in the bibliography which alone occupies five pages of the present volume. On the other hand the work of the scholar is not obtruded. The literary artist conceals without effacing the craftsman. The graceful style bespeaks the author's ideal not to make *un livre d'erudition mais de lecture*.

Bl. Varani was born just three years after the death of Fra. Angelico, 1458. She died in 1527. Her girlhood was spent at the gay court of Camerino where the worldly refinement of the Renaissance had succeeded to the bloody conflicts of the outgoing Middle Ages was characterized mostly by an incessant struggle between love and pleasure, and the promptings of divine grace.

The latter triumphed and her subsequent life was devoted to the religious duties of a Poor Clare. She left the record of her life in a diary which for its spiritual insight, open candor and simplicity remind one of the letters of St. Catherine of Sienna, and the autobiography of St. Teresa. The present *Life* by the Countess De Rambuteau is drawn mainly from that Journal supplemented by material from early biographies. These documents are harmoniously combined and accompanied by opposite reflexions of the gifted authoress. The whole recital is skillfully set in its geographical and historical framework—the Umbrian landscapes and the artistic atmosphere of the Italian Renaissance. The book is at once edifying, instructive and interesting.

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CONSECRANDA. Rites and Ceremonies Observed at the Consecration of Churches, Altars, Altar-Stones, Chalices and Patens. By *Rev. A. J. Schulte*, Professor of Liturgy at Overbrook Seminary. With numerous Illustrations. 12 mo., pp. 297. Benziger Brothers: New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

In these days of the multiplication of books in every field so rapidly that it is impossible to keep up with them, it is more than ever necessary for an author to begin by proving a need. Dr. Heuser, the learned editor of the *Ecclesiastical Review*, is apologist in the case before us. He says:

“Most priests who have taken part in the Ceremonial at public functions of the Church must have realized at times a distinct want in our manual literature of liturgical practice. This want consists not so much in the lack of texts and commentaries which point out and interpret to us the ceremonies and rubrics of the liturgy, as rather in the need of one or more manuals which contain what we want for certain occasions, and that only, but that completely. The Pontifical and the Ritual prescribes definitely what is to be done in each case, but everybody who uses these official texts has experienced the embarrassment caused by the necessity of immediately locating the precise ceremony or prayers wanted, which are often merely referred to in the text; and which are to be found in some other part of the book, under a different function, or in one of the Appendixes. The advantage, therefore, of having a manual for the celebrant and ministers at any public function which contains all that belongs to one ceremony in compact form, with such directions as to leave no doubt about what has to be done *hic et nunc*, and with all the prayers in full, must be at once apparent from a practical point of view;

for it saves annoyances and delays which are at times a source of irreverence and disedification to the critically disposed spectator, and which prevent the dignified and prompt performance of the ceremonies of the Church.

Having thus created the need we must find the author. Here he is:

Father Schulte, whose experience for many years as instructor in Rubrics and professor of Liturgy in the Seminary, has enabled him to meet all the difficulties occasioned by the use of the liturgical text books as a manual in the performance of the various priestly and episcopal functions, has devoted long and serious study to their removal. With a mind singularly accurate and careful to obtain in every case the most approved authority and interpretation, he has set about preparing a series of liturgical manuals of which the present volume represents the first instalment.

We feel inclined to add a word to this. Father Schulte is gifted in an unusual degree with the natural qualities required for a work of this kind. Then he has had practical experience that is exceptional. He was diocesan master of ceremonies for several terms when a student at Overbrook, and he spent several years in Rome, as alumnus and acting rector of the North American College. He has always been recognized as a model master of ceremonies in his own diocese, and has frequently been called upon to act on very important occasions.

The present volume is the result of his experience as a teacher of liturgy, and director of ceremonies.

In brief it contains the rites and ceremonies of some of the principal functions in which a bishop is celebrant. It is not merely a Ceremonial, but a Pontifical, containing complete directions, together with the prayers, psalms and antiphons in which the words are marked with the proper accents for chanting or reading. In describing the ceremonies the compiler has followed such recognized authorities as DeHerdt, Martinucci, Van der Stappen and Hartmann, and has consulted the latest edition of the authentic Decrees of the Sacred Congregation.

For the sake of greater clearness it seemed desirable to preface the subjects treated by some preliminary remarks, setting forth the matter in the light of Canon Law and the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. In the section entitled "Preparations," which usually follows, the compiler has enumerated all the articles that are necessary for the ceremony. In the section called "Function" the rites and ceremonies proper are described.



A large number of illustrations will assist materially in the interpretation of the rubrics. Indeed, a more practically useful work, tending to the edification of the Church, we can hardly conceive under present circumstances. The text is in Latin, of course, but all the directions are in English.

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LA THEOLOGIE SACRAMENTALE. Etude de Theologie Positive, par P. Pourrat, Prof. au Grand Seminaire de Lyon. Paris, Lecoffre, 1906.

It is one of the stock objections urged by liberalistic Protestantism that the sacramental doctrines of the Church are of purely human origin, and her sacramental rites borrowed from paganism. Dr. Pourrat has set to himself the task of examining critically and scientifically the facts herein involved. His study is based on the traditional idea of the development of dogma formulated in the fifth century by St. Vincent of Lerins, and expounded so ably by Cardinal Newman in the nineteenth, and assumed by the Council of the Vatican: *crescit intelligentia, scientia, sapientia, —sed in eodem dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia*. As a fact the historical development of sacramentary dogma coincides with the logical. The doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Sin and Grace developed successively in the explicit consciousness of the early Church. It was only at a later time that Christian reflection became formally centered on the Sacraments, the means of grace and of the remission of sin. The Sacramentary doctrine was explicated in the Middle Ages by the Scholastics, the representatives of Catholic tradition to their epoch, as the Fathers had been in the centuries previous. Nevertheless though the development of that doctrine was retarded, the Sacraments themselves were administered from the beginning by the Church who had received them from her Founder. The sacred rites were always there, but the systematic and philosophical form of the doctrine has been progressive. Three schools from the twelfth century onwards contributed to the development of Sacramentary Theology; that of Abelard, that of Saint Victor, and that of Peter the Lombard. The Sentences of the latter author mark the beginning of an epoch which was completed by the great Franciscan Theologians, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus, and the no less great Dominican Bl. Albert Magnus, and St. Thomas Aquinas. The influence of these writers is indicated throughout the work here under notice. But much more than this is therein accomplished. The history of the definition of a

sacrament, that of the theory of the composition of the sacramental rite and the historical development of the dogmas as to the effect *ex opere operato*, the sacramental characters, the number of the Sacraments, their divine institution, the doctrine of intention—these important subjects are analyzed on a rigidly scientific method which follows them from their beginning up to the present day. The work is, therefore, in this respect, a practical illustration of Newmans theory of development. It also brings into prominence the sacramentary doctrine of St. Augustine and of the theologians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—notably the Abelardian school—factors in the process of development that have hitherto been inadequately estimated. It will thus be seen that the book is in various respects an original contribution to the literature of positive theology, and therefore has special interest for the professor as well as the student, the clergy and religious as well as the educated laity.

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LARGER CATECHISM. Part Second of the Abridgment of Christian Doctrine for Higher Classes. Prescribed by His Holiness Pope Pius X, for all the Diocese of the province of Rome. Translated by the *Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D.D.*, Bishop of Nashville. Fr. Pustet and Co., Rome, New York and Cincinnati.

The translation of this Catechism was undertaken at the suggestion of the Bishops of the Province of Cincinnati.

It was thought that the absence of scripture texts, usually cited in proof of the doctrines of the Church, might be an objection. As a matter of fact none are given except four or five, and these are cited as much in explanation as in proof of the palmary doctrines to which they are attached. The Catechism proceeds on the fundamental Catholic principle that the Catholic Church is the Divine Teacher of mankind; that she is invested with this authority by Jesus Christ, her Founder, that her sanction is the sufficient attestation of the truth of any doctrine and that, gifted as she is with the prerogative of infallibility, her authoritative declaration is infallible, and carries with it the same weight as a direct revelation from God. This is the true Church principle and one not sufficiently insisted on. In this Catechism it is constantly kept in view.

Moreover, the Sacred text, as Cardinal Newman says, was never intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it, and, if we would learn doctrine we must have recourse to the formularies of the Church, that is, to the Catechism and the Creeds.

The one important thing in the case of children is to teach them the doctrines of the Church, to bring them clearly to understand their meaning and import and their bearing on practical life; and, once this is done, they will be better able to give a reason for the faith that is in them, than if they know by heart a score of scripture texts and have only a hazy idea of the doctrines to which they apply and are intended to prove. And how few children are there, or even adults, who have a clear idea of the meaning, bearing and force of Scripture texts as applied to the doctrines in proof of their truth and divinity?

At any rate this seems to be the view the Holy Father takes of it, otherwise he would have directed that Scripture should be cited, in proof of the several doctrines set forth in the Catechism.

He seems to be familiar with the Catechism, to know it in detail, and to have selected it after mature deliberation.

He says, that after examining several texts, he has adopted this one already in use in many of the Provinces in Italy, and he makes it obligatory in the Diocese and Province of Rome, and expresses the wish that other Bishops will also adopt it, so that at least in Italy there may be one text. The qualification at least seems to imply that it is his wish that the Catechism should be adopted by the Bishops of other countries also.

And this is borne out by what he said to the two priests who had translated the Catechism into French, and went to Rome to present him with a copy of their work. They were presented to the Holy Father by the Bishop of Orleans, and the account goes on to say that he thanked them, blessed them, and expressed his gratification that his wish to have one Catechism for the whole world was in a fair way to be carried out. And this seems to be the fact for the Catechism has been for some time translated and published in German.

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L'EGLISE ET L'ORIENT AU MOYEN AGE: LES CROISADES, par *Louis Brehier*. Pp. XIII, 373. Paris, Lecoffre, 1907.

The Library of Ecclesiastical History to which the present volume belongs was inaugurated in 1897 by the enterprising publisher Lecoffre. The aim of the series was to realize so far as this is possible by employment of private initiative alone, the project entrusted by Leo XIII to the Cardinals De Lucca, Pitra and Hergenrother, viz.: the formation of "a universal History of the

Church, abreast of the progress of present-day criticism." The program has been distributed over a series of volumes each of which has been assigned to a scholar authoritative in the pertinent field, the object being not to furnish manuals for more or less elementary teaching nor for merely popular reading, but to provide monographic studies on the successive development of the Church and specially important phases of her history—studies that shall meet the wants of the educated student—cleric and lay. The realization of this aim has been largely assured by the fact that the "Library" is under the editorship of Mgr. Batiffol, Rector of the Institute Catholique of Toulouse, and one of the most scholarly writers at the present time in France. The actualization, moreover, of the design is evidenced by the dozen or more volumes of the series already issued, which deal, in a thoroughly critical method, with some of the most vital points of early and medieval history, and the majority of which have already passed through multiplied editions. The latest volume to appear, the one at hand on the Church and the East in the Middle Ages, and principally, of course, the Crusades, fully sustains the high standard of scholarship and literary excellence manifested in its predecessors. One need but examine the extensive bibliography placed as an introduction to the volume and arrayed at the beginning of the individual chapters and referred to minutely at every page, to be at least prepared to find which continues reading afterwards confirms, viz.: an original and, within the limits of its scope, a thorough treatment of an eventful and a too often misunderstood or misinterpreted period and movement of history. But while an immense multitude of sources are drawn upon for the luxuriant wealth of facts illustrative of the period in question the picture loses nothing in the way of unity, harmony or interest by the crowding of the canvas. M. Brehier has the sense of just proportion and of clear presentation for which his scholarly countrymen are deservedly noted. His work is at once instructive and attractive.

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QUESTIONS D'HISTOIRE ET D'ARCHEOLOGIE CHRETIENNE. Par Jean Guirard.  
Pp. 304. Paris, Lecoffre, 1906.

The author of these essays, professor at the University of Besancon, is well-known to students of history by his work on the Holy See and the Renaissance and Life of St. Dominic, both which works, by the way, have been honored by the French Acad-

emy. He is also the author of a timely book dealing with the actual situation of the Church and State in France (*La Separation et les Elections.*) The volume at hand is a collection of essays covering a considerable variety of historical questions. The subjects, while independent are sufficiently connected to lend a sort of unity to the work. The first essay dealing with the Church's treatment of heresy during the Middle Ages, finds more than a merely temporal relation to the two succeeding subjects the moral doctrines and practices, Albigenses, and the initiatory rites of the Cathari. The fourth chapter wherein the relation of St. Dominic to St. Francis of Assisi is discussed, is easily associated with the three subjects just mentioned. The fifth essay containing a study of the great Roman Archeologist, De Rossi, associates naturally with the next chapter on the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter and with the subsequent chapter on Roman Relics of the Ninth Century. The chapter on the spirit of the Catholic Liturgy gives a fitting conclusion to a series of studies which are at once rich in fact, critical in method, logical in reasoning, temperate in tone, and pleasing in style—a valuable and a readable miscellany.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CASUIST.** A Collection of Cases in Moral and Pastoral Theology. 8 vo., pp. 339. James F. Wagner, New York.
- DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS.** Edited by *Rev. James Hastings, D.D.* Volume 1, royal 8 vo., 950 pages, with Map, etc. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.
- PROPOSED RE-PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN ENGLAND,** first Bishop of Charleston. Edited under the direction of the Most Rev. *Sebastian G. Messmer*, Archbishop of Milwaukee, with Introduction, Notes and Index by *Rev. J. T. McDermott, D.D.*
- MEDULLA FUNDAMENTALIS THEOLOGIAE MORALIS,** quam Seminaristis et Presbyteris Paravit *Gulielmus Stang*, Episcopus Riverormensis, S. Theologiae Doctor, Ejusque Lovanii Quondam Professor. Editio Altera et Aucta. Neo-Eboraci, Cincinnati, Chicago. Benziger Brothers.
- MEDITATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE SECULAR CLERGY.** From the French of Father Chaignon S. J., by Right Rev. *L. De Goesbriand, D.D.*, Bishop of Burlington. In Two Volumes, 8vo., pp. 695 and 512. New revised edition. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

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## SAINT FRANCIS AND BUDDHA.

A COMPARATIVE study of St. Francis and Buddha, strange as it may appear at first, is amply justified by the fact that frequent assertions are made, in the ever-increasing Franciscan literature, of a similarity between these two religious reformers and the movements which they have created.

Cesare Cantù, in his "*Gli eretici d' Italia*,"<sup>1</sup> published in 1866, alluded to a probable influence of Buddhism on Christianity, particularly at the time of the Crusades, when the order of the Templars was founded and St. Francis appeared, "in whom we find so many points of contact with the solitaries of India."

Ernest Renan's "*Nouvelles études religieuses*," which appeared in 1884, contain two essays on Buddhism and one on St. Francis. The study of these two great movements and of their authors naturally brought to his mind the idea of a comparison, which he expresses in several passages.<sup>2</sup>

After Renan many authors, mostly non-Catholic, have compared Buddha and Francis. Perhaps the most prominent among these are A. Kuenen, professor at Leiden,<sup>3</sup> and Henry Thode.<sup>4</sup> Since many subsequent writers on Franciscan matters have largely repro-

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<sup>1</sup> Three vols. Turin, 1866, Vol. I., Diss. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1884, pp. 161, 326, 330.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "*The Hibbert Lectures, 1882*;" "*National Religions and Universal Religions*," Berlin, London, 1882; Lecture V., "*Buddhism*," pp. 271-275.

<sup>4</sup> "*Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*," Berlin, 1885, pp. 59-60, 66.

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duced the ideas of Thode, or, at least, have met on the same ground, the following quotation from him seems appropriate, as expressing the main trend of thought on the subject in non-Catholic Franciscan literature:

"Buddha and Francis! Both arose to oppose a religion reduced to mere formulas and to a spirit of caste; both, impressed by the awful forebodings of death, renounced a life of pleasure and sensuality; to both absolute poverty appeared as the means of freedom from all things earthly. Both attained a depth of spiritual insight which led them to absolute control over the body. . . . Both had a community of homeless, wandering monks, who spread their doctrines through the country and soon seemed to fill the world.

"And yet what an immense difference! One, according to what we may conjecture, was a thinker, who sought in himself the eternal laws of a self-existing, self-governing universe; the other, a poet, who, leaving as it were his own self, hailed the eternal ideal of a God-man, Creator and Preserver of the world. For both the real world disappears; but one breaks away from it only to centre all his powers on his own self; the other joins his destiny with that of the world, yet soars above it. Of Buddha under the tree of knowledge, nothing at last remains but thinking; of Francis on Mount Alverna, nothing remains but feeling. The consequences have been that the spiritual achievements of Buddha, though the possession of only a privileged minority, yet have exercised an influence on thousands of years; while, on the contrary, the ideals of Francis, at first the property of the people, were, after a few centuries, supplanted by other ideals more progressive than his. As far as the originality and significance of the thought are concerned, Francis could hardly compare with the Indian religious founder."

Professor John Herkless, in his "Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders,"<sup>5</sup> reproduces almost textually these words of Thode, though he does not go so far as to make Buddha superior to Francis. Raffaele Mariano, in his excellent work, "Francesco d'Assisi e alcuni dei suoi più recenti biografi,"<sup>6</sup> highly proclaims the superiority of Francis, but maintains the comparison, and draws an interesting parallel between the Third Order and the lay Buddhist communities. The first chapter of Miss Anna Stoddart's "Francis of Assisi"<sup>7</sup> brings out cleverly some points of contact between the Oriental and the Franciscan religious movements.

At a time when the Oriental religions, the reform movements of all ages and all countries and the psychology of reformers are

<sup>5</sup> New York, 1901, pp. 79-80.

<sup>6</sup> Napoli, 1896, pp. 158, 192-198.

<sup>7</sup> London, 1903, pp. 1-12.

favorite studies such comparison cannot fail to be rich in suggestions, and it would be interesting to see how far it might be carried.

Nor is there anything derogatory to the character of St. Francis in the fact of joining his name to that of Buddha. The personality of the latter contains many a trait which would be an object of admiration in a Christian saint; this is so true that a Syrian monk of the seventh century presented him in a Christian garb as the hero of a novel entitled "*Barlaam and Josaphat*," and so saintly did he appear to Christian admirers that he passed into the Roman martyrology under the name of St. Josaphat, his feast being celebrated on the 27th of November with that of St. Barlaam.<sup>8</sup>

## I.

The circumstances amidst which Buddha came on the world's stage were not unlike those in which St. Francis arose, and we may already find many points of resemblance in the conditions which made their reform necessary. Both were representative men; they were the product and the image of their time; they incarnated the ideas, the spirit and aspirations of their contemporaries, and in this we must see largely the secret of their success.

Buddha, or rather Gotama the Buddha, as we should call him, for "Buddha" is a common noun, is generally looked upon as the reformer of Brahmanism, a religion which had done good in its time, but had lost much of its former influence and efficacy. The spirit of caste distinction had invaded it, and the four classes—Brahman priests, Kshatriyas or warriors, Vaisyas or farmers and Sudras or conquered natives—much remind one of the four classes which divided society in the Middle Ages—the clergy and monks, the lords, the serfs and the slaves. The slaves had disappeared from Italy by the time of St. Francis, but a new class, that of the merchants, had arisen, which was becoming more and more powerful and had taken its position as a middle class between the lords and the serfs. Both Buddha and Francis belonged to one of the middle classes. According to some, Buddha was the son of a prince of North India, while other recent Orientalists hold that his father was a wealthy landowner. Francis was the son of a merchant.

In India at the time of Buddha, as in Italy at the time of Francis, the wealth and power of the few were used as a means to oppress and crush the poor and little; hence tyranny and pride on one side,

<sup>8</sup> F. Max Muller, "*Chips From a German Workshop*," New York, 1887, pp. 177-180; "*Annales du Musée Guimet*," Vol. XIX., pp. 43-50; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1890, pp. 119-121; "*Revue des Questions Historiques*," Vol. XXVIII. (1880), pp. 579-600; H. Delahaye, S. J., "*Les legendes hagiographiques*," Bruxelles, 1905, p. 72.

envy and revolt on the other. As the Brahmins considered themselves superior to all by their birth, their position, their wealth, so also the lords of the Middle Ages and at times some less apostolic members of the clergy and the monastic state, held aloof from the rest of the people, whom they considered inferior to them and hardly worthy of their compassion. Our two religious reformers came to teach their contemporaries that true greatness is not proportioned to rank and honors, but to virtue, and that true happiness does not consist in wealth and worldly pleasures, but in the peace of mind which is in the reach of all.

Again, the Hindoos of Buddha's time shared largely the characteristics of the youthful people of the Middle Ages. Like them they knew no measure in their conduct for good or for evil; they were equally attracted by great pleasures and by extreme asceticism. The austere life of the solitaries captivated the Hindoo heart not less than the most luxurious enjoyments. Buddha as well as Francis changed brigands into saints. The people of these two epochs of history were not theologians, and they were struck by the sight of these poor monks, by their simple sympathetic preaching much more than by the philosophy which lay at the base of their practices.

We have no contemporary record of Buddha's life. From what we may conjecture, he lived from 622 to 542 B. C. As in the case of St. Francis, it was announced from his earliest years that he would be a great man. Yet the efforts of his father to bring him up in comfort and dignity, according to his rank, could not check his natural melancholy. The older he grew the more intense became this melancholy, increased as it was by his tender sympathy for so many around him who suffered from the numerous ills which afflict mankind. All possible distractions were tried in vain. Shortly after his marriage he decided to flee the false joys of this world. Old age, sickness, death overbalanced all that the world could offer to its votaries. The calmness alone of the monk attracted him; but his father refused to let him embrace the life of a hermit. At twenty-nine he left the palace secretly, cut his hair with his sword, exchanged his rich garments for a hunter's rough brown habit and began to go from school to school, hoping to find in the teaching of masters the happiness that he was seeking. Disappointed again, he went to a desert where, with five disciples, he gave himself up to a life of incredible austerity. But after six years, emaciated and having failed to find in mortification the happiness for which all human hearts crave, he gave up the practice of extreme mortification, losing by this act his five disciples. He made up his mind that happiness consists in a middle way between worldly pleasures and extreme asceticism. "There are two extremes," he said to his dis-

ciples, "which he who has given up the world ought to avoid, . . . a life given to pleasure . . . this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble and profitless; and a life given to mortification; this is painful, ignoble and profitless."<sup>9</sup> It was, however, through meditation, through ecstasy that the final secret to all happiness, the supreme truth, the "Bodhi," could be found. Sitting under a tree motionless at Bodhgaya with his legs crossed, he resolved to remain in this position until he found the Bohdi. Mara, the seducer, attacked him by all forms of temptations, but he resisted them all and finally found the Bodhi and became a Buddha. He had then reached the age of thirty-five.

Before Francis was thirty-five his movement had already spread all over Italy and part of Europe.<sup>10</sup> Yet if we consider the facts that led to the reform life of these two men, it may be seen from the preceding sketch that there are striking points of resemblance. To Francis also were offered the best opportunities in life. True, he spent some happy years in his youth; but he, too, experienced the most touching sympathy for the poor and the suffering. Neither the comforts of home nor the amusements and distractions which his friends and admirers lavished on him, nor even the adventures of warfare, of which he had so often dreamed, could now satisfy his heart, and he soon became disgusted with all that wealth and the world could offer him. Like Buddha, he left the world and exchanged his costly garments for the habit of a farm-hand. He then betook himself to a life of mortification and asceticism until one day, when he was hearing Mass in the little chapel of the Portiuncula, he was struck by the words of the Gospel of St. Matthew:<sup>11</sup> "Do not possess gold nor silver, nor money in your purses, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff." Like Buddha in ecstasy under the Bodhi tree, he had now found his ideal.

From these turning epochs in their lives the points of resemblance become more and more striking. Both went forth full of enthusiasm, convinced that they were then in possession of the secret of true happiness. It is true some doubt came to their minds as to whether they should keep to themselves the knowledge won and lead the life of contemplatives, or share this knowledge with others and consecrate themselves to an active life. Disinterestedness and sympathy for others had the greater weight in the scale, and both went and proclaimed to all the truth which they had found. "Being delivered, deliver others; having arrived at the other shore, bring

<sup>9</sup> *Mahāvagaa I.*, 6, 17, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII., p. 94.

<sup>10</sup> *Jac. Vitr. Epist. I.*, Jan., 1216, in H. Boehmer's "*Analekten zur Gesch. des Franc. v. Ass.*," Tübingen, 1904, pp. 98-99; N. Glassberger in "*Analecta Franciscana*," Vol. III., pp. 9-10.

<sup>11</sup> *Mat. x.*, 9, 10.

the others there; being consoled, console others; having attained perfect Nirvana, bring others there,"<sup>12</sup> was Buddha's maxim, and St. Francis reminded his disciples that "God had called them not only for their own salvation, but for that of many."<sup>13</sup> Buddha converted to his ideal the five disciples who had spurned him after his flight from the desert, and Francis saw flock to his standard of poverty those who had turned him into derision.

Much has been said about Buddha's "Bhikkhus," that is, beggars or mendicant monks, who, like the first Franciscans, practiced absolute poverty and preached detachment from the goods of this world. They should not inflict on themselves voluntary sufferings, which Buddha proclaimed dangerous, but should avoid all that attaches to this life and existence. Hence they could not possess anything except a set of clothes composed of three pieces, nor receive anything except the food begged for the day. They could not marry and were forbidden to converse alone with women. When out on a mission or on their daily begging tour they were to be extremely modest and to watch carefully over their eyes. In the beginning their dwellings were very simple, consisting of little huts under the trees. Even these they occupied only during the rainy season; at other times they roamed about from place to place. Later they received from benefactors more substantial, yet plain, convent houses, which were generally located on the outskirts of towns, where they could beg and preach. Their time was divided between begging, preaching and praying. They begged in the morning, took their only meal at noon and spent the rest of the day in preaching, teaching children, meditation or holy conversations on Buddha's doctrine. They considered preaching and the teaching of children a fair return for the alms they received. The public confession of external faults was as regular among them as it is in the Franciscan and other monastic orders. There was no discrimination in the reception of candidates, no regard to castes. With Brahmanists, only members of the sacerdotal caste could be monks; it was a distinction from birth. But now the contemptible Sudra as well as the noble Brahman was received into the brotherhood, and all lived like brothers. "My law is a law of grace for all," said Buddha; "it is the law under which beggars as miserable as Durâgata and others may become religious."<sup>14</sup>

The success of Buddha was wonderful. The purity of his life, his simplicity of manners, his love for all, particularly those who

<sup>12</sup> E. Burnouf, "Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien," Vol. I., Paris, 1844, p. 254.

<sup>13</sup> III, Soc., 36.

<sup>14</sup> E. Burnouf, "Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien," Paris, 1844, Vol. I., p. 198.

suffered, attracted all to him. When he returned to his native place all wanted to follow him; women were abandoned by their husbands, sisters by their brothers, mothers by their sons. He was soon forced to limit to one in each family the number of those who could join the new confraternity.

Necessity also compelled him to found an order for women, for they, too, wished to give up home, family, riches, pleasures to join the society of the perfect and lead a life of solitude, abstinence, chastity and obedience. They lived in convents built in the vicinity of those of the monks, but entirely separated from them. No monk was allowed to travel with a nun, and only one especially appointed for that purpose could preach to them. They also lived on alms and spent in retirement and meditation the time not given to begging.

Finally a class of lay adherents was organized to satisfy the universal demand, and into it flocked many who, for some reason or other, were unable to leave the world, but yet wished to participate in the privileges of Buddha's disciples. In this Third Order, as we may well call it, both sexes were admitted. The main duties of the members, beside that of supporting the monks and assisting them in their life, were: to observe chastity according to their state of life, to avoid stealing and lying, the use of intoxicating liquors and the taking of life, even that of animals.

Any one acquainted with the life of St. Francis will have noticed the close parallel between him and Buddha. Not more than Buddha did Francis believe in extreme asceticism. Though his companions, like those of Buddha, had to observe certain fasts, they were allowed to "eat of all foods which were placed before them, according to the Gospel,"<sup>15</sup> and when, during his trip to the Holy Land, Francis heard of the introduction of new fast days by some over-zealous disciples, he repeated emphatically: "Let us eat what is placed before us, according to the Gospel."<sup>16</sup> Francis and his disciples "were satisfied with a single tunic, often patched up inside and outside, with a cord and breeches."<sup>17</sup> The rule was a little more generous, allowing

<sup>15</sup> Cel. I., 39, Testam.

them two tunics. The regulations respecting chastity and their conduct towards women, particularly the members of the Second Order, were very much like those stated above for the Bhikkhus. Before joining the order they were required to give up all their goods, nor could they own anything, either in private or in common; the very houses in which they lived were the property of others. In fact, in the beginning they went from place to place, having no home but the broad expanse of heaven and the little huts or public

<sup>16</sup> First Rule, chap. III.

<sup>17</sup> N. Glassberger in "Anal. Franc," II., p. 16.

hospitals which they found on the country roads. Later they received permanent abodes; but these also were poor, and remained the property of others. The little church of the Portiuncula, the mother house of the order, belonged to the Benedictines of Mount Subasio. When the labor of their hands did not suffice to support the community, they would go out and beg what was necessary to satisfy their immediate wants, giving in return to their benefactors the spiritual bread of the word of God, which they dispensed generously to all. The time not consecrated to begging, working and preaching was given to the sweets of contemplation, which Francis, like Buddha, relished so much that he long hesitated between an active and a contemplative life. All were accepted into the order—lords and serfs, rich and poor, great and little, learned and ignorant. There was no distinction of castes and conditions; the poor Giles, John the Simple, the foolish Juniper, farm hands and brigands were welcomed into the order with the same joy as priests like Silvester and Leo, as the wealthy Bernard of Quintavalle, the noble Rufino, the Knight Angelo Tancredi, the lawyer Peter of Catania, the learned Thomas of Celano, or the poet laureate Pacifico. Like Buddha, Francis never thought of abolishing the existing conditions and the differences of classes in society; there was no revolutionary spirit in these two men; their reform did not aim at any political subversion, but merely at the change of individuals; classes and distinctions were of no importance in their orders, and virtue was the only title to greatness. Francis insisted that respect be shown to those of the higher classes in society; but the example of equality in the orders should act as an antidote both against the arrogance of the rich and powerful and the envy of the poor and little.

Both Buddha and Francis merit our admiration for having taught man the proper harmony of his faculties. Reason, not sense, must be the dominant power, and the body must be under the control of the will. Yet, though the pleasures of the senses lost in their eyes the value which they have for most men, they always preserved a remarkably sensitive soul. They sought souls, not bodies; yet they did not neglect the care of the body. As the Buddhist monk carried around his medicine box and administered to sufferers all the comforts in his power, so Francis and his companions would go to the lazar house and wash and dress the lepers' wounds. In fact, they loved everything endowed with life. Buddhist monks would watch attentively where they put their feet, lest they might destroy or injure some living insect or reptile, while Francis would save from death the poor sheep led to the shambles or the fish given him for his repast, or even the wolf of the Fioretti, which had been the terror of Gubbio.

When Buddha was asked to extend the privileges of his order to women and later to lay people, his sympathetic nature could not resist the appeal and, as a result, he organized a second and a third order. So also Francis could not send away Clara of Sciffi nor all the holy virgins who after her wished to consecrate themselves to God under the rule of St. Francis; and when families threatened to go to pieces owing to the number of members who joined the order, Francis was led by necessity to promise them a third order, the members of which could remain in the world while enjoying the privileges of the religious life.

Two elements contributed to the success of Francis and Buddha and to the influence which they exerted on their epoch: on the one hand there were their personal qualities, their love for all, their simplicity, their purity of life, their earnest and enthusiastic desire to do good and make others share in their own personal happiness; but at the same time they brought to the world an ideal which corresponded to the demands and the desires of all. Social unrest was characteristic of the two epochs. A remedy was needed which no one seemed to possess or even to know. Buddha went from master to master hoping to find what he and his contemporaries were so much in need of, but was disappointed until his own efforts brought him to the discovery that desire is the tyrant of man, but that desire can be annihilated and liberty and happiness thereby restored to humanity. In Francis' time the Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Humiliati and many others were offering to the Christian world what they thought would save it from destruction, but with little success, until Francis presented to them the ideal of poverty, which captivated all. Both laid their fingers on the root of the trouble and formulated the remedy. It is wealth and worldly pleasures that crush and oppress mankind; fling them away, embrace poverty, despise bodily comforts and seek the comforts of the soul and you will find true happiness and solid joy. It is the multiplicity of desires and the craving for all things lawful and unlawful which overcome man. Destroy the desires by the practice of a poor and simple life, and you will be at rest.

Nor was it an impossible doctrine which they were preaching. Buddha had exchanged the opulence of a princely life for a life of poverty and had found therein the rest which he had long sought. Francis was a promising young merchant before his conversion; he gave up all and found a happiness to which no other might be compared. They were too happy to be selfish, and from the day when their ideals were revealed to them—Buddha under the Bodhi tree, Francis at the Portiuncula—they spent the rest of their lives traveling from town to town to spread everywhere the joyous



tidings. Their eloquence was irresistible; they were so earnest, so much engrossed with their subject, so anxious to have all follow them and be happy. Neither Buddha nor Francis belonged to the "clergy," to the class which so far had monopolized preaching, and their preaching was very different from that heard before them. The Brahmans were proud, pedantic, exclusive. The sermons of St. Francis' time were generally preached in Latin on more or less dogmatic subjects and little understood by the people. But Buddha and Francis were so sincere, so simple, so gentle, so modest, so humble; they made themselves "all to all." Buddha hated nothing more than spiritual pride; it was one of the four sins punished by a prompt dismissal from the order.<sup>18</sup> Francis was the humblest of all men, loved every one and every thing that was humble and little, and insisted on his brethren being called "Minores," and the superiors "Ministri."

They rejoiced at their happy liberation from all that enslaves man, and longed to see others happy. "Let us live happily, then, not hating those who hate us," sang the followers of the Hindoo prophet. "Let us live happily, then, free from ailments among the ailing! Let us live happily, then, free from greed among the greedy! Let us live happily, then, though we can call nothing our own!"<sup>19</sup> and Francis never ceased to inculcate the duty of joy on all his disciples, condemning sadness as unnatural in those who had left the world and all causes of misery and had embraced a life of poverty and holiness. Even insults, temptations, sufferings could not disturb their peace of mind. They would return good for evil and rejoice in sufferings. "Let a man overcome anger by love," we read in the Buddhist Scriptures;<sup>20</sup> "let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome greed by liberality, the liar by truth!" while Francis, when sending his disciples on an apostolic mission, exhorted them in this manner: "You will find some men that are faithful, gentle and kind, who will receive you and your words with joy; others, the greater part, that are faithless, proud and blasphemous, who will revile you and oppose you and your words. Prepare, therefore, your hearts to bear all things patiently and humbly."<sup>21</sup>

It was indeed a beautiful doctrine which they preached and practiced, and the success with which it was received shows what a great ideal can accomplish when announced in word and example by fascinating characters like Buddha and Francis. Perhaps they aimed too high and failed to take into account the awful weakness of human nature. After their death their disciples divided into

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<sup>18</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII., p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Dhammapada*, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X., p. 53.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> *III. Soc.*, 36.

two parties, that of the strict adherents to the rule of life traced by the founder, and the "mitigating" party, whose tendency was to bring the rule to a level more accessible to the majority of men. The division in St. Francis' order occurred soon after his death; the early history of Buddhism is not sufficiently known to fix dates, but we know that the division has remained until this day, and though the Southern Bhikkhus represent only imperfectly the original disciples of Buddha, they stand far above their co-religionists of the North, whose doctrines and practices are rather those of the Brahmins than those of the early Buddhist monks.

## II.

What shall we conclude from this parallel? No suspicion can ever arise that the Buddhist movement had any direct influence on the Franciscan. Neither Francis nor his companions thought of Buddha and his great work, nor did they, in all probability, ever hear of it.

Shall we say that there has been an indirect influence through Christianity? It is not the purpose of this short study to enter into a discussion of such a difficult problem as the relations of Buddhism and Christianity. Besides, its solution would lead us only half way, as Christianity offers few, if any, religious movements presenting such striking points of resemblance with Buddhism.

The question may be simplified. The common features are largely monastic or personal. Some Oriental scholars have thought they could trace monasticism, or at least many of its features, to the Buddhist organization. The possibility of such an influence cannot be denied. After Alexander's conquests and the foundation of Alexandria, communications were established between the East and the West, and the Essenes and Therapeutae have often been named as the links between the monastic movement of India and that of Christianity. Whatever may be said of Christian monasticism in general, it may be asserted at once that there are some striking resemblances between the Essenes and the Franciscans. Philo and Josephus give us the most interesting details regarding the Essenes:<sup>22</sup> "Some cultivate the soil, others pursue peaceful arts, toiling only for the provision of their necessary wants. . . . Among all men they alone are without money and without possession, but nevertheless they are the richest of all, because to have few wants and live frugally they regard as riches. Among them there is no maker of any weapon of war, nor any trader . . . nor do they follow

<sup>22</sup> Philo, in his treatise, "To prove that every man who is virtuous is also free;" "On the contemplative life," etc. Josephus, "Wars," Book II, chap. viii.; "Antiquities," chap. xvii., xviii., quoted in "Jewish Encyclopedia" article, "Essenes."

any occupation that leads to injustice or covetousness. . . . They distributed their goods to their relatives and friends before joining the order and renounced all conjugal pleasures. There were no masters among them, but all were brethren and served one another. No one possesses a house absolutely his own, one which does not at the same time belong to all. . . . They have one storehouse for all, and the same diet. Their garments belong to all in common, and their meals are taken in common. . . . Whatever they receive for their wages after having worked the whole day, they do not keep as their own, but bring into the common treasure for the use of all. . . . Some of these observe a still more rigid practice in not handling or looking at a coin which has an image." But resemblance does not imply dependence, and from the possibility we cannot conclude to the fact that the Buddhists have had an influence on the Essenes and that the Essenes have exerted an influence on the monastic state of the Occident, in particular on that of St. Francis' stamp.

There is another hypothesis which might perhaps bring us nearer the truth, though again it is only an hypothesis. It is admitted by many that Gnosticism contained a strong element of Buddhism. E. Renan thinks that the Gnosticism of Plotinus was an "emanation from Buddhism,"<sup>23</sup> and J. Kennedy made a strong argument<sup>24</sup> to prove that "the famous scheme of that arch Gnostic (Basilides) was an attempt at fusing Buddhism and Christianity." The relationship between Gnosticism and Manicheism and the influence of the latter on the Cathari and Albigenses of the Middle Ages cannot be denied. But we fall again into an intricate question, though much nearer to our subject—has any influence been exercised on St. Francis by the heretical sects of the Middle Ages? St. Francis' mother was a Provençal, and it is in the South of France that the Albigenses were the strongest. His father was a merchant, and it is through the merchants that many heresies were spread. Yet St. Francis' mother was an excellent Christian, who certainly impressed on her child the greatest devotion to the Holy Father and the Roman Church. Though his father was highly incensed at seeing his son embrace a life of poverty when he had dreamed only of worldly success for him, we have no reason to suspect his perfect submission to the Church. Francis himself was the most devoted child of the Church, which he loved as his mother and respected to the last day of his life. Yet the great remedy offered by St. Francis against the ills of his time, the ideal which he cherished and taught to all, was

<sup>23</sup> *Op. Cit.*, p. 72. Add to this that the Pseudo-Dionysius, which exercised such an influence on Christian asceticism, largely depended on Plotinus.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, "Buddhist Gnosticism, the System of Basilides," 1902, pp. 377-415.

substantially that same poverty which the religious reformers of his time practiced and preached. The heretics of St. Francis' time, like the Manicheans, the Gnostics and Buddhists, taught a doctrine which indeed was not St. Francis', but which brought them to the same conclusions. They resolved the problem of evil by the dual principle of good and evil. The soul came, they said, from the good principle; but matter and everything material, like wealth, temporal possessions, trade and commerce, matrimony, are an evil and must be avoided, for they all come from the evil principle. Many held like Buddha that the soul had been imprisoned in the body to atone for the faults committed during some previous life, and would continue transmigrating from body to body until perfect purity is attained. As a consequence of their doctrines, they practiced great austerities and, above all, poverty. However, as among the Buddhists and later among the Franciscans, so also among the Cathari and the Albigenses there were two classes—the "Perfecti," who avoided as much as could be done in this life contact with matter and renounced property and marriage, and the "Credentes," whose obligations were much lighter and who could own property and live in marriage. Of course, there remains this great difference between Francis and these heretics, that they based their practices on a philosophy in opposition to the doctrines of the Church. Francis had no philosophy; speculation was the very opposite of his simple, concrete understanding of things. He could rather be compared—and has often been compared—to the Waldenses and the various bands of Apostolicals, who simply preached a return to apostolic poverty. Yet the ideal of poverty was in the air among all good-minded Christians, heretics or faithful children of the Church, and there is no doubt that the success of the Cathari and Albigenses largely contributed to disseminate the idea of the "poor life" among the people, particularly the suffering classes, and so far there may have been an indirect influence of Buddhism on the Franciscan movement.

Besides this probable, though indirect influence, there is an element which we must not overlook and which goes further to account for the similarity between these different movements. The same craving of the human heart after unhampered happiness has a tendency to manifest itself in a similar manner, particularly when the circumstances of time, place, conditions, etc., are largely similar. Hence the same disgust which fills every human soul at the inability of earthly joys to satisfy the demand for happiness has led Buddha, the Essenes, the Therapeutae, the heretics of St. Francis' time and St. Francis himself to give up the seeking of happiness in wealth and sensual pleasures and to adopt poverty as the means to a perfect life.

It is the same frame of mind from which arise to-day numerous protests against the conventionalities and enslaving customs of our age and the appeals to the "simple life," to a life more natural, more conducive to health, virtue and happiness.

In Francis, however, this craving for a life of poverty was ennobled by a deep supernatural sense and a most lively spirit of faith. The example of Christ and the Apostles was for him a greater incentive than the desire to free himself from worldly cares. Then Christ Himself, he thought, had revealed to him that he should, and how he should, practice the new life. All he did and said he did and said on the word of Christ. He did not want to hear of the rule of St. Augustine, St. Benedict and others; his rule came directly from Christ. If it had been a human product he could have modified it; but since it came from Christ, he had no right to make the slightest change in it. His brethren would go to Cardinal Ugolino and plead with him that he interfere and "persuade Brother Francis to follow the counsel of wise brethren and to allow himself now and then to be led by them. And they alleged the rule of St. Benedict, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, who taught thus and thus." But even Cardinal Ugolino could not do anything, and Francis would not hear of any other rule than "that which the Lord had shown and given him in His mercy."<sup>25</sup> In fact, his brethren as well as himself could hear the voice of Christ in the air: "Francis, there is nothing in the rule which is thine, but whatever is there is Mine, and I will that the rule be thus observed to the letter, to the letter without gloss, without gloss, without gloss."<sup>26</sup>

### III.

If we examine more closely the parallel drawn between Buddha and Francis and their movements, we will soon notice the fact that the similarity is rather external, while there are internal differences, differences in character, spirit, aim, which are essential and point to opposition.

The foundation of Buddha's life and work was the belief in the transmigration of the soul. Brahmanism, of which Buddhism was an offshoot, entertained a very pessimistic view of human existence. Rebirth was at best a punishment for some previous guilt, and life was looked upon as an expiation. Nor did Buddha improve much this gloomy view of life. For him life was not worth living, and the only purpose of man should be to extinguish it, not by suicide, because the consequence would have been a rebirth in a state worse than the former, but by the destruction of all desires, even of all

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<sup>25</sup> Spec. Perf. Cap., 68.

<sup>26</sup> Spec. Perf. Cap. I.

conscious actions. Pessimism was the cause of Buddha's change of life. Existence was a burden to him from his very earliest years; nor was there any hope for the future until he had found the secret of annihilation, or rather of an unconscious repose in Nirvana, a state very much akin to annihilation. If all our desires, even the most legitimate and the most generous, are an evil; if our ideal must be a passive indifference to all that exists; if the best that can be hoped for is the destruction—not the satisfaction—of our natural cravings, then indeed life is not worth living. True, there is an element of joy in Buddhism, as said above, but it is nothing else than the doubtful satisfaction of having destroyed all desires.

Very different was the foundation of Francis' reform. There was no pessimism in him; his was from the very beginning a joyous existence. It is true he did not find in the pleasures of the world all the satisfaction that he expected, but it was because there appeared to him something more beautiful, greater, nobler than anything that he had seen before or ever dreamed of. The gaiety of the "corti," the glory of the battlefield were dwindling into insignificance when compared to the vision of Lady Poverty, Francis' bride forever. Life for Francis was well worth living; it was the gift of God and a great gift, given us to be enjoyed, and none enjoyed it more than Francis and his first companions. It was a joy so intense that he could not help congratulating the birds, the lambs, all the animals of creation for having received from God this great blessing.<sup>27</sup>

It is true Francis taught men to control their desires; but it was to harmonize them better. Men had lost sight of the proper order of things; they had forgotten God and thought only on themselves; heaven was obscured by the enjoyment of earth. Francis shows them again the proper hierarchy; earth is God's creature, created for the use of man, but only to help him to reach heaven more securely. Hence Francis and his companions enjoyed earth and its joys; but there was for them a higher and better home, heaven; a nobler object of their love, God. Hence they repressed all low desires of the soul to transfer their energy to the higher desires of all that is God's and heaven's.

Hence the opposite views of Buddha and Francis on marriage and labor. With a perfect logic, Buddha condemned the procreation of life and matrimony. The lay members of his community, who lived

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<sup>27</sup> I. Cel., 58, Tract. Mir. 20. A comparison between the Buddhist beatitudes given in the tenth volume of the Sacred Books of the East, II., "Sutta Nipāta," pp. 43-44, and the seventh chapter of the Florenti on Perfect Joy will prove most interesting to the reader. Both extracts are later writings and not strictly historical, but they introduce us into the spirit of the movements and throw light on the different conceptions of happiness held by Buddha and Francis.

in the married state, could not expect to attain Nirvana, but only to prepare themselves for a rebirth in a somewhat less miserable existence. Labor, which serves only to support life and to satisfy the desires of man, was likewise condemned. It was the teaching of Brahmanism that labor was unworthy of a Brahman. Agriculture, cattle-raising and a few other occupations were merely tolerated in case of necessity. Most trades which we consider as honest, like those of the carpenter, tailor, tanner, physician, were held by Brahmans to be impure. Buddha made no attempt to rehabilitate labor, which could bring no advantage, no improvement. The members of his order should not work, but must live on alms, or, in the words of the Buddhist Scriptures, the Bhikkhu "must gain his subsistence by the labor of his feet," that is "beg for his food . . . with the exertion of the muscles of his feet."<sup>28</sup>

Marriage was never condemned by Francis, and the members of the Third Order who lived in the state of marriage could reach heaven as well as the members of the First Order. The latter, however, practiced chastity in order to imitate more closely Our Lord and His Mother, to be better united to God and better able to consecrate their lives to His service and to the salvation of others. What an immense difference between the reformer who censured procreation and the sweet St. Francis, who made a nest for the "chaste" doves "that they might bring forth their little ones and multiply according to the precept of their Creator."<sup>29</sup> Labor was to him a duty for all men. The brethren themselves, who by their profession of dispensing spiritual food to the people seemed exempt from manual labor, were required by their rule to practice a trade or at least some manual occupation, not only as a means of avoiding idleness or out of virtue, but also as a means of supporting themselves. It was only when this means failed that they were allowed to have recourse to the "table of the Lord," that is, to begging. Francis approved not only of agriculture, but of all honest trades. Son of a merchant, he became the apostle of towns which were the headquarters of merchants and artisans.

There was something more in the characters of Buddha and Francis which made them the very antipodes of each other. Buddha had a very indistinct view of the spiritual world, of God, or rather of the gods, for he had no belief in a supreme personal God. Like the Brahmanists of his time, he believed in a multitude of gods, men, animals, continually interchanging conditions. But for him there was no God to love, to serve, to honor. Vagueness and even contradiction affect all his teaching regarding Nirvana and the future

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<sup>28</sup> P. Bigandet, "The Life or Legend of Gaudama," II., p. 278; two vols., London, 1880.

<sup>29</sup> Act. B. Franc, Cap. 24.

life. The subsistence of the "ego" in the future state of those who attained the perfection of "Buddhas" should not be affirmed nor denied. It was the absence of desires, fears, joys, pains, in fact, of personal existence itself. Beyond that nothing could be said nor should be said. To over-inquisitive disciples he replied: "Whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed; and what has been revealed, let it be revealed."<sup>80</sup>

For Francis, on the contrary, nothing was more real than the spiritual world. There was a constant and immediate intercourse between him and the saints in heaven, between him and God. He lived with them, saw them, spoke with them and loved them with all his heart. For him heaven was a goal to reach, not so much because it was the end of a laborious life as because it was the beginning of a new life, better, happier, in the company of God and of the saints, without any fear of offending Him whom he loved.

These opposite views of the spiritual world are the source of other contrasts between Francis and Buddha. While Buddha gave up all the pleasures of this world and condemned himself to a life of asceticism merely to attain the subduing of his desires and passions, Francis did all for very love of God and of his neighbor. While Buddha aimed only at the extinction of suffering, Francis sought suffering for the glory of God; but for him suffering was a joy and a treasure. We cannot be blind to the disinterestedness of Buddha, who spent a long life in efforts to communicate to others what he thought was the key to the abolition of suffering; nor can we be blind to the admirable principles by which he inculcated in all the love for each other: "By love alone can we conquer wrath. By good alone can we conquer evil. . . . Do to others that which ye would have them do to you. . . . Say no harsh words to your neighbor."<sup>81</sup> Yet we must not lose sight of the ultimate motive—the avoidance of suffering, both in this world and in the next. Francis believed in the reform of the world through love, and the words last quoted from the Buddhist text often, no doubt, passed his lips; but they had a higher and nobler import: "Love one another as God has loved you. . . . Love all God's creatures because God loves them all, etc." Not only was Francis unselfish in his love; he wanted this unselfish love in all men; let them all act for the very love of God, of Christ, of the saints, of all.

A further comparison may be made between the miracles of Francis and those of Buddha. The latter's are childish feats, which

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<sup>80</sup> Hermann Oldenberg, "Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order," London, 1882, p. 276.

<sup>81</sup> A. Lillie, "The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity," London, 1893, pp. 47-48.



raise a smile on the face of the serious; nor have they any character but that of extravagance. The miracles of Francis, on the contrary, are all wonders of charity, grace, simplicity and love.

Hence, in character, spirit and aim Francis is infinitely superior to Buddha. Yet we find ourselves in the face of an apparently strange fact, the same fact to which H. Thode calls our attention: "The achievements of Buddha . . . have exercised an influence on thousands of years," while "the ideals of Francis . . . after a few centuries have been supplanted by other ideals more progressive than his." A movement is to be judged by its success. Now the Franciscan movement, begun in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, lost its first fervor and first efficacy soon after the death of the first generation of Franciscans. Some attempts were made now and then to rouse its torpent power, but it was only for a short time. True, it has not ceased to do good, and to-day the three orders of St. Francis are not only still in existence, but even prosperous. Yet what is the Franciscan movement to-day compared to the Buddhist? The number of Buddhists throughout the world is generally stated to be about four hundred and fifty millions. This may be exaggerated, and some bring it down to as low an estimate as one hundred millions. But even at this low figure, how can Franciscanism compare with Buddhism?

It must be kept in mind that Buddhism, though probably not intended by its founder as a new religion, became such as a matter of fact, while Franciscanism was and remained only a movement within a well organized religion. In other words, Buddha has founded a new religion; Francis has reformed the members of an existing religion. Virtue and love were at a low ebb when Francis appeared; the movement that he inaugurated had no other aim but to bring back the first fervor. Nothing was further from Francis' mind than to create a new philosophy, a new sect; his three orders were to be the instruments of a beneficent action on the Christian Church by inciting all her children to a better and holier life. Indeed, the First Order has had its ups and downs, but it has never ceased to do the good for which Francis had destined it, and the mention of a comparison between these saintly and zealous apostles and the slothful, ignorant and inefficient Buddhist monks of our day sounds like an outrage. What has become of the order of women founded by Buddha almost against his will? The Poor Clares and all the branches of the Second Order of St. Francis have ever prospered since their foundation. The Third Order has done wonders in the political and social as well as in the religious field, and in this respect far surpasses the lay foundation of Buddha. Buddhism has not raised its adepts to a higher level, and its members to-day

can hardly be said to be much superior in civilization to those of Buddha's time, more than twenty-five centuries ago. It is not, however, that we wish to attribute to St. Francis all the glory of our social progress; but he has done his share and has given to the cause of civilization an impetus which still lasts. His work cannot be separated from that of Christianity, and it is as much superior to that of Buddha as Christianity itself is superior to Buddhism.

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## "NEW THEOLOGY," OLD SUPERSTITION AND MODERN SCIENCE.

**D**R. CRAPSEY startled the world not a little by his recent pronouncements on Christianity and morals. An English divine, Rev. Dr. Campbell, of Cambridge, following his arguments to the *reductio ad absurdum* point, reasoned to his own satisfaction that the sinner, when he sins, is but rendering homage to God in his own way and according to his conceptions of his obligation to God.

Rev. Mr. Campbell is the logical heir-at-law of Rev. Dr. Crapsey. His work on "The New Theology" made its appearance soon after the sentence of expulsion was decreed against that bold but by no means original theorist. Its statements of a revised "Christian doctrine" are now being discussed all over the Protestant world, and Protestants, as a consequence, are asking themselves what the "Reformation" meant and what "Calvinism" meant as a reformation of the "Reformation." The principal articles of the Campbell creed are embodied in these extracts from his book, placed under headings:

**GOD**—"The mysterious Power which is finding expression in the universe, and which is present in every tiniest atom of the wondrous whole." "Where . . . is the dividing line between our being and God's? There is no dividing line except from our side." "My God is my deeper self and yours, too."

**EVIL**—Evil "is not a thing in itself, it is only the perceived privation of what you know to be good, and which you know to be good because of the very presence of limitation, hindrance and imperfection."

**SIN**—"Sin is the opposite of love. . . . Sin is therefore selfishness." "But sin has never injured God except through man. It is the God within who is injured by it rather than the God without."

**DIVINITY OF CHRIST**—"In Him humanity was divinity; and divinity, humanity." "Any special insight which He possessed into the true relations of God and man was due to the moral perfection of His nature, and not to His metaphysical status. He was God manifest in the flesh because His life was a consistent expression of divine love, and not otherwise. But He was not God manifest in the flesh in any way which would cut him off from the

rest of human kind." "Jesus was the child of Joseph and Mary, and had an uneventful childhood."

"Humanity was divinity; and divinity, humanity." Could anything be more simple in the way of dialectic statement? One is immediately reminded of the dual character of Wordsworth's literary form, according to Byron—the genius

Who both by precept and example shows  
That prose is poetry; and poetry, prose.

A large part of the Protestant world is shocked at the conduct of Dr. Crapsey and the book of Dr. Campbell. The spectator at a bout of target practice might as well be surprised and pained that a cannon ball hits something when its course is run. The shot that was "heard around the world" when Luther fired his mortar is now well nigh spent, and the shell may soon be expected to burst, to the dismay of the cannoneer's friends and followers and the satisfaction of the friends of peace with God.

The "New Theology," or rather its author, disclaims pantheism, no doubt; but the disclaimer is useless. He cannot place limitations on logical inference, no more than he can sweep away limitations and then try to establish others. The doctrine he preaches as to sin and its punishment—so far as he admits that sin is anything substantial—sweeps away the whole Christian system resting on the doctrine of the Atonement. As to the future life he postulates these dogmatic propositions:

"Everlasting punishment is impossible. While sin remains in the universe God is defeated; everlasting punishment involves His everlasting failure. There is no such thing as punishment, no far-off judgment day, no great white throne, and no Judge external to ourselves. The true resurrection is spiritual, not material. Heaven and hell are states of the soul. . . . When a guilty soul awakens to the truth, hell begins. Salvation and atonement are just as operative on the other side of death as on this."

But Dr. Campbell's theories may seem to himself new; in reality, their substance is very, very old. Other theorists have maintained that sin and pain are unreal, on the principle propounded by Berkeley and earlier enunciated by Shakespeare, through the mouth of Lady Macbeth, "The living and the dead are but as pictures." The bold theory of Luther which, recognizing the reality of sin, made its commission something like a virtue, as a debt for which the great Ransom was paid, finds its fitting climax in the new discovery of Cambridge that sin is really a tribute to the God of holiness—not the sort of homage that vice pays to virtue, but the sinner's mode of carrying on the quest for the higher life and ultimate happiness. This view accords pretty closely with that of the great impostor of

Mecca. But belief in the truth of the theory is not altogether confined to Mahometans or unorthodox Church of England preachers. We find a partial adherence to it, every year or every couple of years, embodied in the resolutions of grand juries in this country, Protestants for the most part, on the subject of immorality in cities. These postulate that such vice is "a necessary evil," and advocate for it, on that account, a recognition and a protection by the State and municipal law.

Rénan, who began this work of destroying belief in the Divinity of Christ, was successful with a wide circle mainly because of the fascination of his literary style. Dr. Campbell possesses a like gift, though he is not so profoundly versed in Oriental lore as Rénan was, it is to be presumed. Anglican organs affected to make light of the effect of his book. The *Morning Post*, the organ of the aristocratic element in Church and State, declared that it was "impossible to take the book seriously," and that there was "not enough brain work behind it to make it of the least value to philosophical discussion." This lofty attitude only proves that the steam gauge is out of order, and is therefore an unsafe guide for the man in charge of the generator. In the enormous demand for the book the first effect of its message is best seen. Twenty thousand copies of it were sold in ten days, immediately after it was put on the publishers' counters. Everybody in England is discussing it—railway porters, traveling salesmen—even cattle dealers, most unlikely class of all as polemical debaters. There is nothing more striking in the moral phenomena of our age than the avidity with which the unreasoning world—the man in the street—snatches at novelties in the sphere of religion—and particularly at such new ideas as tend to lessen its obligations as to practical fulfillment and conscientious satisfaction. The argument from conscience once removed, all restraint must be cast to the winds by the many. Fear of future punishment vanishes in the contemplation of a Deity who looks with equal complacency on sin and holiness. Mahomet, Dowie and Mrs. Eddy have demonstrated that the most successful theology is that which teaches that "the easiest way is the best way."

It is curious to observe the make-up of the forces which, starting out from different realms of thought, now work toward a common objective—the citadel of Christianity. Theology, Science and Sociology—all claiming the right to the word "new," in the sense of improved or modern, or what is smartly called "up to date"—form the triple line of attack. The first work to be done before the abattis is reached is the destruction of the *chevaux de frise* of morality. This is still a formidable obstacle, for even though the idea of the supernatural be demolished, there is still the tanglework of conven-

tionality and inveterate custom and tradition to be broken down. Of late the quest for the great panacea, proclaimed by Lessing, and Marx, and Tolstoi, has developed some new and often unpleasant tendencies, especially among members of what we still reverently term the gentler sex. The lines of investigation taken up by many frequently lead into what has been hitherto regarded as forbidden ground, but that fact does not deter the race of the emancipated. Readers of social magazines know that the female mind, when the desire for knowledge, useful or the reverse, is aroused, do not hesitate to enter the temple of Eleusis and penetrate to the places reserved for the initiated. This boldness is not without its effect upon the multitude. What is learned in the class room and discussed at the feminine symposium following is soon reflected in the mirror of fiction. Hence such startling literary excursions as were found in "The Heavenly Twins" and "The History of Sir Richard Calmady."

There are many roads, highways not merely, but byways too, to Eleusis. They do not all bear sign posts, but may look innocent and inviting enough to the unwary or careless traveler. No harm, it may well be thought, can arise from attendance at a ladies' gathering for the purpose of discussing social problems. Such academic things serve to dissipate *ennui* and afford openings for the ambition of the learned among womankind. Let us take a glance at a few of the séances and observe how such an easy-going view fits in with the actual conditions.

Quite recently there was a gathering of ladies here for the consideration of social and ethical problems. One of the papers read produced a mild sensation. It was a strong defense of superstition among remote and semi-civilized peoples. The fair investigator found that such populations are ignorant of religion, and are very rich in superstitions. They have a dread of wrongdoing because of the inevitable consequences that they believe ensue when occult influences are defied. This is the only restraint such peoples possess. Therefore superstition, the fair logician postulated, was a good thing. She may have been striking at people in Wall street or among the American "four hundred," under the designation of uncivilized tribes—for Wall street has its superstitions about lucky and unlucky things no less than the Cimmerian Esquimaux, and the "four hundred" believe as implicitly in the sinisterness of No. 13—even to the White House—as the Calabrian rustic in the evil eye. But the purpose of her argument was to demonstrate the utility of superstitions, and it therefore had the same meaning and intent as the theory of our high-minded moralists, the grand jury men, that what is "necessary" ceases to be evil when it is found to be "necessary"—or at least too deeply rooted in our social system and our fallen nature for suc-

cessful attack. If our implements are too short or too weak for the work of eradication or demolition, the best course is to throw them away and say the task is too great for Hercules. Such is the inference deducible from this sort of reasoning.

Before Calvin condemned his rival, Servetus, to the stake he asked him did he mean to sustain the proposition that the devil was a part of God, as he maintained that the benches on which they sat in the court house were parts of God. "Can you doubt it?" sneered Servetus, by way of affirmative. To maintain that sin is part and parcel of the agencies by means of which the Lord of Holiness works out His mighty will is to maintain that two things mutually destructive can meet and mingle in safety—to maintain that wisdom and madness, love and hatred, purity and lewdness are indistinguishable. And it is precisely this ridiculous sort of proposition which the new school of homiletics has been started to maintain.

What essential difference is there between this view of human existence and the relation of men to the universe, and that of the Epicurean Greeks, which they embodied in the system called Hedonism? Everything that afforded pleasure, no matter whether it agreed with the moral law or not, became with that school an agency of good. The "new theology," as the thing is called in England, is only a Hedonism, nor is this Hedonism by any means new. It is simply old Epicureanism—the same unutterable abomination that made the life and practice of great philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, even Socrates, some say, so gross a contradiction to their moral teachings.

The plea for the preservation of superstition is the same in essence as the plea for the maintenance of the bagnio and the gambling house. Human nature, divested of responsibility before God, irresistibly inclines toward unlawful pleasure and the desire of gain. Gambling, in the new theology—that is, endeavoring to gain the property of some one else by means other than honest labor—is condemned as immoral. But the gratification of sensuality is looked upon as a mere foible. Therefore, as the task of legislating it out of existence is regarded as impracticable, it is separated from the other form of lust and recommended to the tutelage and protection of the law.

The flag of Great Britain to-day flies over the temples of superstition and idolatry in India and protects both. But it will not allow a gambling house openly to carry on its trade under its imperial cognisance. It will not permit a smuggler to cheat the imperial revenue. But it affords full protection to the heathen temple and the indulgence in the orgies of fanatical followers of Siva and Vishnu. The Rev. W. J. Mulcahy, in the *New Ireland Review*, quotes an official

document laid before Parliament by one of the Magistrates in Lower Bengal, Mr. Oakley, on the subject of idolatry in India and its terrible results, thus describing the worship of Kale, one of the most popular of the Hindoo goddesses: "The murderer, the robber and the prostitute all aim to propitiate a being whose worship is obscenity and who delights in the blood of man and beast, and without imploring whose aid no act of wickedness is committed. The worship of Kale must harden the hearts of her followers, and to them scenes of blood and crime must become familiar."

Now, when learned people, even women, come forward to plead for toleration of superstition as a kind of moral restraint, in the absence of any better, are we not entitled to ask, could the abandonment of the superstition which results in such conditions as this English Magistrate describes result in any more hideous form of chaos than what he depicts? Possibly we might be reminded that in Ashanti and along the Zambesi and Congo there is one step lower, when men and women feed on the flesh of fellow-creatures like themselves. The practice, too, is a portion of the religious system which regards the gratification of human passions and instincts as a fitting acknowledgment of man's dependency upon superior powers.

A favorite form of depreciation of the Christian system with non-Catholic writers is to try to trace a genetic connection between the customs of paganism and those of the New Law. It is a very old idea, but the flavor of age does not make it musty, but rather enhances it to the gusto of those who delight in the process of dethroning God and placing Him on a level with the debased creations of man's imagination who were styled deities in the archaic systems. A paper devoted to such an object appeared in the issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* for March, 1906, from the pen of Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons. While its literary treatment is severely scientific, its examples and illustrations are quite Pompeiian in their unabashed exposition of detail. Into these it is not necessary to enter. It is sufficient to say that the process of moral vivisection is fully as cold-blooded as the physical horrors denounced by those who shrink from the enrichment of knowledge at the cost of animal pain. The immediate aspect of old paganism brought under comparative criticism is the "Religious Dedication of Women." Here the investigator starts from a theory that such dedication is an offshoot of the basic idea in the offering of tribute to gods—namely, blood sacrifice. Cannibalism, it is suggested, was also another mode of offering such sacrifice. The suttee, or immolation of widows or favorite concubines to the manes of departed chiefs was not in all cases a propitiatory rite; it was the belief in some countries where the practice obtained—and it obtains in many still, as in Ashanti

and Dahoni—that the gods to whom the victims were offered were human in their passions, and the victims were intended for their gratification.

As the dedication of women in pagan lands, whether to the service of imaginary deities or to deified monarchs like the Incas or the Mikados, demanded the surrender of female honor, it will be at once perceived how nice a sense of delicacy in drawing distinctions or establishing analogies is shown in tracing a genetic connection between the objects of dedication of pagan women and of the Catholic religious orders of women. In Peru there were cloisters for the women devoted to the service of the Sun-god, as well as others devoted to that of the Incas, who were believed to be direct descendants of the Sun and the Moon. The writer's treatment of examples shows that the same inability to differentiate between the spiritual and the carnal distinguishes her ideas as to the fusion of Church and State. For instance, this passage: "It would be interesting to know whether the cloistered women of Peru developed from the home-staying celibates" (of the Incas' time) "as in early Christendom, or *vice versâ*. The severity of the punishment inflicted upon violators of the Sun's women" (strangulation, to wit; while the women were buried alive) "is also suggestive of the early Christian practice."

Mark the foregoing—"the early Christian practice." No authority is cited for this implication of a horrible custom. Only this illustration is added: "In 826, for example, Louis le Débonnaire decreed that the seduction of a nun was to be punished by the death of both partners in guilt; that the property was to be consecrated to the Church, and that if the Count in whose district the crime occurred neglected its prosecution, he was to be degraded, deprived of his office, undergo public penance and pay his full over-gild to the fisc."

Mr. Henry Lea is the authority quoted for the foregoing, but it will be remarked that he is silent about the burying alive part of the indictment. But the chief point to be noted is that the law was that of the Emperor (Louis was the son of Charlemagne, and was crowned as Emperor by Pope Stephen IV.). It was not the act of the Church. The comparatively recent case of Mr. Rider Haggard and his story of a walled-up nun seems to have been quite lost on such learned writers as this scientist.

The want of perception of the spirit of Christianity is painfully apparent in this remarkable dissertation, as the writer went on to develop the argument: "The Christian nun may well be thought of as the descendant of the African wife-priestess and the Peruvian Sun-wife. In Christianity sacrifice passed over from the gift stage



to the self-abnegation stage. And this change in the general conception of sacrifice involved a change in the ideas of the meaning of religious female celibacy. In Christianity, too, the exclusive character of divine proprietorship was thought of rather as precluding sexual intercourse with men than as leading to it with deity. Besides, the idea of a mystical union with deity took the place of ideas of sexual union with deity."

This woful attempt to appreciate and explain the idea of Christian female celibacy is saddening enough, as an evidence of the failure of "science" to grasp the meaning or the spirit of the Catholic religion. But a foot-note to the passage quoted still further emphasizes the inability of the ordinary scientific mind to differentiate between a symbol and a creation of the mind. It runs thus: "Mariology, the widespread medieval beliefs in the existence of *incubi* and *succubi*, the endless instances of sexual pathology in the lives of the saints, and the consecration of the nun with its simulated marriage rite of 'taking the veil' as the 'bride of Christ' show that the primitive attitude of mind was still held by many."

The mystical sense in which imagery is employed both in the Old Testament and the New ought to be sufficiently well understood by people of education. Here we find that, great as the power of language is, it yet falls short of the task demanded of it in the illumination of some special orders of minds. The X-ray is needed here; the ordinary electric light is insufficient.

In more than one passage the writer now under consideration declares than an exhaustive study of the subject of celibacy, masculine as well as feminine, would be necessary in order to have a satisfactory analysis. The question naturally arises, Are the conditions for a satisfactory analysis possible to such minds? Is the conception of the perfect holiness of the Triune God likely to be attained by intellects steeped for years in the corroding solution of materialistic acids? If the due conception of God's awful sanctity could be formed, then might it be not difficult to understand that His all-conquering grace might subdue the imperfect in the human heart and elevate the human soul, by anticipation, to that high plane of sanctification which must be reached by all who desire in spirit and in truth to consecrate their earthly life and all its possibilities of spiritual achievement to His service. But we are dealing here with the mental measurements of Spencer and Darwin: "At present we need only note that religious male chastity may also develop from religious female chastity by the process of false analogy, which plays such an important part in many other social phenomena. When the origin of religious female chastity in divine proprietorship is lost sight of, and the state is also considered one of self-sacrificing

worship, it is naturally thought of as fit for male worshipers as well."

Of course the authority of the Saviour of mankind is of no account in the determination of this delicate question by female logicians—or one that ought to be treated as delicate but is not, but handled entirely "without gloves," to use a graphic popular aphorism. The men whom He selected for His service were bidden to leave father and mother and wife and home, and devote all their hours and all their capabilities of every kind, mind and body, heart and soul, to the sublime task to which He assigned them.

Still there is a minor-key morality—the utilitarian—recognized by such thinkers, as we find in such verdicts as this: "Manu and St. Paul are certainly responsible for untold human misery" (because they preached that continence is a virtue), "but they may also be credited with helping to give a religious sanction to social control of sexuality."

Human happiness, conversely, according to sociological ideals, consists in the gratification of our lower nature. This is not the Christian standard of happiness. The conquest of the baser part of humanity is the triumph of the Christian system. The pure in heart and deed enjoy a beatitude of spirit which can never be estimated by the materialist. To minds steeped in the disgusting lore of the hideous deities of the old Greek mythology and their awful saturnalia, it can hardly be vouchsafed to rise to the conception of the chaste Christian ideal. Can such tell of the horrors of Priapus worship in minute detail, and of the various forms of human degradation which the Hindu system entailed, and pronounce, in the same breath as between the Christian ideal of sanctity and the pagan one?

If the inquiry into "sociology" involve such topics, it may reasonably be asked where the line of decency is to be drawn. The young ladies who are instructed by professors of this kind are not of the age that brings the stoic spirit, and if they prove impervious to the impressions inevitably left upon their minds by the study of humanity in its lowest condition, they must be marvels of invulnerability. Let us see do they prove so. We are enabled to form a judgment on the question by means of an inquiry recently held, and the results of which have been published in the *International Journal of Ethics*. Seventy girls of Wilson College were asked by Miss Amy E. Tanner to put in writing their ideals and views upon some of the most important issues in feminine life. The questions were arranged and formulated thus:

Who is nearest to your ideal person?  
What occupation do you wish to follow upon leaving college?  
What position of honor would you most like to hold?  
Would you rather be the best loved person or the best?

Which do you consider of the most importance, honesty, love of humanity, self-control, chastity or justice?

What do you consider the greatest vice?

It will be noted that the interrogator placed questions of a material or selfish character above those relating to the spiritual and ethical side of human nature. In this fact, which may have been unintentional or accidental, there is an indication of the spirit and tendency of the principle which obtains in secular collegiate life. The institution in question may fairly be taken as typical of the average secular college, and the seventy young ladies questioned all belonged to the upper classes. The replies elicited may also be fairly accepted as the legitimate fruit of the system which makes the study of such subjects as ladies like Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons make part of their regular classwork, whether the students are destined for the medical profession or not, as we may perhaps not unreasonably assume. The young ladies answered the different queries in the following proportions, as to choice of occupation: "Thirty-five per cent. of them would like to be teachers, ten and a half per cent. doctors, nurses and concert singers, nine per cent. instructors in music, three per cent. mothers, and 'small numbers' kindergartners, librarians, settlement workers and authors."

This is interesting enough as evidence of the level of ideals prevalent in such colleges. Disappointment may be felt over it, yet there is nothing to startle the feelings, as there must be most certainly in the revelations relating to the ideals on the respective moral virtues. The "ideal person" was in nearly every case chosen from other girls in the college; only one-fourth chose an historical character for emulation; and Miss Tanner does not say whether she was Joan of Arc or Elizabeth of England. The order of virtues in the college girls' mind, as Miss Tanner found it, stands thus: "A little more than one-third take honesty; one-fourth, love of humanity; *one-sixth, chastity*, and one-fifth, self-control. One-sixth consider dishonesty the greatest vice; one-third, drunkenness; *one-fifth, impurity of life or unchastity*, and one-fifth, murder."

A truly remarkable showing. Men regard chastity as the jewel of womanhood, without which all other virtues are merely negative. But to find that only a dozen out of seventy women, picked from the best class and the flower of young maidenhood, regard it as of the highest importance, is, as Paul Kruger said, something to stagger humanity. To shock, indeed, as well as to stagger. We could wish that the *Sun*, which commented in a tone of surprise on the revelation, had emphasized its meaning and drawn attention to the fact more strongly, since that celebrated journal reaches a very large Catholic auditory, and a good many foolish Catholic parents prefer one of these secular colleges for the education of their sons or

daughters to a Catholic one, merely because of some vain idea that a better system prevails in the teaching and a certain social superiority is to be gained by secular college life. Can any better service be rendered than that of attracting widespread attention to the low moral tone which forms an accompaniment to this supposititious social superiority? It is now seen that it is at the cost of risk to the noblest possession of womanhood, purity of thought, that such social "betterment," if any, is achieved. Let the foolish Catholic ponder on this startling fact and recall the warning of the Lord of all purity to those who expose the young to scandal. The levity with which the matter was treated by the *Sun* may be due more to an inveterate habit of thought than to a want of discernment as to the relation of the several feminine virtues, but it is, all the same, a matter to be deplored in so influential a mouthpiece of contemporary ethics. "It was a delightful and informing symposium," remarked the *Sun*, "and yet not so informing, for we take it that the girl undergraduates are pretty much the same in their sentiments and yearnings at all the seats of learning. Unspoiled by the higher education, they are not translated to a seventh heaven of perfection to which man could never attain, but they remain on the earth with him, to comfort, delight, improve and sustain and share his futile strivings after the ideal." Wilson College, then, may be regarded as a sample. Much the same may be found in Vassar, Bernard, or any of the other secular colleges for women. Such is the rational inference.

Now, apart from the question of the utility or desirability of forcing on women the study of such subjects as Mrs. Parsons treats in the sociological magazines, the public has a right to ask why she has chosen to introduce the *odium theologicum* into the subject. It is a far-fetched idea and utterly uncalled for. If the law of separation between Church and State be recognized as operative in State-supported schools and private "non-sectarian" foundations, why should insidious attacks upon the holiest ideals in Christianity be suffered to take place under the guise of instruction in physiology, sociology or any other form of pedagogic science? The great object of education is to elevate while informing. We see plainly, from the facts set forth by Miss Tanner, that that object is largely frustrated as far as girls' colleges are concerned, and we would be fairly justified in assuming that the line of studies chosen by ladies who do not shrink from proposing that "trial marriage" shall replace the present order in matrimony, is not free from responsibility as to the failure.

When the lowering of feminine standards is not a deterrent from the pursuit of scientific, or pseudo-scientific, lines of investigation,

it is not to be wondered at if a connection is again sought to be traced between the sublime ideals of the Christian system and the gross sensualism of the sad and tragic pagan era. The real reason for wonder is the indifference of all such discoverers to the charge of plagiarism. All those threads of connection were traced long ago by forgotten fingers. In an old work called "The Veil of Isis" all the points of resemblance indicated by Henry Lea and Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons were gone over with great zeal and avidity, but it must be owned that the early discoverers and commentators had the decency to refrain from putting into print the details of that debase-ment that often makes a man of the present day blush to remember that his descent is not from the unreasoning brute rather than the reasoning prototype of himself. Superstition, even of the darkest and most hideous kind, is regarded as a form of seeking after God, and therefore to be tolerated, if not fostered and honored. We have more than once heard the sigh of regret for the extinction of Aztec "civilization" and its supersession by the "idolatry and superstition" of the Catholic system, while not a spasm of horror or a groan of anguish was discernible over the awful hecatombs of slaughtered human beings cut to pieces on the colossal sacrificial stone before the sanguinary deity of the Aztec worship. We see rather a disposition to connect Christianity with such horrible butchery and debauchery by a sort of infernal "apostolic succession," and make the cause of the slaveholder and the slave liberator one and the same.

These woful aberrations of the modern mind are traceable, for the most part, to the new spirit of scientific inquiry. This spirit often proceeds on a false assumption. It looks upon religion much as a cat does upon a dog, as its natural enemy. In discussing the place of science in modern civilization, Professor Thorstein Veblen, writing in the same *Journal of Sociology* from which we have been quoting, admits the false pretensions on which the sort of science that seeks to substitute itself for religion in the philosophy of life and morals rests. "On any large question which is to be disposed of for good and all, the final appeal is by common consent taken to the scientist." So much for the statement of procedure, but what of the efficacy of the process for the vindication of the truth? "The solution offered in the name of science is decisive, *so long as it is not set aside by a still more searching scientific inquiry.*" In the proviso we have italicized lies the refutation of the bold claim that science is to be looked to as the provider of the ultimate truth. When its gnomon is shifting unceasingly, where is the ultimate truth to be looked for? To put the idea in a homely way, it is a case of "Live, horse! and you'll get grass."

The human soul is not interested in science; it is the human thirst for material knowledge that leads the human mind on and on from one *point d'appui* to the next. Science cannot bring balm to the penitent sinner, nor bid the tear of the mourner cease to flow. This is the office of Christ the Consoler, who taught the world the distinction between God and Cæsar. Science now occupies the place of Cæsar in the new *crux* which the children of Belial offer for the Christian's solution. Its exponents refer to the defenders of Christianity as "the enemy." The discovery is theirs. Christianity is not an enemy to true science; nor can it be true science which proclaims enmity between the two. Were Cæsar identified with God in his laws and rule, Christ would not have raised a barrier of demarcation. Still the probability that the guide which present-day materialism looks to may be, after all, rather a Will-o'-the-Wisp, a mere lambent marsh exhalation, seems to weigh with the advocates of science not very lightly. As Professor Veblen says: "It has come about that men assign it this high place, perhaps idolatrously, perhaps to the detriment of the best and most intimate interests of the race. There is room for much more than a vague doubt that this cult of science is not altogether a wholesome growth"—that it makes for race deterioration, he believes, no doubt, because of the lowering of human ideals. And in very truth, the close following of the technological arguments in which these nebulous ideas of "science"—such as Professor Loeb's—are sought to be defined can hardly fail to lead to deterioration, since each successive step seems to contradict the preceding one's lessons, and the intellectual process becomes at length very much akin to that of Sisyphus in the fable.

If we may admit the pleas of some schools of "science" for an unlimited process of repetition in all nature in the forgotten past as well as in the prospective future, there were "scientists" in the twilight ages of the world no less daring than those who now seek to dethrone God and put Science in His place. There was Prometheus, for instance. The fable of his daring seems to have been left the world only as a stimulative, while the story of his failure and his punishment has lost its moral.

Pleas for the maintenance of ancient superstitions, as moral agencies in their own way, are nothing different in their essence from pleas for the acceptance of the New Theology in its major premiss. God being the author of all things, both good and evil, if these superstitions operate for good, they serve as useful a purpose in the scheme of creation as the things of light. This is really the gist of the argument, no matter what the verbiage which embellishes it. If the theory of divine immanence which it preaches be a true one, Servetus should never have been sent to the stake. The stake and

fagots which burnt him were portion of God, the bench from which Calvin's decree was pronounced was portion of God; nay, the very Devil himself, whom he was supposed to have renounced in baptism, was of God's personality, which pervades all things ever made or ever to be made.

Old superstition, it must be owned, was innocent, childlike belief, in its logical deductions, as compared with the reasoning of the New Theology and some tenets of the new science. The curious feature in the theory of the first-named is the inability to perceive its self-destructive character on the part of those who propound it. If the word God mean "good"—as most philologists maintain—by derivation, then such a thing or quality as good there must be; and if all things be the quality known as good, then there hardly be any need of classification into good and evil. All creation is a vast monosyllable. Virtue and vice are identical; sin disappears; sense is the same as nonsense; the millennium of fools has arrived.

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## SOME CRITICISMS ON "SUPERNATURAL RELIGION."<sup>1</sup>

THE authenticity of the New Testament, and especially of the Gospels, is a question which during the last century has very much exercised the minds of critics and has been discussed with the most intense eagerness. The controversy began in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and it was brought to a crisis which aroused the gravest anxiety throughout Europe by the publication of Strauss' life of Jesus in 1835. His destructive criticism was succeeded by that of Baur and the Tübingen school and subsequently by Renan.

Numerous writers of great critical acumen rallied from all creeds to champion the divinity of the Christian religion thus imperiled, and our adversaries have been beaten back from point to point, till such critics as Renan and Baur have to take refuge in the impossibility of the Supernatural. That this citadel is far from impregnable it will be my endeavor to show in the first part of this paper.

The prolonged and vehement character of the contest about the Gospels is certainly not disproportioned to its importance; for nothing can be of more consequence to Christians than to know whether they are merely a pôt-pourri of more or less edifying and interesting

<sup>1</sup> Rationalist Press Association, London.

but fictitious reading, or whether, on the contrary, we have in them four faithful records of the life, the teaching, the death and the resurrection of Our Lord and God.

The work entitled "*Supernatural Religion*" has been published anonymously and has enjoyed a very wide popularity. It has passed through several editions and has evoked replies from some of the most eminent scholars in England.<sup>2</sup> It has recently been issued at a popular price by the Rationalist Press Association. The first part of the work is an elaborate attack on the credibility of Revealed Religion in general, and in the second part it is sought to undermine in detail the authority of the Gospels and of the Acts of the Apostles. The author is not a great critic like Strauss or Renan, but he canvasses with great industry and discrimination the views of others, so it may be taken for granted that his book contains the last word that unbelief has to say against the Christian position. This fact, as well as the device of anonymity, no doubt accounts for the great popularity of the work.

#### I.

In the beginning of the book the author essays to show that on Christian principles we can never know whether a supposed miracle (and consequently the revelation which it guarantees) is from God or the devil, especially as it is only from revelation itself that we can know the existence of God, and hence that we are completely in the dark as to the evidential value of any particular miracle. This contention is quite innocuous as far as Catholics are concerned, who can prove from reason the existence of a just and holy God, who has a loving care for His creatures, but it completely demolishes the traditionalist position which many Anglican divines such as Mansel and Wescott seem to have taken up. In his efforts to prove from Scripture that the devil can effectually mask his deformity and pose as an angel of light to our undoing, the author considerably ignores the fact that we are told that in the case of antichrist the just will not be led away, and in the case of the sorcerers before Pharaoh that their connection with the father of lies was evidently proved by the superior miracles of Moses.

He next devotes several chapters in proving to his own satisfaction from Milman, Newman and others that when the miracles of the New Testament are supposed to have been performed, reputed miracles were the order of the day; all nations had them in abundance and expected them of every new religion. "The Jews," he says, "and their heathen neighbors were too accustomed to supposed

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<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot and Sanday and Wescott.



preternatural occurrences to feel much surprised at the account of the Christian miracles," and again: "No attempt is made to deny the fact that miracles are common to all times and to all religious creeds."<sup>\*</sup> The inference being, of course, that it was easy for the Apostles, having imagined the miracles of Christ, to foist them on the belief of an uncritical age. But surely Christ knew the signs of the time in which He lived, and it would be fatuous for Him to appeal, as He did, to miracles as a definite proof that His doctrines and those of His Apostles were from above if miracles were a matter of course in His day. In this connection our author never mentions Gibbon, so he probably never read his history or heard of his famous third cause; and Gibbon is an honorable man, whose knowledge of those early times is unrivaled and whose bias in favor of Christianity is not sufficient to warp his judgment as to the cogency of miraculous or professedly miraculous evidence in the early days of our faith.

The author next comes to Hume's famous argument against the possibility of miracles, which he religiously accepts, indeed, defends with the misdirected zeal that he considers the peculiar characteristic of religious apologetes. This argument colors his views throughout the entire book as to the sufficiency of evidence; in fact, in one place he almost says that he would accept the resurrection on St. Paul's testimony if it were not *a priori* incredible. To the same intent Baur has said: "The capital argument for the later origin of our Gospels remains always this, that they represent so much in the life of Christ in a manner in which in reality it never could have happened," and Renan says much the same. More recently M. Loisy assigns to the Gospels Matthew and Luke a date subsequent to 70 A. D., and for one reason because the historian, as such, cannot admit the existence of a prophecy such, for instance, as that of the destruction of Jerusalem. It is of the greatest importance, then, to examine closely Hume's argument—the stock-in-trade of all who deny the credibility or possibility of the miraculous or supernatural. Our author, too, invites special attention to it and twits apologists with having seldom ventured an attack on such a stronghold of unbelief. Here is the argument as it is set forth in *extenso* in "Supernatural Religion" in Hume's own words:

## II.

"A wise man proportions his belief to the evidence. In such conclusions as are founded on an infallible experience, he expects the event with the last degree of assurance and regards his past experience as a full proof of the future existence of that event."

Having developed this point, he goes on: "A miracle is a viola-

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<sup>\*</sup> Loisy, "Auteur d'un Petit Livre," 32, insinuates the same.

tion of the laws of nature, and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle from the very nature of the fact is as entire as any argument from experience that can possibly be imagined. Why is it more probable that all men must die; that lead cannot of itself remain suspended in the air; that fire consumes wood and is extinguished by water, unless it be that these events are found agreeable to the laws of nature, and there is required a violation of these laws, or in other words a miracle to prevent them? Nothing is esteemed a miracle if it once happened in the common course of nature. It is no miracle that a man seemingly in good health should die on a sudden, because such a kind of death, though more unusual than any other, has yet been frequently observed to happen. But it is a miracle that a dead man should come to life, because that has never been observed in any age or country. There must, therefore, be a uniform experience against every miraculous event, otherwise the event would not merit that appellation. And as a uniform experience amounts to a proof, there is here a direct and full proof from the nature of the fact against the existence of any miracle; nor can such a proof be destroyed or the miracle rendered incredible but by an opposite proof which is superior. Hence," he concludes, "when any one tells me that he saw a dead man raised to life, I immediately consider with myself whether it is more probable that this person should either deceive or be deceived, or that the fact which he relates should really have happened. I weigh the one miracle against the other, and if the falsehood of his testimony would be more miraculous than the event which he relates, then, and not till then, can he pretend to command my belief." So far the argument. Now what is to be said in answer to it?

The first remark that suggests itself is that Hume's objection is completely irrelevant. It does not touch miracle at all according to the Catholic or Christian idea. For, according to Hume, the essence of a miracle consists in the fact that it is opposed to the uniform and unalterable experience of mankind. "It is a miracle," he says, "that a dead man should come to life, because that has never been observed in any age or country." With us, on the contrary, it would be a true miracle, though people in every age and country were raised to life again as fast as they died. In our view a miracle is essentially the violation of a certain objective order that is entirely independent of our experience. Nor is this an accidental misapprehension of the Christian position by Hume, for being a Sensist and denying all causality, and even the existence of the material world other than as a cluster of transitory impressions on our minds, his only concept of a law of nature could be as something within us, the

product of experience; and hence his only idea of miracle something that ran counter to experience. If Hume had lived when the planet Neptune was discovered or radium, he should either revise his concept of the laws of nature and of the objective value of our ideas, or else admit the hated existence of a miracle. But to carry the war into the enemy's country, I would remark in the next place that it is but beating the air on Hume's part to take such elaborate trouble to negative the possibility of a miracle, or, which is the same thing, to establish the inviolability of the laws of nature, when he makes such laws beforehand the products of an experience that is firm, infallible and mark the word unalterable. Query: How does Hume bring infallibility and inalterability into his theology, when he and the other Sensists contemptuously reject any such mystical tie as causality, which an ordinary man would think alone competent to account for these high attributes? It will be observed, of course, that Hume's statement about a dead man having never come to life is an impudent *petitio principii*. Another very important point: Hume says if any one ask me to believe that a man was raised from the dead, I have urging me to believe the miracle the testimony of this individual, and urging me to disbelieve I have the universal experience of mankind. But even granting that a man never was raised from the dead, have I—the individual—the universal experience of mankind testifying that? I—the individual—have nothing of the kind, for I must rely on the word of individuals as to what was or was not the experience of all. I cannot get at the experience of the race but through the testimony of individual members. In the particular case in question I have only the testimony of one or more who heard it from one or more others, and so on back, that a dead man never came to life.

As a consequence, when I as a prudent man want to make up my mind as to the reality or the reverse of a supposed miracle, I have to contrast the trustworthiness of the person telling me the story, not at all with the trustworthiness or experience of all men, as Hume supposes, but with the trustworthiness of the one or more individuals that told me on the authority of one or more others that the story in question is opposed to the universal experience. Lastly, if the belief of men is able to generate a law of nature, as Hume seems to suppose, then the existence of miracles is such a law, for all men, practically speaking, believed in them up to very recent times. You will the better realize how little there is against the possibility of miracles when you see Huxley—certainly no partisan of the Christian cause—expressing in the nineteenth century (August, 1886) his preparedness to examine with an open mind the testimony in favor of any particular miracle.

In concluding the remarks on the first part of "Supernatural Religion," I have only to say that our author would have inspired more respect for his sincerity if, instead of endeavoring to eliminate the supernatural from the times of Augustine and Tertullian, he had boldly tackled some of the miracles reported every other day from Lourdes, and many of which hard-headed men of science are compelled to give up as susceptible of no natural explanation.

### III.

The second and most important part of "Supernatural Religion" is occupied entirely in endeavoring to depreciate the external testimony usually brought forward from the first and second centuries in proof of the authenticity of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

It would be out of the question, of course, for me to discuss in detail the arguments from the writers of that era. Nor is this very necessary, for the fact whether many of those early writers, who all, as we contend, recognized our Gospels and quoted from them without, however, mentioning their authors' names expressly—whether these writers, I say, bear testimony to the authenticity of our Gospels or not depends on the validity of a certain canon of criticism which the author lays down at the beginning of his remarks and applies consistently all through. So if this canon breaks down on analysis, we have, as our author himself confesses, these writers on our side, at least as far as the Synoptic Gospels go, and in this paper we shall concern ourselves only with them. Having examined this canon, we shall consider at some length his treatment of the evidence of Papias, which is very important both by reason of its definiteness and antiquity.<sup>4</sup>

The writers whose testimony the canon in question is intended to elucidate are principally Basilides, a heretic who flourished about 125 A. D.; Valentinus, another heretic who lived about 140; Clement of Rome in his first epistle to the Corinthians, written not later than 70 probably; Polycarp, who wrote about 120, and in particular Justin Martyr, who died 164.<sup>5</sup> We shall pay special attention to Justin, both on account of his numerous quotations from the Gospels and the semi-official character of his apologies.

This canon may be conveniently put in the form of a syllogism, thus: The quotation of certain parts of our Gospels by these early writers, who do not state where they quote from, does not prove that these writers used our Gospels, if they had other sources at hand

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<sup>4</sup> St. Irenæus tells us he was a disciple of St. John and familiaris Polycarpi.

<sup>5</sup> The author gives these dates as approximately correct.

whence to get these quotations. And such was the fact, for there were many Gospels which would now be called apocryphal contemporaneous with these early writers—Ergo. Our author thus illustrates this canon: "Let us suppose for a moment," he says, "the Gospel according to Luke to have been lost, like the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter and so many others. In the works of one of the fathers we discover the following quotation from an unnamed evangelical source: 'And he said unto them, the harvest truly is great, but the laborers few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth laborers into His harvest. Go your ways; behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves.' Apologetic critics," he goes on to say, "would probably maintain that this was a compilation from memory of passages quoted freely from the First Gospel, but as a fact it is a literal quotation from Luke, which, as we have assumed, has been lost."

But even though we acknowledge the existence at a very early date of all those apocryphal Gospels, if we have any regard for a cumulus of probabilities, if we do not reject moral certainty, if we do not consider it incumbent on us to eliminate every element of doubt, however ill-founded, before we accept any proposition, we must hold in consistency that these quotations are taken from our Gospels and from them alone. For they are so numerous, especially in the Clementine epistle and the two apologies of St. Justin; there are so many indescribable and unpremeditated correspondences between them, the turns of expression and sequence of ideas and the contexts in which they occur so coincide, that any reasonable man must be convinced that they are from our Synoptic Gospels rather than from any others, unless, indeed, those others were exact replicas of the canonical ones, and this supposition, of course, would not suit the Rationalist book. Many examples of these quotations can be seen in any introduction to Scripture. As we might expect, our author endeavors to minimize the points of agreement and to exaggerate the divergencies between the sayings and incidents as given in these early writers and in our Gospels; but in his own despite he has to admit the absolute identity of many passages, and as for the others, he grudgingly concedes that statements from the Old Testament are quoted just as loosely. In fact, in many of the quotations the difference between the words of the writers and the words in the Gospels do not differ as much as many of the quotations in the New Testament from the Old differ from the original. To show how hard set our author is to find striking discrepancies, on one occasion he shows up as something that settles the question the difference between a statement of Christ in *Oratio recta* and the

same statement put in *Oratio obliqua* by Justin Martyr. And on another occasion, to explain what he calls a misquotation from the Old Testament which Justin says he found in the "Memoirs" and which occurs in our First Gospel, he has the effrontery to remark that Justin did not find this quotation in the "Memoirs" at all, but merely imagined that he did.

But what is the evidence for the existence in the first and second centuries of the Apocryphal Gospels which St. Justin is supposed to call the Memoirs and which he says very suggestively were composed by Apostles and their disciples? The evidence is so slender that it would satisfy no one but the apostles of pure reason where they have a point to make against the Church of God. The first argument is from the preface to St. Luke's Gospel, where he says that "many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us; according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word: It seemed good to me also to write to thee in order."<sup>6</sup> The Vulgate equivalent here for "taken in hand" is "*conati sunt*." The Latin would rather favor the view that the projected narration was not brought to a successful issue by St. Luke's predecessors, but I am bound to confess that the same shade of meaning is not conveyed by the Greek, and besides it is very improbable that no one out of the many succeeded, well equipped as they were for the work according to St. Luke. Having granted this much, I submit that it has to be proved that St. Luke refers to written sources of information at all. And remember that our author does not allege that Justin Martyr and the others may have got their information from oral sources, for very often at any rate they are clearly quoting from some written record. I think, though I have no authority for saying so, that the presumption is that St. Luke refers to oral tradition because when he mentions what the others did he uses the phrase "to set forth in order," and apparently contrasts with that "his own writing in order." Besides, if the accounts he refers to as given by those who were ministers and eye-witnesses of the word from the beginning were actually written, there would be no point in his own writing, and his explanation of how he came to write would be ludicrous, for surely it would be easier and more satisfactory to send on one of these many written and authentic documents to Theophilus than to write a new one himself with knowledge got, as he confesses, at second hand. Such an attempt, apart from inspiration, to supersede the narration of the personal followers of Christ would be an outrage on modesty and good sense, with which we

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<sup>6</sup> St. Luke i., 1, 2, 3.

have no right to charge St. Luke. But you will object at once and say that this argument proves that our St. Matthew and St. Mark were not in existence when St. Luke wrote. It does not; it simply proves that he was not aware of their existence, which might very easily happen, especially seeing that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew. But even if we admit that these accounts mentioned by St. Luke were written ones, our author makes no attempt to show that St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Paul are not referred to, who all, on our author's own showing, wrote before St. Luke.

The next proof, which indeed can be called a proof only by courtesy, for the early existence of these pseudo-gospels is that in the third and fourth century we find several apocryphal Gospels mentioned as written by the Apostles—St. James, St. Peter, St. Simon, and so on. Our author does not pretend that these were in the possession of St. Justin and the others, but he asserts—the more vehemently as he does not advance any proof—that their prototypes were. Now, bear in mind that at the end of the second century and beginning of the third our Gospels, and those only (if we except the Gospel according to the Hebrews, of which I shall speak in a moment), are mentioned or at all events recognized as of authority.

They alone were recognized by Irenæus—a disciple of Justin and of Polycarp, who wrote between 180 and 190. He was a native of Asia Minor and a Bishop in Gaul, and thus united in himself the traditions of East and West. Our Gospels only are mentioned by the author of the Muratorian fragment, who wrote a few years earlier still, probably in Rome; by Tertullian, who died 207; by Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Tatian, another disciple of St. Justin. Now if Justin, writing about 150, had these Gospels before him and treated them as canonical Scripture (for the Memoirs were read, he says, in the churches equally with the Old Testament), where did they go to? How did they fall into such utter oblivion that none of these later fathers knew anything of them? How is it that Tatian and Irenæus, both disciples of Justin, utterly ignored them, though put by their master on an equality with the Old Testament? You remember Irenæus' fanciful explanation of why there should be four Gospels and only four. Was it that Irenæus despised the authors of these Gospels—St. Peter, for instance? No. You know his statement about the Roman Church's authority as being the seat of SS. Peter and Paul. Was it perhaps that he discovered that these Gospels, admitted as of the highest authority by his master, were spurious? No; for according to our author he was the most ignorant and uncritical of men, and besides he would have mentioned the discovery; nor would he be so confident in using

his far-fetched analogies that there were four Gospels and only four. But not to labor the point further, if it were proved that the Apostolic F. F. were acquainted with a Gospel, say by St. Peter (and this one and that according to the Hebrews are supposed to be the only ones Justin used), it would be much more reasonable to hold that it was identical with our St. Mark<sup>7</sup> than that every one at the end of the second century and since forgot or ignored its existence.

Whether or not these arguments avail to show that no Gospels distinct from ours existed in the early Church, I contend that they are at least conclusive evidence of the fact that the Apostolic F. F. did not acknowledge their authority, and so that they are not the works these writers quote from as of the highest authority and equiparate in every way with the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

Coming now to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is in quite a different category from the other apocryphal Gospels, for Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Origen speak of it with respect and veneration, and we find frequent and honorable mention of it in the works of other early fathers as well. It was written in Hebrew, and it is evident that the title it now bears cannot have been its actual superscription, but is merely a name descriptive of the readers for whom it was prepared or amongst whom it chiefly circulated. Corrupt copies of it under different names were in circulation among the Ebionites, the Nazarites and other heterodox communities. As far as I can make out, this Gospel is almost certainly the original of our St. Matthew.<sup>8</sup> Our author acknowledges that this was the general opinion of the early Church, and he believes the same himself, but, of course, he is committed to the view that it was hopelessly different from our First Gospel. But let us consider the probability of this last subterfuge of his, and the question arises at once if our Gospel is not a faithful translation of this work, how was the original lost sight of? How was this true work of St. Matthew confessedly extant in the time of Justin and used extensively by him—how was this work, I ask, unknown to his disciples, Irenæus and Tatian, and a false work, utterly different, palmed off on them as the genuine Gospel of the Apostle? How was it overlooked by the author of the Muratorian fragment, who wrote in Rome probably within twenty years after Justin? Again, how is it that Irenæus knows nothing of this Gospel, and his contemporaries, Clement of Alexandria and Origen, quote it as an authority and with the same respect as the other Gospels? These facts can only be explained on the supposition that the Gospel according to the

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<sup>7</sup> For all admit that St. Mark's Gospel simply reflects the teaching of St. Peter.

<sup>8</sup> What countenance Papias lends to this view we shall see in the sequel.



Hebrews, substantially at least, agreed with our St. Matthew. The great difficulty of our author to this view is that St. Jerome translated it into Greek, and he goes on to say that if the Greek Gospel had been an accurate translation, of course there could have been no inducement to make another. He forgets, apparently, that St. Jerome corrected the Latin version of the Old Testament and then made a new Latin version of his own.

Finally, it is not without significance, I think, that our author in another place says that this Hebrew Gospel bore the same relation to our St. Matthew that the Gospel Marcion mutilated bore to our St. Luke, and in his last edition he is forced to confess that this Gospel of Marcion was our identical Third Gospel. Now, I contend that the canon on which our author rested his case has been spiked, the bogey of the apocryphal Gospels has been laid and the Apostolic F. F., and particularly St. Justin, bear luminous witness to the existence and authority of our three first Gospels.

#### IV.

Let us now consider briefly the evidence of Papias, disciple of St. John and Bishop of Hierapolis, who wrote about 140 A. D. in favor of our Synoptic Gospels. He wrote a work in five books entitled "*Logion Kyriaka*." Only such fragments of this work have come down to us as were preserved by Irenæus and Eusebius.<sup>9</sup>

The meaning of the first word of the title brings us in medias res at once. And the question is, does this word suggest, as our author contends, that Papias meditated a compilation on his own account of the oracles of the Lord, or rather an interpretation—an explanation—of these oracles as already contained in some existing record? Though sometimes used in the first sense, it is generally employed in the second, and in that sense only it is used by Irenæus and Eusebius.<sup>10</sup> That it is used in the same sense here is proved from the following words in the preface, preserved for us by Eusebius: "But I will not scruple also to give a place along with my interpretations to all that I learned carefully in times past from the elders—Peter, James, Simon, etc." Here the sense of *exegesis* in the title is determined by the unambiguous word "interpretations." Of what, then, was the work an interpretation? Certainly not of the oral traditions, for the interpretations are presupposed and the oral traditions are mentioned subsequently, being introduced to illustrate the interpretations, as is obvious from the words, "I will not scruple *also* (*kai*) to give a place along with my interpretations to all that I learned carefully in the past from the elders."

<sup>9</sup> Euseb. H. E., III., 39.

<sup>10</sup> Lightfoot.

The "also," which, by the way, our author omits, and the entire structure of the sentence make it evident that his own view and that of the elders were co-relative and did not hold the place respectively of comment and work commented on. Hence it is only reasonable to infer that Papias had before his mind (1) a written text which he doubtless mentioned expressly in a previous passage, of which we have now no record, (2) his own interpretation of said text and (3) the interpretation of it derived from oral tradition. It is obvious, too, that this written collection of Our Lord's oracles were held in high estimation by Papias, otherwise he would not have taken the trouble to comment on it. But our author hastens to rejoin that Papias asserts in the same context that "he gained no such profit from the contents of books as he did from the living and abiding voice," and so that he despised these books and would not have commented on them. This statement, we contend, conveys no reflection on the written records of the oracles, because Papias was well acquainted with St. Matthew's written account of them (for our present argument it does not matter whether or not his St. Matthew was different from ours), and it is incredible that he would have preferred that author's views through tradition, that is to say, at second hand. And again he tells us that St. Mark made no mistake in writing down what St. Peter said. How, then, could he prefer a hearsay version of that Apostle's preaching? Another proof of the same fact is sometimes given, viz.: That Eusebius did not understand this disparaging remark of Papias as reflecting on the Gospels, but this is to prejudge the identity (in the mind of Eusebius) of the oracles of Matthew and Mark (spoken of by Papias) without first two synoptics. The written source of Gospel history that Papias had before his mind, and which he held to be of little account, was probably a commentary on the Gospels by the Gnostics, for Irenæus upbraids the teachers of these sects as having tampered with the oracles of the Lord and having shown themselves bad expositors of things well said.

So far we have proved irrefragably that Papias instead of making a new compilation of the oracles simply wanted to supply a correct interpretation of a written compilation of them already in existence and of some authority.

Is there any evidence to show that this compilation was identical with our Gospels? There is convincing evidence in the fragments of Papias' work preserved for us by Eusebius that it included our First and Second Gospels at least. For says Papias: "This also the presbyter John<sup>11</sup> said; Mark having become the interpreter of

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<sup>11</sup> It is not certain whether this John was the Apostle or not. Papias says he was a disciple of the Lord. (Eusebius, L. III., c. 39.)

Peter, wrote accurately whatever he remembered, though he did not arrange in order the things which were either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but afterwards, as I said, accompanied Peter, who adapted his teaching to the occasion and not as making a consecutive record of the Lord's oracles. Mark therefore committed no error in thus writing down some things as he remembers them." Now the question we have to decide is the identity of the work thus described with our second canonical Gospel, for our St. Mark, unlike the work described, would seem to be an orderly and accurate narrative of our Lord's life. But, on the contrary, our Gospel is in reality both incomplete and the events are not recorded in strict chronological order.

These two phenomena are explained by St. Mark's position and opportunities, which were necessarily limited. His work was composed from reminiscences of St. Peter's teaching, and this teaching was necessarily fragmentary and adapted to the immediate requirements of his hearers. St. Mark could not possess either the materials for a complete account or the knowledge for an accurate chronological arrangement. As evidence of St. Mark's deficiency in these two particulars, "it will be sufficient," says Lightfoot, "to call attention to the fact that any of our other canonical Gospels records many doings and, above all, many sayings which are omitted by him, and hence it is by far the shortest of the four." As regards order, again it may, I believe, safely be said that no writer of a life of Christ finds himself in a position to preserve the sequence of events as it stands in St. Mark. His narrative does not profess to be strictly chronological. The order of time, no doubt, is observed here and there, but throughout a considerable portion of Our Lord's ministry the events are recorded quite irrespective of chronological considerations. But, responds our author, it does not depart in any important degree from the order of the other two synoptics. But here he can be hoist with his own petard and that of his friends, for they are forever proclaiming that the contradictions of the Synoptics make them utterly untrustworthy. Besides, Papias might have the Gospel of St. John (who was his master) in mind exclusively, and from him, of course, St. Mark differs *toto coelo*.

So far we have established the possibility that the two works were identical, but our great positive argument lies in the utter improbability of this important work of Mark and Peter having completely disappeared, as it must have done if it differed from our Second Gospel. Our author deprecates the discussion of this question and says it is no business of his to account for its disappearance. But surely this attitude of his is in the last degree shocking to the critical

sense. How Christian apologists would be sneered at if they considered it unnecessary to account for the placing of certain books on the canon or to reconcile their apparent discrepancies. We then will not let him shirk the difficulty, and for once will be more critical than the critics themselves. "Honest and painstaking inquirers will observe," says Lightfoot, "that not the faintest indication of this other Mark can be traced in all the remains of Christian antiquity. They will observe that if the date which our author himself adopts be correct, Irenæus was already grown up to manhood when Papias wrote. They will remember that Irenæus received his earliest education from a friend of Papias, and that his sources of information in everything that related to Christian tradition are the associates and friends of Papias." They will remark that having the work of Papias before him and holding it in high esteem, he none the less is so impressed with the conviction that our present four Gospels, and those only, have formed the title deeds of our religion from the beginning, that he is ever on the search for analogies to the sacred number; and all the time we are asked to believe that he was ignorant of, or despised, the authentic views of the prince of the Apostles as to the beginning of Christianity and which were embodied in the work of St. Mark referred to by Papias. This same conviction of Irenæus, who represented the tradition both of Asia Minor and of Gaul as to the four-fold number of the Gospels, was shared by the author of the Muratorian fragment, by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian in Africa. The inference from all this is clear as the noonday sun, viz.: that the St. Mark of Papias was, in the opinion of these fathers and in reality, none other than our Second Gospel. None but those as jealous as the author for the supremacy of reason could withstand the converging testimony from so many different sources.

Coming now to St. Matthew, Papias says that "Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language and every one translated them as he was able." There can be no doubt, and we are happy to agree with our author for once, that the Greek in this passage means "translated," and not merely "commented on;" and there can be as little doubt that being in the aorist tense, the translations by individuals were no longer made when Papias wrote. And the only reason for this could be that some universally recognized and authentic Greek translation existed at that time. I need not call your attention to how perfectly all this tallies with the Catholic tradition about our First Gospel. If it be contended, as it is, that this Aramaic original by St. Matthew and its recognized Greek translation have nothing to say to our canonical Gospel, the same argument against their complete disappearance, in the rationalistic hypothesis,

can be employed totidem verbis that we employed in the case of St. Mark. The argument is even stronger here, for two works are supposed to have totally disappeared. Such a supposition is so weighted with improbabilities that reason utterly revolts from its acceptance. This being the case, we have an obvious answer to this statement of our author that "there is no linguistic precedent in the time of Papias for straining the word 'logia' to mean anything beyond a collection of sayings of Jesus which were estimated as oracular or divine, nor is there any reason for thinking that 'logia' was here used in any other sense." There is the best of reasons to strain the meaning of the phrase if it were necessary so as to include the events in our St. Matthew; for the entire disappearance of such a work in twenty years when the author of the Muratorian fragment wrote, would be simply miraculous. But, as it happens, there is no need to strain the meaning of the word, for it is frequently used in contemporary literature and even by Papias himself to include events as well as discourses. For instance, the Scriptures which Ephraim of Antioch recognized consisted of the old Testament "ta kyriaka logia," and the preaching of the Apostles where "logia" is obviously a synonym for the Gospels. Again, in Romans iii., 2, the word is used, and the Apostle explaining his contention in the next chapter depends much more on the narrative of God's general dealing with the Hebrews than in His mere words to them. Again, in Hebrews v., 12, where he speaks of the first principles of the oracles of God, he elicits the divine teaching quite as much from the history as from the direct precepts of the Old Testament. But above all Papias himself, in the few fragments that have reached us, uses "logia" in the more extended sense where he says that St. Mark "wrote . . . not consecutively, because," he says, "St. Peter in his preaching did not give a consecutive narrative of the oracles of the Lord." In this passage things said or done by Christ and the oracles of the Lord evidently mean the same thing. Curiously enough, however, our author does not admit this, for he contends that the two expressions are contrasted in this passage. But if Mark wrote the things said and done as the interpreter of Peter, as Papias says, and as our author apparently admits, it would be impossible for him to be ignorant of the oracles of the Lord as expounded by St. Peter, for every one must admit that the oracles embrace the "things said" at least. Hence the point of the quotation is not a contrast between the things said and done and the oracles, but a simple explanation of the want of order in St. Mark's work. The meaning of "logia" in the vocabulary of Papias will become even clearer when we remember that he applies it to the narrative of Christ's life given by St. Peter to the Romans. For

surely it would be absurd to suppose that the addresses of the Apostle to them consisted merely of Our Lord's discourses; beyond all question he must have mentioned miracles and signs, and those of the highest order, as the authentic vouchers for the value and authority of these discourses, unless indeed one adopted our author's theory, on which I animadverted in the beginning, as to the total want of evidential value in miracles during the first ages of the Church.

Hence I think I have disposed of the objection that Papias cannot have referred to our St. Matthew, because "ta logia" simply means discourses, for I have shown that it means, on the contrary, a collection of the sayings and doings of Christ such as we have chronicled in our First Gospel

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#### A CATHOLIC VIEW OF HAMLET.

**A**ESTHETIC criticism, the analysis and criticism both of the character of Hamlet and of the motive of his intellectual parent, Shakespeare, have gone to such lengths in this often-quoted and most misunderstood play that many, in disgust, have ruled out æsthetic criticism altogether as unscientific and unprofitable. However, like the ghost in Macbeth, this spirit will not always down, and it will be found with classes of students, to make the question a practical one, that what most interests them, and also, it may be added, aids to the formation of their character, is, not so much the study of grammatical forms and philological curiosities, but just these questions that are understood under the head of æsthetic criticism.

Briefly, there are two schools of critics—Goethe, Coleridge and Schlegel to represent the old school, now called the subjective, and the modern, objective school, ably represented by Professor Dowden, Professor Corson and, best of all, by our only eminent Catholic commentator, the late and talented but now little known George H. Miles, of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. His "Review of Hamlet," perhaps the most scholarly and finished literary exposition of Hamlet in modern times, published originally in the *Southern Review*, has long been out of print. Very few copies are now in existence, and it is practically unknown except in the stray quotations which the eye may chance upon among the footnotes of the New Variorum Shakespeare. The pity is that no Catholic student has apparently displayed any sorrow for its loss, Catholic teachers and

Catholic students resting content with Protestant interpretation of the most glorious products of Catholic thought in sixteenth century literature. Yet Goethe, Coleridge and Schlegel were utterly mistaken in Hamlet's character. He was to one or other of them a weak, vacillating creature, without a plan, a mouther of words, a procrastinator in action, pushed on by events and only accomplishing his one aim in life by a mere accident at the close.

Goethe expressed his opinion in *Wilhelm Meister*: "When the ghost has vanished, who is it we see standing before us? A young hero panting for vengeance? No! Amazement and sorrow overwhelm the solitary young man." Again: "Here is an oak tree planted in a costly vase, which should have received into its bosom only lovely flowers; the roots spread out, the vase is shivered to pieces . . . a beautiful pure and most moral nature, without the strength of nerve which makes a hero, sinks beneath a burden which it can neither bear nor throw off; every duty is holy to him, this too hard."

Schlegel tells us that his far-fetched scruples are often mere pretexts to cover up his want of determination, and Coleridge: "Hamlet is brave and careless of death, but he vacillates from sensibility and procrastinates from thought and loses the power of action in the energy of resolve." So far the subjective school. Hamlet is weak, more of a dreamer than doer, delaying action till action is of no use. The oak tree and vase of Goethe crystallizes the critical and popular estimate of Hamlet. So said George Miles of his day, while he reminds us that the Hamlet of the critic is not the Hamlet of Shakespeare; that a close review of the play will show that Hamlet is strong; that the basis of his character is strength; that his acts and utterances manifest power; slow, cautious, capricious perhaps, but always strong, always large-souled, always resistless.

Modern critics of the type of Dowden and Corson and, among the text-book editors, Hudson, Rolfe, the editors of the *Riverside Literature Series* and of the *Arden Press* "Hamlet," the standard texts, generally in the hands of teachers and students, all these discard the subjective view we have above exposed. No modern would wish Hamlet to wade through slaughter to a throne without questioning the morality of his act, to the satisfaction and ease of his own conscience or without concern for the tremendous scandal his precipitate action would give to those of his kingdom who could not by any means appreciate the lawfulness of his deed had he accomplished it in the summary way our friends of the subjective school of critics would desire. Yet even in the modern books mentioned there is not enough to show that Hamlet's plan was fashioned on anything higher than a natural motive; nay, not enough to show that it was

not founded on a very low motive of revenge. The Rev. Henry Hudson on page 22 of his introduction complains that the critics talk "just as if it were a matter lying solely between Hamlet and Claudius, just as if the people of Denmark had nothing to say, no rights involved, no concern in the question. Hamlet does not see it so. Every lover of his kind naturally desires both in life and death the good opinion of his kind, and so Hamlet has a just, a benevolent and an honorable concern as to what the world may think of him." So he says:

O God, Horatio! what a wounded name,  
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!  
If ever thou didst hold me in thy heart,  
Absent thee from felicity awhile,  
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,  
To tell my story.

This is well and good. Hamlet did have this desire, but also a higher and better, as we shall see. To the question, "why the poet does not make Hamlet strike," Mr. Hudson makes better answer: "Shakespeare portrays many great criminals, men and women, too, who for a while ride in triumph over virtue wronged, persecuted, crushed. And he always brings them to punishment, so far as this world can punish them, but he never in a single instance does this till their crimes are laid open to the world, so that all about them recognize the justice of their fate and are righteously glad at what befalls them. . . . The very nature and idea of a proper tragic revenge or retribution require that the guilty be not put to death till their guilt has been proved, and so proved that the killing of them shall be manifestly a righteous act, shall stand to the heart and conscience of mankind as an act of solemn and awful justice. To such a revenge—the only revenge that Hamlet can execute or ought to execute; the only revenge, too, consistent with the genius of the work—to such a revenge punishment is necessary; to punishment justice is necessary; to justice the vindication of it in the eyes, not merely of the theatre, but of those among whom the action takes place." This is better, higher and nobler, but it does not tell us whether Hamlet was guided by this motive, knew and followed the supernatural leading. *I must bide my time until I know that my act is right in the eyes of God.*

Rolfe's edition is more satisfactory, though the editor does not venture his own views. The excerpt from the *London Quarterly Review* for 1847 comes nearer our idea of conscience. "Hell, whose support he rejects, is forever returning to the mind and startling his conscience. It is this that makes him wish for the confirmation of the play, for evil spirits may have abused him. It is this which begets the apathy he terms oblivion, for inaction affords relief to



doubt. It is this which produces his inconsistencies, for conscience calls him different ways, and when he obeys in one direction he is haunted by a feeling that he should have gone in the other." We shall prove presently that Hamlet did not delay so very much, after all. Mr. Rolfe quotes at great length from Professor Dowden, the celebrated modern critic. Agreeing in great part with his conclusions, we cannot be so favorable to the following: "This long course of thinking, apart from action, has destroyed Hamlet's very capacity for belief, since in belief there exists a certain element contributed by the will." Again: "All through the play he wavers between materialism and spiritualism; between belief in immortality and disbelief; between reliance upon Providence and a bowing under fate." According to this critic Hamlet is not incapable of vigorous action if only he be allowed another chance of thinking the facts away into an idea.

The Riverside Literature Series of Houghton Mifflin is inflicting upon the country the interpretation that conscience, in "thus conscience doth make cowards of us all," means only consciousness or too much thinking. In treating "The Hesitation of Hamlet," Helen Gray Cone, the editor of this edition, does not give her own conclusion. Any reader, she says, who believes with Mr. Hudson that Shakespeare regards the ghost's injunction as a temptation to crime, logically ascribes the singular hesitation of Hamlet to a moral scruple. But those who believe that revenge is here treated in a conventional manner only, hold that this very hesitation of the hero is itself the real theme of the play and has its source either in Hamlet's intellectual constitution or in the peculiar phase of human experience through which he is passing. Now if Hamlet as a tragedy of a high order and the outgrowth of Shakespeare's maturer judgment, founded on his own experience of life, is to conform to Matthew Arnold's definition of poetry as a criticism of life and fulfil its three canons of seriousness and truth as well as of liquid verse, the revenge, it would seem, must be treated in a more than conventional manner. Even the casual reader of Shakespeare cannot but be struck by the marked difference that exists between the lighter, more youthful, conventional plays of his earlier years, such as "Love's Labor Lost" and "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and the riper, more serious, truer representations of life in the "Merchant of Venice," "Hamlet" and the crown of his whole life work, "King Lear" and "The Tempest." When he was writing these great plays he was treating life as it is in reality, not judging by its outer rind. If this be true, the revenge scheme in "Hamlet" should be treated in more than a conventional way, and Hamlet should reflect in the words of the play, in his thought and his act the living man of flesh and blood

in all the circumstances in which Shakespeare supposes him to be placed, of the period in which he is supposed to have lived and the religious principles by which he was governed.

This, then, is the constructive part of our subject, and for clearness sake we may consider the following points: At what period of the world is this Hamlet supposed to exist? According to the ethics of his time was such an act as his allowable? How long did he delay the accomplishment of it? What is there in the play to show that he was guided by the motive of his religion?

It must be conceded that Hamlet is believed by a certain class of critics to-day to be the incarnation of Protestantism. It is held that Shakespeare wishes to hold up the mirror of Hamlet's soul to the world and let all men see therein the inconsistencies and doubts, the darkling ways of a soul around whom Protestantism has thrown its fatal net of private judgment, skepticism and despair. With them he is always "divided in the swift mind," in act to do, never doing; of him, say they, the words of the King are true:

Like a man to double business bound,  
I stand in pause where I shall first begin.

It may be so, but if so, it can only be a secondary thread in the woof of Hamlet's character, not at all interfering with the great general scheme of the whole fabric. Shakespeare can scarcely have intended this Titanic play to be a mere burlesque or comedy of Protestantism. This theory is built up, first, on the modern text, which was not Shakespeare's text, as finally approved by him and, secondly, on the assumption that Hamlet dawdled and delayed. We shall see how long precisely Hamlet idled.

Wittenberg is a fortified town of Prussian Saxony on the right bank of the Elbe, on the railway from Berlin to Leipsic. Its university, founded in 1502, was transferred to Halle in 1815. It was the cradle of the Reformation. The Augustinian monastery, now in ruins, had been Luther's home; in the university he was a professor, and on the door of one of its churches he nailed his theses. There, in 1520, Luther burned the Pope's bull of excommunication, and in its *schlosskirche* he is buried, with Melancthon and their common friends, the Electors Frederick and John. In its narrow, tortuous streets Hamlet is supposed to have walked and read and pondered, as we see him reading and pondering in the play, yet it is in the irony of fate that the hero of the greatest tragedy of the English stage, by an anacronism of more than five hundred years, should have been made a student within its Protestant walls, without ever reflecting in all his glorious bursts of intellectuality a single one of its doctrines. We might explore the great caves of thought and

torrents of eloquence in vain to discover one adulterate drop of false doctrine. Protestantism was to have no such herald—the only mention of her system may be one of scorn:

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy.

This Hamlet is supposed to have been a student at Wittenberg; in reality, the play is written of a much earlier period. It is founded on the work of Saxo Grammaticus, a Danish historian, written as early as 1204. The scene of the earlier work is laid in Denmark, before the introduction of Christianity and at a period when England was under the sway of the Danish hordes. In Shakespeare's hands the personages of the old tale have all been Christianized with the feelings, thoughts and actions of the early Christian times preceding the Norman conquest, when, however, England still recognized the suzerainty of the Danish crown. Hamlet may, nay, does, reflect in his speech the social and intellectual life in England of a very much later period still—indeed of the dramatist's own day. Nevertheless, as he stands, Hamlet is Catholic Prince of Denmark, sole heir to the throne of a murdered father, barred from his succession by an adulterous uncle, who, as the play reads, to all Denmark save only Hamlet, appears the lawful King; for the customs of the times, had the marriage been lawfully brought about, would have recognized the succession of Claudius before that of the younger Hamlet. Mr. Hudson, in what is perhaps the most widely known text-book we have, states that Claudius holds the crown by the same legal title and tenure as Hamlet's father had it. This is not true, if it means that this "King of shreds and patches" is lawful King. The kingship question cannot be so easily settled out of hand. The same editor continues: "The Danish Crown was partly elective, partly hereditary; elective within the circle of a particular family and kindred; the hereditary right belongs to the Queen. She was the only child of the former King, and Hamlet's father was brought within the circle of eligibility by his marriage with her." So far so good. "Of course, when her first husband died and she married a second, the second became eligible just as the first had done." This last statement is certainly not correct in the case under discussion.

Claudius, supposing the Christian character of the Danish Court, was not and could not have become King of Denmark by this marriage, even were he free of the charges of treason and homicide. It was within the forbidden degrees. The prohibition among the Saxons<sup>1</sup> had been extended at the commencement of the eleventh

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<sup>1</sup> Lingard, "The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," First American Edition, c. vii., p. 133.

century to the sixth degree, and there is no reason for supposing a difference in legislation for the Danes. Moreover, the words of Claudius in the play assure us that he was fully aware of the unlawfulness of this union.

Again, the Queen was now, by Church law, inhabilitated for another lawful marriage. The dispensation would not have been granted without urgent necessity, and there was no such necessity, with Hamlet ready to succeed. If the Witan confirmed Claudius without Church dispensation, as the play seems to indicate, this would have meant a rebellion against the Church discipline, of which there is absolutely no mention in the play, and would have been an extremely unlikely occurrence. Had Hamlet died in the ordinary course of nature and there were no second marriage, the Witan would have given the preference to the younger Hamlet, according to the custom of the time. This would make Claudius an usurper and Hamlet the legitimate King-elect, only wanting the voice of the Witan to assume the kingly dignity. That the Witan has approved the marriage and accepted Claudius as King, without reference to Church laws, seems not to have troubled the dramatist, who was more concerned, no doubt, for the canons of dramatic art than for the requirements of canon law. That the Danish throne professed obedience to the See of Rome is clear from all the burial proceedings of the last act. The inconsistency must be laid at Shakespeare's door.

All these considerations brand Claudius as an usurper, but at the same time do not, by any means, justify Hamlet in taking the law into his own hands by inflicting the death-stroke. That penalty was reserved for the Witan. "The Witan chose the King and could depose him; they could freely elect him from the family ruling by hereditary succession. A certain preference was given to first sons of crowned Kings, to prominent characters or to members recommended by the dying King. The Witanagemot was the court of justice in the last resort and could impose banishment, outlawry and capital punishment."<sup>2</sup> To Horatio, before that terrible final scene, summing up all his arguments, Hamlet asks: "Is it not perfect conscience to kill him with this arm?" Neither Horatio nor Shakespeare have answered that question. Madness or a very false conception of duty alone could free him from formal guilt.

Before passing to the question of the delay in following out the ghost's demand, we may remark that much of the false criticism of Hamlet as a weak and vacillating character is built upon the modern text which is an amalgamation of the Second Quarto and the Folio

<sup>2</sup> Guggenberger, "General History of the Christian Era," Vol. I, Sect. 299, p. 192.

of 1623. But the text in our hands to-day is not Shakespeare's text. The last text approved by Shakespeare and used as the acting copy was the Folio of 1623, and in that folio many passages are omitted which now are relied upon as intrinsic proof of Hamlet's weakness of character.

The question of the delay is interesting.\* Some have thought that the play covers a period of ten years. This certainly would make of Hamlet an irretrievable dreamer. But let us see. The tragedy opens at midnight and continues until dawn, and at its close Marcellus says of Hamlet:

I this morning know  
Where we shall find him most conveniently.

In scene 2 Horatio says of the ghost:

My lord, I think I saw him yesternight.

And Hamlet says:

I'll watch to-night . . .

This watch is given in scenes 4 and 5, while scene 3 occupies the day before the night comes on. The first act, therefore, occupies one day and two nights. Between the first and second act the one delay occurs for which Hamlet can be held strictly to account. In all, it was little more than two months. In the first act we are told that Hamlet the elder was

But two months dead, nay, not so much, not two.

In the third act the time since his death is stated to be "twice two months." The period of delay, therefore, was not so long as a first reading would lead one to suppose. But what had he done during this time? His studied plan had been to fall

Into a sadness, then into a fast,  
Thence to a lightness, and by this declension  
Into the madness wherein now he raves,  
And all we mourn for.

Partly true, Polonius; but we in the audience who know Hamlet in the broad landscape view of his character, all the hills and valleys, sunlit streams and dark flowing rivers of thought, all the shade and sunshine, know well that it was all feigned. "I must be idle," said he, the word *idle* meaning *mad*. To be a madman requires no art, but to feign one needs a master. We can forgive Hamlet if he took more than "a little month" to accomplish it. He had to change his countenance before them, as David before Achis in the days of yore, or as the young nobles feigned madness in the arena in the early Roman days.

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\* The Bankside Shakespeare, Vol. XI., "Hamlet," Introduction, p. xxiii., etc.

All this had Hamlet to do lest the King should pluck the heart out of his mystery while he was awaiting his chance to catch the conscience of the King. The wicked Claudius, with Hamlet, alone of all Denmark, knew of the former's crime, for the ghost we cannot strictly call an inhabitant of Denmark. Surely two months was not too long a time to wring the confession from the murderer's lips, to save his mother's soul, to prove his cause aright to the unsatisfied. Many a man nowadays, with all the appliances of law to boot, would take much longer to prove his cause without being branded a weak dreamer. Hamlet's best answer to those who consider him a procrastinator, a dawdler, or a mere thinker are his words to his mother:

Forgive me this my virtue,  
For in the fatness of these pursy times  
Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg.  
It would have been vice to act, it was virtue to delay.

There is one more interval of any moment, that between scenes 3 and 4 of the fourth act. This time has been calculated thus: In the last scene there are named pansies, columbines, daisies, crow flowers, nettles and long purples, flowers which in England, of which Shakespeare speaks rather than of Denmark, are in bloom during the month of April. The time of Polonius' death, on the other hand, is fixed with beautiful precision by the words of Ophelia:

I would give you some violet, but they withered all when my father died.

It is in March that the English violets bloom and pass away. The tragedy, therefore, ends in April; during the month of March Polonius was slain; the action began two months or a little more before that time, or during the first half of the month of January, at a time when "the air bites shrewdly, it is very cold;" about two months before this, or early in November, the murder took place, and in December the marriage. For thirty days the ghost said not a word to Hamlet, and why? Marcellus tells us:

Ever 'gainst that season comes  
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated.  
The bird of dawning singeth all night long,  
And then they say no spirit dare stir abroad.

It was not, therefore, until after the Christmas holidays that the ghost of Hamlet's father could bring his message from the grave. Two months then, the interval between act 1 and 2, is the true measure of Hamlet's delay. After Polonius' death he was a prisoner.

And what had Hamlet to do during these two months, and what did he accomplish? A giant's task indeed! The promptest man of action could not have made a speedier end of his work. A veritable knight of mind and tongue and sword! "All the flash and motion of

Geraint," says Miles, in every word and thought and deed. The play opens with his suspicion, "I have that within which passeth show"—absolutely nothing but suspicion.

It is not, nor it cannot come to good;  
But break my heart, for I must hold my tongue.

The ghost appears, the injunction is given and Hamlet, afire with knightly indignation, cries:

Murder . . .  
Haste me to know't that I, with winds as swift  
As meditation or the thoughts of love,  
May sweep to my revenge.

He is ready, sword in hand, till the voice of faith, in that ghostly spirit, whispers back:

Howsoe'r thou pursuest this act,  
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive  
Against thy mother ought.

Faith and filial affection win. During the rest of the play those two Christian duties are clear before him. He must not act until he has devised a plan to catch the conscience of the King.

I'll have these players  
Play something like the murder of my father,  
Before mine uncle: I'll observe his looks;  
I'll tent him to the quick; If he but blench,  
I know my course. The spirit, that I have seen,  
May be the devil: and the devil hath power  
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and, perhaps,  
Out of my weakness, and my melancholy  
(As he is very potent with such spirits),  
Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds  
More relative than this: the play's the thing,  
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.

About eighty years before the days of Shakespeare St. Ignatius of Loyola had written: "It is peculiar to the bad angel, transfiguring himself into an angel of light, to enter with the devout soul and to come out his own way . . . by drawing the soul into his secret snares and perverse intentions." Was this more than a coincidence?

Is Hamlet weak and irresolute? From the moment he realizes that his life, in the outcome, is doomed, that he will never come forth alive from the terrible disaster he foresees, he sacrifices his affection for Ophelia outright and forever. Was this weak? Is he seeking after justice or rather indulging a brutal lust for revenge in his ambition for kingship? When those conventional euphuistic nobodies—Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—try to play upon him, to know his stops, to pluck out the heart of his mystery on this very point of ambition, he turns to them: "O, God, I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a King of infinite space." And revenge? How is it the first act closes, after the interview with the ghost?

That ever I was born to set it right!  
O cursed splite

No mere brutal animal craving for revenge there. The word revenge in his mouth and in his play, as he saw it, spelled justice. In his grand soliloquy Hamlet tells us that he bears the whips and scorns of time, the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, pangs of disprized love, the law's delay—not the delay of a vacillating mind for the pleasure of building castles in the air and the baseless fabric of dreams, as some would have it, but the law's delay—that which was required to report his case aright, to have grounds more relative than were his at the start, to make assurance doubly sure; and why? Because of the dread of something after death; because conscience does make cowards of us all, and thus the native hue of resolution common to the good and bad; enterprises of great pith and moment, which might be either morally good or bad, with this regard their currents turn awry and lose the name of precipitate and thoughtless action.

After the interlude, when the King's conscience has been caught and he rises in dismay, crying, "Give o'er the play," Hamlet says, "I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds," and to Horatio: "Did'st perceive?" *Horatio*: "Very well, my Lord," and, while they are speaking enter Rosencrantz and Guildenstern with, "The Queen, your mother, . . . desires to speak with you," and Hamlet, "We shall obey, were she ten times our mother." On the way he passes the King at prayer, and this passage is the only objection to our lofty view of Hamlet's intent:

Now might I do it, pat, now he is praying;  
And now I'll do it; and so he goes to heaven.

But then:

Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge . . .  
To take him in the purging of his soul . . .  
Up, sword; and know thou a more horrid hent;  
When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage; . . .  
At gaming, swearing; or about some act  
That has no relish of salvation in't:  
Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven;  
And that his soul may be as damn'd, and black,  
As hell, whereto it goes.

But this is not Hamlet's true motive. We must remember he said, a moment before, when referring to the coming conference with his mother: "Now could I drink hot blood, and do such. . . . I will speak daggers to her, but use none." The last will give us the cue to his true character. "My mother stays." It would serve no purpose in the work of saving his mother's soul, to which he has pledged himself, to come to her red with the blood of her husband's brother.

Hamlet as Shakespeare gives him to us is a Catholic Prince of the eleventh century. Let us view him through Catholic eyes. Let



us judge him by Catholic principles. When the ghost first crosses his path, that frosty night under the stars, he breaks into prayer, "Angels and ministers of grace defend us." When again it comes to sharpen his blunt purpose, while in conference with his mother, he meets it with a prayer, "Save me and hover over me, you heavenly guards." He has been condemned for weakness and scrupulosity; but the scruple comes after the act. Hamlet's hesitancy is before, and is immediately dictated by faith counseling the good, bidding him be wary and cautious lest the evil one abuse him to damn him. He will not be cozened by this foul fiend, for the devil hath power to assume a pleasing shape. The motive of faith as the main influence in Hamlet's hesitancy throughout this play every Protestant critic seems to have completely ignored. Can it be ignored? Hamlet has an after life to look to. *That* puzzles his will. Were this a Greek tragedy, all well and good. Let Œdipus be pushed on by fate, and death and the grave will end all. We shall not look for him beyond. "When the grave is the consummation," wrote Miles, "the absolute finale of existence, it is easy to round the heroic evenly and symmetrically up to that margin. But when death is the door to vaster spheres and wider experiences; when this little life is but the prelude to unending futurities of infinite bliss or infinite despair, the deeper faith should find its echo in deeper art. In Hamlet, as in Faust, more grandly, though less avowedly, the immortal weal or woe of the human soul is at stake, and we catch ourselves listening for the spirit voices at the end: 'He is judged, he is saved.'"

The fact that his act was altogether unjustifiable and reserved to the supreme assembly of the land does not rob his previous conduct of the higher motives ascribed to it. He erred in the conception of his duty, and his hesitancy was dictated by the faith that was in him to learn whether he was prompted to his revenge by heaven or by hell. A true Catholic Hamlet would have been saved all this anxious hesitancy by the recourse to a spiritual adviser, and in this, at least, his conduct exemplifies the blind paths in which he strays who relies on private judgment in matters of faith and morals. The material fashioned by Shakespeare into this great drama of retribution was the chronicle of a day of blood before the dawn of Christianity in Northern Europe, when might was right. For the sake of the world of literary and moral good opened up to us in this play, we may pardon him if at times in the broad, clear light of Hamlet's soul one may still detect here and there a shadow of pre-Christian barbarism.

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## THE TRIAL OF JESUS CHRIST.

"Valeur de L'Assemblée qui prononça la Peine de Mort Contre Jesus-Christ." Par MM. Les Abbés Lemann. (Paris: Libraire Victor Lecoffre, 1877, third ed.)

A BOOK appeared not long ago that excited a good deal of attention and raised what may be called a reserved and reverent curiosity, the tone of which left nothing to be desired. An Italian writer treated of the trial of Jesus, analyzing the evidence and all its parts in view of the conclusion that the final sentence was illegal. No doubt the subject of this book was not quite so novel as it was supposed to be. It must, indeed, have occurred, no doubt, to many legal minds in former ages. Acute intellects must have taken a comprehensive view of all the facts. The general opinion of all Christian peoples is enough to know that the condemnation of Jesus was long ago reprobated and rejected as unjust. Was it technically illegal? This is the question, strictly speaking, reserved for our times. Were the forms of justice observed? Was the trial "according to law?" On the ground of equity, there was never any doubt on the subject. The ground of legality had equally to be cleared and made plain. The writer in question weighed all the points and drew the conclusion that Jesus Christ was not condemned either by equity or by law. The subject and the book were noticed in many journals as if they were entirely new. The work now before us, which I propose to consider, anticipated the recent Italian writer's by many years. The subject is not, however, quite the same, for whereas the Italian author treated of the proceedings at the trial, the writers under consideration took the ground of considering the legal powers and rights of the assembly that issued the sentence. They strike at the root of the authority that took to itself the conduct of the trial and condemnation. In this respect their work goes deeper than that of the Italian author and demands a greater amount of learning and research.

As we see, this work was published many years back. Thirty years ago it was in its third edition. It was written apparently by converted Jews, to judge by their name.

This work is divided into two parts. The first is called "Valeur des Personnes;" the second is called "Valeur des Actes." The "assemblée" or tribunal is the famous Sanhedrin, or great council of the Jewish nation. The authors describe the rise and vigor of the Sanhedrin. As they impressively say: "Among the assemblies which are responsible to posterity, there is one which bears an exceptional responsibility; it is the assembly which presided over the last

days of the national life of the Jewish people. It was this that arraigned and condemned Jesus Christ."

The name Sanhedrin, we are told, pronounced before the Jews, was enough to remind them of the most learned, most equitable and most honorable assembly that ever existed. It was revered and loved. No one dared to impugn its decisions or question its rights. But, the authors say, the Jewish veneration had become tainted with ignorance. The Sanhedrin rested largely on prescription; its history and its rights were lost in the mist of antiquity. Its decisions, therefore, were founded in great part on common law, when just; when unjust, were based on doubtful rules and traditions.

At the time of Christ the Sanhedrin occupied a peculiar position derived from the peculiar state of the Jews themselves. The people were half free and half captives, half Roman and half Jewish, half national and half foreign. Their state of subjection was varnished over with a pretense of freedom, and a dignified show occupied a throne in opposition to the authority of Rome.

The Sanhedrin, or great council, was the high court of justice, the supreme tribunal of the Jews. It was established at Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity. The famous council of seventy elders instituted by Moses was its model. By reason of this resemblance the rabbins pretended that it was the same council; but this was evidently an exaggeration. The council of Moses lasted but a short time, and it disappeared on the entrance of the people into the Promised Land. The Sanhedrin of the second epoch, as we may call it, appeared in the age of the Macchabees. From this fact we may judge of its age. The word Sanhedrin is Greek, and means an assembly of members in session, and this is enough to negative its claim to a remote antiquity, for it was born of the union between Palestine and Greece, which certainly existed not in the age of Moses. It was composed of seventy-one members with the President (Josephus). At the time of Christ these seventy-one were divided into three chambers—the Priests, the Scribes and Doctors and the Ancients. The Chamber of Priests was composed of those who enjoyed sacerdotal rank. The Chamber of the Scribes and Doctors was composed of the Levites and lay persons versed in the law. The Chamber of the Ancients was composed of the most considerable men of the nation outside of the other two ranks. The Sanhedrin had authority in matters of life and death. It could, however, only pronounce sentence in one court in Jerusalem, situated in a part of the temple. The Sanhedrin, having power of life and death, had, nevertheless, suffered a serious limitation of its powers, according to our authors, twenty-three years before the trial of Jesus. When Judea was made a Roman province under

Augustus, the Sanhedrin lost its rights over life and death. This fact has not only been overlooked, but it has been suppressed by the Jews and ignored in every way possible. The Jews have in a great degree successfully concealed it. The *jus gladii* was taken away from the Sanhedrin. It kept the right to imprison, to condemn, to scourging; but the right to decree death it lost. This was a great blow, and the contemporaneous Jews did all they could to assist the Sanhedrin in concealing and disguising this loss of power. Rabbi Rachmon is quoted as depicting the event as one of general mourning: "The members of the Sanhedrin covered their heads with ashes and clothed themselves in sackcloth, saying, 'Woe to us, for the sceptre has departed from Judea and the Messias has not come.'" They repeatedly tried to recover the power, pretending that although they had lost the power of executing sentences, they still had the right to pronounce them in religious affairs. This was an assumption and a delusion on their part.

The authors prove this point very clearly. They explain also why the Jews obstinately adhered to the shadow of a vanished right and pretended to a power they did not possess. The reason was because they refused to acknowledge the expiry of Judea's regal sceptre and the consequent obligation of bowing the knee to Jesus Christ. Their attitude was bound up in the advent of the Messias. Something must also be put down to the side of national pride, always so strong among the Jews. They looked back to a long past, to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to Moses and Josue, to Samuel and David; and they felt a pride and a consciousness of prerogatives which no other nation could realize in the same degree. They were the chosen people, and they knew it. If they had only realized also the conditions and principles of their having been so chosen, they would not be outcasts to-day among all nations.

Thus the judges of Christ were seventy-one, distributed into three chambers. Their names and characters throw great light upon the cause. Few of them have been hitherto known. We know Caiphas and Anna, and we know Pilate. As to the rest, no one thought of discovering their names. The documents, it was thought, were wanting. We have the Gospels, Josephus and the Talmud. We can now discover many of them.

The second part of this interesting work is entitled "*Valeur des Actes*" ("Value of the Acts of the Sanhedrin"). It must be presumed that I only give the substance of what the authors themselves relate, without in any way vouching for the accuracy of their assertions. They cite facts, as they say, to prove that the Sanhedrin was prejudiced and prepared to decree the death of Our Lord. The facts in support of this view are derived first from three decisions

of the Sanhedrin in three meetings previous to that held on Good Friday. The authors describe these meetings. The first is mentioned in John vii., 37-53. This issued in a decree of excommunication. There were in the law of the synagogue three degrees of excommunication—separation, execration, death. The last was reserved, as a rule, for false prophets.

The second assembly is described four and a half months after the first. This was on the occasion of the resurrection of Lazarus, John xi., 46-56. In this the death of Jesus was decided upon. It was decreed rashly, without examination or deliberation, hesitation or interrogation. The third assembly was held about twenty-five days after the second. It is described in Matthew xxvi., 3-5; Luke xxii., 1-3. In the assembly the time of Christ's death was settled and the manner of His arrest. All this is brought forward to prove that Jesus was not fairly tried, but that His enemies so arranged matters that He was pre-condemned and prejudged.

The authors next go on to consider the rules of justice and legal forms of obligation on the Sanhedrin in all criminal cases. It is very necessary, they say, that we should know the criminal legislation of the Jews. The Old Testament presents its principles, but much was carried on by tradition. This tradition is now to be found in the celebrated book, "The Mischna," the work of the Rabbi Juda, who lived at the end of the second century A. D., and was called the second law, or *Mischna*. It comprises sixty-three treatises, grouped under six titles. From this we learn the hours prescribed for every judicial sitting, under pain of nullity, viz.: It was forbidden to hold it on the Sabbath or feast day. It was forbidden on the eves of the Sabbath or feast day. It was forbidden to consider a capital charge at night. It was forbidden before the completion of the morning sacrifice. As regards the hearing of the witnesses, the following rules were enjoined: 1. There must be two witnesses. 2. The witnesses were to be separated from each other, but in the presence of the accused. 3. The witnesses must promise to tell the truth. 4. The Judge must listen attentively to the witnesses. 5. The witness is invalid unless the witnesses agree as regards the examinations of the accused; the attitude towards the accused was to be one of humanity and benevolence. The accused pleaded his own cause. Such is the summary of the rules regarding the administration of criminal justice. The authors proceed to show that these were violated in the trial of Jesus.

Two sittings were given to the trial of Jesus. The first was held at night, and is mentioned by SS. Matthew, Mark and John. The second, convoked in the morning of the same day, is indicated by St. Matthew and Mark (Matthew xxvi., Mark xiv.). "It was

night," says St. John. "*Erat autem nox*" (John xiii. and xvii.). This, the authors say, was the first irregularity. The meeting was held after the evening sacrifice. Second irregularity. It was the first day of the azures and eve of the great feast of the Pasch. Third irregularity. The fourth irregularity is found in the interrogation of Caiphas, *accuser* and *judge*. He had been the accuser (John xviii.). He could not lawfully be both. He did not call witnesses, but interrogated by accusing and by captious questioning. Fifth irregularity. The illegal blow is also to be noticed. Christ asks for witness on this occasion and appeals to His own public doctrine. In the deposition of witnesses these facts are to be observed. Christ had appealed for witnesses. Some appeared, but against them is the fatal record, "Many false witnesses" were brought forward (Mark xiv., Matthew xxvi.).

Then we have the second interrogation of Caiphas, "Dost thou reply nothing to these witnesses against thee?" (Mark xiv.) He replied not (Mark xiv., 61), and His silence was the most eloquent protest possible against their falsehoods and inventions. Then comes to pass the third interrogation of Caiphas: "I adjure thee by the living God to tell us if thou art Christ the Son of God" (Matthew xxvi., 63; Mark xiv., 61).

The scene was changed. No charge was further made, no witnesses appeared. This form of trial was quite invalid. Then the Chief Priest rent his garment, saying, "He hath blasphemed. What need have we of further testimony? You have heard the blasphemy. What think ye?" (Matthew xxvi., 65-66.) Another grave irregularity is thus to be ascribed to Caiphas. The Chief Priest was forbidden to tear his garments in this manner. (Levit. xxi., 10.) Further, two irregularities were committed in criminating the accused's answer before examining it, and the charge and sentence being compounded together. Caiphas anticipated the judgment of the other judges. The sentence was not given by the judges in order, but by them on the word of Caiphas alone, "He is worthy of death." (Matthew xxvi., 66; Mark xiv., 64.) Another irregularity was the neglect of the prescription of the law that the sentence was to be postponed till the next day. Such was this night sitting and its fatal issue.

In conclusion, the authors say: "In its *members* this Court of Assize presents us with an assembly of men in great part unworthy of their functions. No piety, no justice, no moral value can be seen; nor pity for the accused, nor grave deliberation of legal forms. In their *acts* there are twenty-seven irregularities, any one of which would make a fatal flaw in the proceedings."

I have given a brief summary of this interesting work because

it is written by authors apparently brought up in the Jewish traditions and habits of thought; because it is a book bearing upon a subject that has come prominently to the front of late, and because this book is unknown and has a claim to be known and valued beyond others of a more pretentious character.

The question here debated is whether the forms of justice were violated at Our Lord's trial or not? Such a theme must in the eyes of all be one of paramount importance. In the Gospels the trial as it stands is evidently one-sided and unfair. It is well to have this drawn out and made a subject of study for all.

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## THE PROGRESS OF THOUGHT AND THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

IT HAS become a fashion of late, if indeed it be not a fashion nearly as old as the dogma which it professes to wish recast, to express a desire for a restatement of Christian truth upon lines in keeping with the rapid advance of modern science. Our language, as is natural in a vehicle that embodies and conveys a thought not so much really changing or developing as growing in completeness of detail, itself changes so rapidly and so continuously in its shades and gradations of meaning, that for a Christian dogma to be correctly grasped and even to be understood at all, it must be stated as clearly and as definitely as is possible in those terms in which we actually and habitually think. This is doubtless true, even to a marked extent in some cases, in the mere modification of meaning which a word insensibly undergoes in consequence of a long service in popular usage. But it is the more striking, and in some senses the less to be looked for, in those cases in which our old concepts of things have received, or seem to us to have received, a sudden shock; when our philosophy or our science has summarily closed an old, to open a new, road upon which, under pain of solecism, to say nothing of positive error, we are thenceforth to travel if we are ever to reach a true and human solution of the great problems as to the real nature and meaning of the universe or of our own place within it. The progress of the century just closed has done more to remodel and reconstitute our mental horizon than perhaps any other in the long history of the Christian era. The greatest impetus, possibly, to the popularization of a scientific terminology, though

certainly not at the same time to an outpouring of the true scientific spirit, was given by the French encyclopedists. The fascinating charm of the style in which the famous "Dictionnaire Raisonné" was written was doubtless the cause chiefly contributing to its popularity; but while the materialistic science it inculcated was absorbed into and spread through the literature of the period, it steadily sapped the vigor alike of science and of philosophy. As Merz has appositely pointed out, the brilliant literary work of the encyclopedists, the witty sarcasms of Voltaire, the irreverence, skepticism and flippancy of Diderot and D'Alembert, the scientific monism of Holbach, did nothing to advance the genuine spirit of scientific research and accuracy, while, on the other hand, it undoubtedly had the effect of slurring over that exactness of significance in precise terms and ideas which is the first requisite of all knowledge. Thus begun, the work developed under the hands of La Mettrie and Cabanis. "It is unnecessary to say," I quote one of the most sober and able of modern authors,<sup>1</sup> "that none of them had the sanction of their great masters for the application they made of principles which had been established and used for special scientific purposes. From his (Lange's "History of Materialism") exhaustive references, it is evident that the extreme views of La Mettrie, Diderot and Holbach cannot be fathered on any of the great scientists or philosophers." It was an attempt, foredoomed to logical failure, though emulating and attaining a certain degree of popular adhesion and applause, to apply scientific principles, true enough in their place and for the purposes of science, to political, ethical and religious problems. It did not register or record new discoveries in the realm of concrete experience; but it attempted to build a new edifice of interpretation upon the old.

Far different was the work of the real men of science—Lavoisier, Gay, Lussac and Pasteur, in France; Liebig, of Giessen; Schleiden, of Jena, and Schwann, of Louvain; Harvey, Bell, the English chemists and natural philosophers. If they, too, drew conclusions reaching sometimes beyond the borders of their actual experiment and observation, they at least advanced the true cause of science at the same time by the work they did. And, whatever the shortcomings of certain scientific hypotheses advanced may be when they are used in connection with problems for which they were not framed and to which they will not apply, no exception can reasonably be taken to them as long as they are urged in the name of science for scientific purposes and with all the safeguards of scientific limitation. The doctrine of chemical equivalents, the periodic law, the molecular,

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<sup>1</sup> John Theodore Merz, "A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century."



atomic or electronic hypotheses, the discoveries connected with the phenomena of life and consciousness—the circulation of the blood and sensory and motor nerve action—the cellular theory in botany and in biology, the empiric work of Priestly, Cavendish, Dalton, Herschel, Davy, Faraday, Kelvin, Clerk-Maxwell, the observations as to combining weight, pressure and density of gases, structural crystallography and right and left handedness in atomic combination, bacteriology—all these things, with the innumerable other observations and hypotheses of science, both theoretically of interest and practically of use to mankind, have enormously increased the horizons. They have done that much at least, if they have not been able to alter our power of vision, so that throughout the extended plain of our knowledge we still read the old philosophical problems in the same old way.

On the lines of applied science, too, the advance has been increasingly rapid. In chemistry, both inorganic and organic, in electricity and mechanics, in the prophylactics and antiseptics of medicine and surgery, in the increased knowledge of anatomy and the use of anæsthetics—to record again only a few points—the greater comfort, ease and health of the individual and of the race has been studied. Hardly is a new discovery made but it is the next day on the market in one practical form or another. The first grain of radium was scarcely separated out in the laboratory of the Curies when it was to be found in the hospitals. Indeed, so great is the respect for science in its utilitarian—and financial—points of view that, were it not for the genuine devotion of men of science, it would almost seem to be in danger of ceasing to be science at all and becoming a purely huckstering and mercantile affair.

In any case, its having become vulgarized in at least one of its aspects, and its terms having slipped quietly and persistently into more or less general use, have insensibly had the effect of shifting, if not actually changing, the outlook. People, as a rule, are in too much of a hurry to ask what the true inner meaning of the phenomenon is when they are anxious only to apply it as soon as possible to some practical purpose.

And yet it might occur to the most ardent of modern exact scientists (using the term in its broad contradistinction to “philosophers”) to enquire as to whether he ever breaks loose from the bonds of the actual phenomena with which he has to deal; whether the very forms of thought in which he habitually thinks and the terms with which he enriches the vocabulary are not actually forging fresh bonds of the purely phenomenal in which he becomes more and more shackled in any search for the noumenal and the real. It is a simple question to ask, even if it is not one that is asked often;

and it admits of a simple answer. There is one test, easy of application, that will show whether science enfranchises itself and gets beyond the boundaries of phenomenal observation. A child may describe something that he has seen—a small island, for instance—fairly accurately. He may draw a picture of it from the observations that he has made as to its position, contour and elevation, noting its principal bays and promontories, its greater hills and valleys. The surveyor or geographer would go further. With the aid of his theodolite and chain he would measure and calculate accurately. His trained observation is more careful and more detailed than that of the child; and his map of the island will be more complete, truer to scale, in every way more correct. Just so the man of science pushes his accurate observations as far as they will go. He adjusts the nicest of instruments to aid his senses. But take two, out of the many, of his doctrines to examine. In the seventeenth century Harvey discovered the systematic circulation of the blood. Now the systematic circulation of the blood is itself a phenomenon. It may be traced, as to a cause, to the muscular expansions and contractions of a living heart, sending the blood pulsing through the arteries in a systematic circulation. But that also is phenomenal. The working of the muscular tissue may be referred to the stimulation of involuntary nerves and nerve centres; but all this is phenomenal also, and the true explanation ever eludes and escapes behind it. A certain section of modern science is intolerant of any "vital principle;" and, to a certain extent, rightly so, since the vital principle is not in itself a phenomenon that can fall under any observation that science is capable of making. Consequently, so far as the observational method applies in Harvey's discovery, no advance whatever is made in the explanation or understanding of the realities; and this obviously, since the methods of experimental science and of essential philosophy are incommensurate.

To throw further light upon this distinction, one might do well to consider the latest theory, or hypothesis, of ions. Sir William Ramsay tells us that "it is always advisable to form a mental picture, if possible, of any physical phenomenon, *pour préciser les idées*, as the French say." He goes on to form for his readers such a mental picture of the motion of anions and kations. Now a mental picture is an imagination; and we are incapable of imagining anything whatever that has not, in some guise or another, come to us through the channels of sense and remains in our memory as a sense-impression. But whatever comes to us direct through sensation is phenomenal. Indeed, Ramsay quite concedes the phenomenal nature of ions in the sentence quoted. So that, here again, no advance

is made towards ultimate reality or its explanation. But it is quite clear that anything that is capable of taking up an electrical charge and of moving locally from anode to kathode, or *vice versa*, is a particle of matter, and that to explain it is quite as difficult, or quite as easy, a task as to set out at the beginning to explain matter before its structural delineation is presented in "mental pictures" to our minds.

Notwithstanding this very obvious distinction, drawn by such undoubted men of science as Sir William Ramsay, there is a very general feeling that science really *has* penetrated to the arcana of nature. And the glibness with which scientific terms and formulæ fall from the lips of the multitude would apparently force a reconstruction of views even in the sphere of religion.

What were, before this cheap popularization of science and of scientific terminology, questions confined to purely theological limits—the conflicting of theological systems, which all, however illogical some might be as a matter of fact, had a basis in common upon which to argue upon common topics; what in other centuries was a duel between revealed religion on the one hand and pure speculation upon the other, as exemplified in the Deists and Theists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has latterly become narrowed down, in the popular estimate at any rate, to a newer and a more pertinent issue. There is not now so much need to sharpen the weapons of logic or to furbish up the defensive armor of Holy Writ against those who, while calling themselves Christians, have lost touch with the centre of Christian unity. There is little advantage, even, in taking the field against professedly philosophical systems apparently inimical to the sure data of divine revelation. The conflict to-day, if indeed conflict there can be said to be at all, is supposed to lie between the results of modern science and religious truth. I use the safeguarding words with purpose; for there is in reality no conflict between science and faith; as a matter of fact, science and revelation are incommensurable. Still, certain interpreters and popularizers of science have so far made it their business to evolve theories that apparently militate against the explanations and general bearings of dogma that there seems to be and is, in common opinion at any rate, a very real discrepancy between the findings of the exact sciences, as they are called, on the one hand, and the truths of divine revelation on the other.

For many people the strong *a priori* presumption that the one divine Author of revealed and of rationally discovered truth cannot contradict the one in any part of the other becomes a weapon that is drawn, in the name of a sturdy and certain faith, to check the more daring sallies of a wildly speculative scientific spirit. Such men are

accustomed to point to the Church and to advance no other reason for any one particular point of dogma than that the Church teaches it. And this they do wisely, for they know that lacunæ lie behind the assumptions of all science; and while they may realize that similar lacunæ may lie between the natural interpretation of the world and the supernatural verities, they have the scaffolding of personal religious experience and the inviolable pillar of faith to connect them in such fashion that there can be no room for doubt as to the reality, truth and continuity of the two.

For others the experience of observation seems to furnish so good a ground for the "scientific" beliefs that are raised upon it, that it is practically impossible for them not to stigmatize the claims put forward in favor of any supernatural revelation as altogether childish, effete and untrue.

Between these two extreme positions, the one filled by such men of faith as have little interest in or desire for scientific study pure and simple, the other holding few besides materialists of whose principles the most notorious exponent at present is, perhaps, the somewhat discredited and much overrated professor of Jena, there are many half-compromises.

The true theologian of the twentieth century, imbued with some such spirit as St. Thomas Aquinas poured out upon the schools of his day, invokes the presumption of identical authorship of both kinds of knowledge, revealed and natural, not to suppress or degrade either, but to harmonize and explain them both.

A fact that is often lost sight of, and indeed that seems again and again to have been wittingly distorted and misrepresented, may well be alluded to in this connection. St. Thomas, as the best representative of the truest and highest phase of the philosophy of the mediæval schools, was quite accustomed to treat the problems upon which he wrote and taught by a method that would do credit to any modern man of science. We often hear of the baseless speculation, the trivial hair-splitting, the *a priori* argumentation of the scholastics. We are all familiar with the samples of reasoning that these misguided spinners and weavers of logical webs employed: "How many angels can stand on the point of a needle?" "Is it possible for God to substitute Himself for the devil, for an ass, for a gourd, for a flint? If so, in what way would the gourd preach, work miracles or be fixed to the cross?" These and similar samples are given to the world as a fair specimen of the scholastic doctrine and discipline.<sup>3</sup> Any one, however, who has made any pretence of reading such works as those that bear the name of St. Thomas, is

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<sup>3</sup> And in the Prefatory Note of such a volume as Pront's translation of the "*Cur Deus Homo?*" in the Christian Classics Series.

aware of the utter ignorance and crass stupidity that makes such a presentation of scholasticism possible. When we are told, for example, in a note appended to the twenty-first chapter of the second book of St. Anselm's work that "this was one of the speculations of the Schoolmen. It is assumed that angels are distinct and isolated creations of God. They are of the same nature, but not of one race," we can only wonder hopelessly as to where the writer of that note obtained his knowledge of the Schoolmen and their teaching. The youngest students upon the benches of the theological class room could have put him right. Nothing of the kind is *assumed*. The doctrine, to which the writer of the note refers so cavalierly as "one of the speculations of the Schoolmen," flows logically and necessarily from the conception of the angel as a created being composed, not of matter and form, but of essence and existence. He may well be excused his ignorance in so difficult and so abstruse a question; but the same excuse cannot by any stretch of charity be extended to those whose knowledge of the scholastic work is so limited that they are able to stigmatize it as unscientific, puerile and absurd.

In the monumental work which he has bequeathed to posterity, the "*Summa Theologiæ*," St. Thomas reasons wherever it is possible from actual experience and observation. He at least cannot be blamed if his experimental data were meagre. They were as good for his purpose, to all practical intent, as the most modern of modern investigations, and from them he reasoned in the light of the great metaphysical principles to conclusions that will weather all the stress and strain of time. Until the mind of man changes, and that is to say, until man ceases to be man, the "*Summa Theologiæ*" will prove to be the norm of theological thought. Its principles are *the* perennial guiding principles of reason. It enshrines the truest philosophy and it embodies the most perfect scientific method.

In such a spirit, as I have said, the true theologian approaches his task of reconciliation. In such a spirit, too, the true man of science—and by far the majority of eminent scientific men have, as a fact, been, and are, men of this stamp—envisages the multifarious problems set him by nature. Not, indeed, that it lies in his province to concord his discoveries and the inferences correctly or incorrectly drawn from them with the teaching of the Church—for to science has not been accorded the guardianship of all truth—but rather because, interested as he naturally may be in revelation, he at least has no previous bias in favor of one apparent scientific truth rather than another, and, having none, he leaves revelation, which is not his subject, untouched in order that he may work out to their conclusions the actual problems which he finds before him.

It will be found as an almost invariable rule that the great men of science have not themselves been responsible for the difficulties of reconciliation that prompt, in the first instance, the desire of a dogmatic restatement. Some, no doubt, may be found who have added philosophizing to investigation and speculative to the exacter and more mathematical treatment of their subject. But, for the most part, the popularizers of scientific results, the small philosophers of new discoveries, are to blame for the apparent contradictions and difficulties that so make themselves felt. For in no case can any result of an exact science transcend the matter and material measurements with which all science deals. To be exact science must be experimental and observational; it must be formulated mathematically. And if the formulæ of one department of science be found, as in several instances they have been found, to hold good in others, they are none the less formulæ expressing the relations of mass, measurement or distance and time. Even in the science of chemistry, in which time is neglected and space only beginning to enter into the calculations, the proportional masses of bodies fixes the fundamental concept.

Consequently it is fairly obvious that it does not belong to exact science, so long as it remains exact, to probe the real questions which are so familiar in theology. And if, leaving the spatial, temporal and material conditions which are its guarantee of experimental accuracy, science attempts to formulate for itself a system of realities, it has then and there ceased to be science and is philosophy, and, moreover, it has no cogent scientific proof whatever to offer for the validity of its new speculations. Such speculations, at any rate, could never rightly lay claim to a scientific continuity, though, in a sense, they might point to an obscurely scientific origin.

This is a point which is often forgotten or lost sight of. It is so easy, so alluring, so entirely human, to speculate; so extraordinarily difficult to practice the abnegation of methodical exactness. The line separating science from philosophy is so thoughtlessly crossed and recrossed, that it is always with greatest veneration and respect that we ought to look upon those geniuses of science who resolutely refused to leave the noble lowliness of pure investigation for the alluring, but oftentimes perilous, heights of an imagination unfettered by the yoke that sober fact imposes.

On the other hand, such a well bestowed veneration should put us upon our guard against those who, while professing to tread steadily in the paths of science, in reality beguile us with a pseudo-scientific philosophy.

For to these latter knowledge is not so much growing in detailed extent as changing in nature. Old established principles of thought

are breaking down that new forms may take their place. Venerable arguments are being set aside as not fitted to the requirements of the modern mind. It may be that a merely relative value is given to the new forms of thought; but, if it is so, in the same breath all absolute values are swept away; and the principles by which human reason is governed—and we must concede human reason as it actually is, not as it might or ought to be—by being catalogued as relative, are rendered absolutely worthless.

But if they be wrong, these scientist-philosophers, leaving their microscopes and their balances, their test tubes and their calculus, and filling up the gaps in their data by creations of their own fertile minds, logically enough evolved there, no doubt, if the principles they seek to establish be granted beforehand; if they turn from their measures and retorts to a theoretical construction of matter, which *may* represent fact as it does spatially picture it, but which undoubtedly leaves the only real point of the problem to be solved without even the ghost of a solution; if they be wrong in this, then the theologians have no need to adapt their teaching to new principles or theories, but only to explain and unfold the old dogmatic truths upon the old lines in the light of modern exact research, discovery and statement.

As an example of the explanation rather than adaptation which is urged, the treatment due to-day to almost any theological term would suffice. Consider, for example, the word *person* and its meaning. Has exact science in any sense caused the conception expressed by this word to shift? It is not here a question of the etymological changes accompanying and denoting the growth of language. When we employ the word, even in this twentieth century, we know perfectly well that we do not mean a masked actor; and if any doubt exists as to what is the precise signification—the full extent and content—of the word, the old philosophical definition, fitting the root thought congenial to our minds, will easily banish it.

Has, then, modern science discovered in its researches that we, who are persons, are anything else than “individual substances of a rational nature?”

Doubtless we should be assailed with a storm of criticism for such an exact definition. Atomistic philosophers and upholders of the broader theory of evolution would come to the attack armed with hypothesis and theory. We should be told that there is no such thing as substance in the sense in which we employ the term; that an individual is the aggregate result of as many individuals as there are atoms in his composition; that the rational nature is the outcome of the irrational, and that, were our record of nature perfect we should find included in it an infinity of variations and degrees of rationality.

But it is certainly worthy of notice that not one such criticism—if we except, perhaps, the second—comes from a scientist speaking formally as a man of science. They are the cavils of scientists, if you will, but of scientists speaking as philosophers, indulging in speculations, imagining realities and freed from all the tests of scientific exactness. And with these Catholic theologians are familiar, with the familiarity of long acquaintance gained by several thousand years of recrudescant heresy.

Is it necessary, then, to accommodate dogmatic teaching to the newer phraseology of pseudo-scientific philosophy? Would there be any real gain in translating our terms, supposing that such a proceeding were feasible, into their equivalents in these self-confessed relative schools? If we wished to present the truths of dogma in an easier form to the world there would undoubtedly be such a gain, in the one supposition that these schools of philosophy had caught the public ear and at the same time were radically true or, at least, not radically false and incapable of correction. But since it is impossible to suppose that the scholastic doctrine, say, of matter and form, is in any real sense translatable into the chemico-philosophical theory of physical atoms, *plus* their shape and position in space and *minus* a substantial reality determining the resultant, before attempting to make so radical a change in a terminology that has crystallized around the root theological ideas and been consecrated by an immemorial service, it would be pertinent first of all to examine as to which of the two theories claims with the better right our allegiance.

It might be easy—to continue the use of the term *person* as our example—to suppose that we were, as a matter of fact, no more than aggregates of uniformly similar atoms in a perpetual state of violent vibration, kept in order and thus relatively in place by some such principle as the soul. And this would doubtless hold good, when adjusted, for all material beings. They would—we would—be as it were porous; and omitting any mention of the undoubted difficulty of one formal principle extending itself to separated individual atoms, the aggregate of particles, existing as such because of the soul, would take the place of what scholastics know as *materia prima*.

But the modern philosophical atomists would have us consider the constituent atoms as already of themselves matter of a definite kind, necessitating our labelling them substances. In this event we should be as far from a reconciliation as ever; for we should be obliged to look upon the human person as an accidental, rather than as a substantial, unity.

It is quite obvious that whichever view of these two is to be trans-



lated into the terminology of the other must undergo an extraordinarily labored accommodation. No matter to what extent the molecular particles be theoretically attenuated, they can never cease to be of a definite material nature, possessing definite material qualities and constituting in their aggregation a definite mass. From the various activities of the resultant being certain structural, physical, chemical, biological and internal alterations can be inferred; and, it is conceivable, could be written down in the symbolism of atomic formulæ with an almost surprising degree of mathematical exactness. It is likewise obvious that this view leaves altogether out of account the question of the possibility of spiritual natures, since it is unable to include them under its own specific terminology.

More than this; it is unable to explain or to refer to any of its own formulæ the immaterial functions which are manifested and acknowledged in the case of man. The crudities of those who would refer to thought as a secretive product of organic tissues will never be taken seriously by the thoughtful, much though it might be desirable to include many, and indeed all, processes, physical and psychical alike, in a single algebraic concept.

The mind is confronted here with a consideration which does not have reference to degrees of organicity but to real diversity of principle; and, although we may well adopt everything that exact science has had to tell us in the past and be prepared to listen with respect to all that it may teach us in the future, we should do well to pause before admitting too readily the extraordinarily far-reaching conclusions that are not seldom built upon its exact, though meagre, data. It is well to remember that Cavendish, who first separated the constituents of water; Liebig, whose laboratory at Giessen was perhaps the most fertile of all in results, and Michael Faraday did not admit any possible existence of physical atoms. For the same reason, Sir Humphry Davy used the word "proportion," and Dr. Wollaston "equivalent," in place of that which has now come into general use. Sir William Ramsay warns us that "we must beware of confusing this (the atomic) theory with the facts on which it is founded." Indeed, though in the preparation of mere text-books of chemistry or physics we should hardly be led to expect any very deep philosophical considerations set before the student, there are books in which some reference is made to the fact that the theory is, after all, a chemical or a physical one in the strict sense of the words, and not in any way an attempt to account for the ultimate constitution of matter; and, if this is not the case with all text-books, it should not be forgotten that such works are written for the sole purpose of teaching the sciences of chemistry, or heat, or electricity.

When in the hands of the scientist philosophizer, the laws of proportions, affinity, periodicity are exalted into an explanation of the essential nature of matter, the beauty of the whole fabric of the science of chemistry vanishes in an instant and shrinks into the distorted semblance of a philosophy like that of Democritus or Leucippus. The actual data will not support the theory when it goes from an imaginative structural account of matter to a description of its essential nature.

Comparatively long as this discursus into a particular aspect of transmuted science has been, it is far too brief to do anything like full justice to the better claims of the really philosophical theory that wisely distinguishes between the actually and the potentially existent. But it does bring out to some extent the force of the contention that the old explanation of the essence of material beings has had and has nothing to fear from the advance of exact scientific learning. It puts the fact in its true light—that philosophy must ever strive with philosophy, that there is really no level meeting ground between an exact science and one that, transcending all the conditions upon which that exactness is based, professes to account for natures and essences.

The concept which we denote by the word *person* has in no sense been changed by the enlarging of the boundaries of science. That a revived philosophy should attempt to change it only puts the hands of the clock back some twenty-five hundred years in the history of reason. Is it, then, the case that those who urge a reconstruction of theological statement in the light of modern science really wish to have dogma explained and retranslated into the terms of new or revived philosophical systems?

While speaking of the theological term chosen as one example out of many, I have naturally spoken of it as denoting a reasonable rather than a revealed concept. We must have the stable and common elements of thought that are conveyed by the elements of language before any revelation can, by combining them, make any real impression whatever upon our understanding; unless a revelation is so purely unique and personal as to be incommunicable.

And even where revelation has deepened and broadened our native ideas by unfolding the possibilities of the radical concept, as it has in the case of the word we have been considering and its true signification, it has had those natural and necessary ideas as its primitive data, else it could not have conveyed supernatural truth to us at all, save, as I have said, as a unique, intuitive, incommunicable vision.

Hence, though for the purposes of an exact theological system as much of the full content and extent of every concept and cor-

responding term as is possible should be gained, to teach consistently and accurately the truth of Christ, the exact natural meaning of words and the exact natural value of concepts is all that is required. And with no less than this is such teaching possible.

In this, rather than in any accommodation or adaptation of theology to either science or systems of philosophy, a clear statement and a simple explanation of the perennial and unchanging natures of things and of thoughts is to be desired.

To take refuge in the exaltation of mysticism would appear to be as fatal as to yield without a struggle to false philosophies; for the supernatural does not conflict with natural truth. To give credence to every wayward theory that is proposed with any faint shadow of a truthful consistence with observed facts is one of the worst traits, and a vicious trait, of the modern mind; a trait neither scientific nor philosophical. And if the taunt that a virile science has at length been found to combat the pretensions of an antiquated philosophy or theology irks or shames in any way, those of us who hold that even humanly gained truth is inviolable and unchangeable may comfort ourselves with the reflection that as in the infancy of philosophic thought lips babbled their crude explanations of reality, so now, in the extreme decrepitude and decay of the philosophic temper, they again babble in the halting syllables of their childhood.

What, then, is the true attitude that churchmen should take up with regard to science? Ought they to neglect it altogether in all religious questions as offering neither possible support nor possible criticism? Ought our theology to be closed up in some secret part of our mind as having nothing whatever in common with our other knowledge—in something the same way that the religion of some people is shut up by itself, away from and out of touch with the other influences and interests of their lives? Surely not. While remembering that the brilliant forward march of exact science has done nothing of itself to invalidate the claims of revelation or the truth of its teaching, we should surely not throw it over as of no possible use to theology. But whereas upon its findings conclusions have been raised that are in the highest degree untrustworthy and dangerous, upon those same findings, correctly understood, ought to be arranged and consolidated the eternal and natural verities that are at the same time the bulwark and interpretation of God-given truth.

Few men can acquire even a moderately comprehensive view of their own subject from outside—seen, as it were, in its place in the totality of knowledge. Fewer still seem to attempt to adjust the growing mass of exact observations to the changeless forms in which

we all must of necessity think. It would be a real service to science to relate it to the great comprehensive principles of sane philosophy.

It is necessary that theology should be taught in plain terms. But the plainest terms are, after all, those that are in themselves the truest; and they are not to be found in any pseudo-scientific philosophy.

F. AVELING.

London, England.

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## THE FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION.

### II.

IT WILL be useful to record here a translation of an Inquisition decree dated March 6, 1907:

"The Supreme Congregation has already with the greatest care decreed major excommunication against Joseph-Rene Vilatte. It is related that having several times unsuccessfully tried to obtain priestly or episcopal dignities which he ardently desired, he at last found two heretic and schismatic men alleging themselves to be Bishops, although not known by the Church. One of them conferred the priestly, the other the episcopal, dignity on him. Vilatte visited Rome to ask pardon and absolution, which were not granted because it was perceived he was not sincere. Subsequently he went so far as to presume by a sacrilegious ceremonial to consecrate as Bishop the rebellious priest, Paul Miraglia.

"In consequence of these acts the major excommunication was pronounced on June 13, 1900, against the pseudo-Bishop. Vilatte being now established in Paris and unblushingly provoking a schism by profaning Catholic worship, the Congregation of the Inquisition deems well to renew the sentence of excommunication already pronounced against the said Vilatte.

"Accordingly, let the faithful, especially priests, take care not to participate in or favor his sacrilegious actions, lest they, too, fall into the same situation he unfortunately occupies; let such persons as, deceived by him, are in any manner communicating with him, return immediately to wiser thoughts in order to escape ecclesiastical penalties and to avoid utter ruin!"

This charlatan had to leave the former Barnabite Chapel after eight weeks' tenure, from Sexagesima to Easter Day, inclusive, and to notify no function elsewhere for Low Sunday, at the instance of the liquidator who is selling those premises. Lecturing there on the Mass, he declared it would be more logical and conformable to

modern notions of what is fitting to say it in French. He was, when he quitted Rue Legendre, unprovided with a theatre of operations.

Nothing more had been heard of the mountebank up to Pentecost; but the premises in the Rue Legendre were acquired at the public auction (with consent of the Barnabite Fathers, as required by canon law) for \$145,000 by the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, who has transformed the chapel into the parish church of a new parish of 25,000 souls, taken from the territories of four existing parishes. While this restoration was in progress the President of the republic was not ashamed by decree to "disaffect" from religious uses the large and handsome Church of St. Peter's, in Lyons, because, on Sunday, May 5, festival of St. Philip, a Solemn High Mass was celebrated therein by the French Royalists, a political group this year fast receiving many accessions from unexpected quarters, which is nowise surprising, seeing what has been undone by the republic, while all it has done of importance is to more than double the debt and taxation.<sup>1</sup>

M. Etienne Flandin intends proposing to the Chambers a project of proportional and equitable representation that, if adopted, would probably go far towards introducing justice into the actual system and making Parliament a fairly faithful image of the country, but adoption by the present majority is an inconceivable hypothesis.

In the January number, on page 175, it is stated that Cardinal Richard had authorized declarations by his clergy after the proposed leases for eighteen years should be actually signed. His Eminence lost no time in submitting to the Protestant prefect of the Seine, M. de Selves, a draft lease of the Paris Cathedral (Notre Dame) and the historical St. Denis Basilica. It was understood that, if settled and signed, this contract should serve as the model to be followed in the remaining eighty-five French dioceses. The Cardinal Secretary of State at the Vatican authorized these negotiations, against his personal judgment, without any illusions as to the result, simply to satisfy the French episcopate<sup>2</sup> and a minority in the Sacred College.

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<sup>1</sup> A notable schismatic centre has been established at Lyons, in the parish of Saint Georges, by its parish priest, the Abbé Soulier, who has had for years disputes with his superiors, to whom he never submitted. On November 4, 1902, the Cardinal Archbishop interdicted him from celebrating Mass or any ecclesiastical function, as well as from preaching and administering sacraments, in the parish—an ordinance confirmed on appeal by the Conciliar Congregation on July 18, 1903. Late last year a worship association was formed, and to it M. Soulier transferred, on December 10, 1906, the church properties. Cardinal Coullié towards the end of February deprived him, and declared the benefice vacant.

<sup>2</sup> At their third meeting, related on page 173, two-thirds took the same view as His Eminence; one-third were too sanguine about their project.

M. Briand, not less determined than M. Combes to strangle the French Church, though he puts on, when it seems expedient, velvet gloves before acting, pursued, as the Holy Father had foreseen, the usual tactics. Accordingly, after negotiations extending over three weeks, the Prefect informed the Cardinal (in writing, on February 23) that His Eminence's proposals were unacceptable, but the government invited amended ones based on ministerial declarations made in the Chamber during a stormy debate on February 19, when M. Briand found himself forced to confess the churches were left open in view of the truth that a parliamentary majority had "no right to hinder millions of Catholic compatriots from practicing their religion." The Cardinal Archbishop replied immediately that the text of the draft submitted embodied the extreme limits of possible concessions. His Eminence told his *entourage* that further negotiations, it was to be feared, "would be useless, would produce no result and would entail preoccupations alien to the true object of archiepiscopal duty, namely, instruction of souls. We have sufficiently manifested our good will, let us now have recourse to Divine grace. The Church is not a diplomatic institution. Her business is the edification of souls. Duty before everything. We shall avail of the open churches so long as government do not oppose our usage thereof. If they should do so, we will preach Jesus Christ's Gospel elsewhere. It is time to resume evangelical work freed from discussions only profitable to politicians."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The archiepiscopal *Semaine Religieuse*, of Paris, March 2, says in regard to the referendum to Mayors ordered by the episcopate: "It was, in our view, essential for an impartial appreciation of the men and things of our time to learn not only the intentions of the central power, *i. e.*, the Cabinet, in respect of the Church, but also those of local and provincial powers, *i. e.*, of the forty thousand Mayors and municipal councils, who are in direct contact with the clergy and the population. For the first time, then, not merely some hundreds of 'representatives,' more or less faithful interpreters of popular will, but the people themselves have had to face a question concisely, clearly put: Do you purpose preserving your churches and seeing that worship is freely exercised there by ministers who shall be free from any material or moral restriction on the part of the State? And the reply is, categorically, yes, despite hostile pressure of all kinds. This national consultation, incomplete as it was, has therefore had a grand result, and, better still, a consoling result."

In Lyons Archdiocese there are seven hundred communes, but only ten Mayors refused to contract, and half of the total number replied unconditionally they were ready to sign. Picardy is notoriously the most religiously indifferent province in France, possibly owing to its vicinity to England and to several considerable English Protestant colonies; but in the North generally the great majority of Mayors were desirous to contract. There are exceptional cases elsewhere. At Neffies, in Montpellier Diocese, the council refused "because the parish priest does not suit us," and the church is closed. At Beyssac (in Correze) the Mayor replied to the invitation by closing the church, and Mass is said in a barn a mile away.

At Cressia, in the Jura, the Mayor refused use of the sequestered presby-

Earlier in the month the Bishop of Agen announced: "Failing to arrange contracts, we shall remain as simple occupants in our churches until expelled." A common-sense policy now universally adopted.

Every one at last feels time has been lost, ground surrendered through counsels of dilatoriness and a spirit of compromise prevailing, instead of prompt enthusiastic response to the first trumpet-call last year from Rome, "Arm for fighting!" Pearls of patience and meekness ought not to be thrown away upon "swine, lest, perhaps, they trample them under feet and, turning, tear" would-be propitiators, however well-intentioned. Less sentimental, more muscular Christianity are wants of France. The holy war consistently preached from the Vatican is practiced successfully as well as skillfully by Cardinal Merry del Val himself. That fighting Prince of the Church has made the most of the unprecedented outrage against international law and usage which the Clemenceau Cabinet perpetrated last December by seizing Papal archives and premises when expulsing without any notice from the country the guardian, Monsignor Montagnini; nor will this matter be dropped by the Catholic powers whom His Eminence induced to intervene on behalf of the Holy See.

On the other hand, the army has ignored the warlike Papal injunction addressed to all French Catholics. Obeying instead the Freemason word of command, generals, colonels, officers, privates have everywhere been fighting seminarists, women, children or defenders of shrines.<sup>4</sup> Military eloquence has been reserved for gasconade

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tory to the parish priest, in spite of the petition of 135 out of the 180 heads of families in his commune, claiming to retain the priest, whom the Bishop of St. Claude took away, as the Bishops generally have done when no place to live in could be had from hostile Mayors either refusing one absolutely or asking exaggerated rentals for the accustomed homes now seized. Canon Gadeune, priest of Ranches (Nord) for sixty years, resided in a presbytery Gadenne, priest of Ranches (Nord) for sixty years, resided in a presbytery built by himself, the taxes of which he has always paid. In the one hundred and first year of his age he is "Invited" to quit it or pay the municipality \$50 yearly rental for it! However, as in the case of the referendum, the great majority of communes have granted use of presbyteries at low or nominal rentals, or even free. At Montsanche (Nievre) the municipality, considering the "incoherent state of the laws, and that no people can subsist without its religion," unanimously granted use "in perpetuity" to their "priest, Dean Gaudry, and all his successors." In Nancy Diocese two hundred municipalities (one-third of the total number) granted their presbyteries free, but the Prefect arbitrarily quashed all these grants, although M. Briand declared in the Chamber on February 19 Prefects are not in law entitled to annul mayoral contracts. The Mayor of Boissy de Cutte (S. et O.) offered the priest his presbytery for a franc per day, payable weekly in advance to the village policeman.

<sup>4</sup>In the two Departments of Nord and Pas de Calais alone the doors, etc., of one hundred churches or sacristies were burst or blown open in November to take inventories, those operations being protected by mobilization of 10,000 troops. The expense amounted to \$40,000, which taxpayers had to pay.

in the casernes about an impracticable *revanche*, and illusory conquests of territory where Catholics, being free and favored, are to-day contented under an unsought for rule providentially given them a generation ago. When Napoleon III. had followed his army into that same territory on his road "to Berlin," General Trochu, in Paris, assured the Empress Eugenie, hand on his heart, that his "last drop of blood," whenever occasion arose, would be shed in her defense. Very soon the Empress appealed to this chivalrous champion for protection against the furious mob outside the Tuileries. The general excused himself; it would not do for him, in his position, to stir a finger. The lonely sovereign had to seek in the street herself a *fiacre*, and drive to the American dentist, Dr. Evans, at the hospitable mansion in the (then) Avenue de l'Imperatrice.<sup>5</sup>

The one bright feature in the general situation is that the declaration repeal bill has, after incomprehensible delays, become law, being finally voted by the Chamber on March 27 in the form adopted by the Senate. Its text will be found on page 171 (striking out the three words, "at any hour," which the Senators sagaciously refused absolutely to accept). This bill, No. 4, and its predecessor, No. 3 (the law of January 2, 1907), now enable the French clergy to freely use the open churches as hitherto (until mid-December next), notwithstanding the separation law of 1905, which forbids their doing this, and notwithstanding the ministerial declaration at the opening of the parliamtary session on November 5, 1906, whereby M. Clemenceau engaged: "We shall apply the separation law without weakness, in the whole of its dispositions; and should it appear to us that the penalties established are insufficient (*i. e.*, to compel compliance with all its requirements) we shall not hesitate to propose additional ones." Very tall talk; and a long climb down within five months! Thanks to the brute forces of soldiers, police, officers, guns and dynamite, the persecutors have secured, so far, sacrilegious possession of ecclesiastical properties now valued by M. Briand as

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<sup>5</sup> While dressing for a small dinner party he intended giving (Mrs. Evans being at the seaside), the doctor was informed a lady in mourning urgently wished to see him. "Have I not often said I can only see ladies at the consultation rooms?" "Yes, sir; but this lady's air is such that I dared not refuse to announce her." "Well, let her write on this scrap what her business is." The lady scribbled something, folded the paper, and the valet took it up-stairs. Not long afterwards, Mrs. Evans' wardrobe having been hurriedly requisitioned for necessary articles, and the doctor's friend, Mr. Drexel, having replaced him as host at the table, Empress and dentist were driving in a closed carriage and pair to Pontoise railway station, where train was taken for Dieppe. There Sir John Burgoyne's yacht, which fortunately happened to be in harbor, received the distinguished fugitive, who, in her dire extremity, had been thrown over by "the General with a plan." Generals of to-day have followed the lead.



productive of a hundred million dollars yearly. They have, it is true, also seized, thanks to those material forces at their beck and call, nearly fifty thousand edifices, but are now discovering these are mostly white elephants.

Catholics "without juridical title," pronounced to be "simple occupants" *pro tem.*, and at the pleasure of anti-Christian Ministers and bloc, are certainly unlikely to put their hands in their pockets or draw larges checks to defray repairs of those edifices. The up-keep of the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris alone costs from \$12,000 to \$16,000 yearly. It is estimated repairs of all the national churches cost ten million dollars yearly. The clergy have now no funds for such expenses. The budget of worships being suppressed, they have been deprived furthermore of some seven or eight million dollars yearly for most meagre and modest stipends, and now look only to the faithful for wherewith to live. Neither will Providence fail His servants.\*

All the surrenders grudgingly made by the Ministry are attributable (under the same unfailing providence of what is necessary) to the fighting policy urged from Rome and pursued by the parliamentary minority and by the faithful in provinces where (unlike lax Picardy) religion is esteemed.

Monsignor Pechenard, the distinguished and scholarly rector of the Catholic Institute in Paris for several years, now Bishop of Soissons, shortly after his consecration, in a letter to the chapter last January, affirmed "the devastation of the Christian vineyard was—*fera singularis devastavit eam*—the work of a ferocious beast, unique of its kind, predicted in the Apocalypse, and whose mark will shortly have to be in the hand of every buyer or seller." The contest between that repulsive Masonic goat and the Bride of the Lamb must be fought to a finish, in Parliament, the chancelleries, the law courts, the press, the streets—if anti-Christ is not to trample order, the family, civilization, as well as religion, under insupportable unclean hoofs.

Between such natural enemies, for whom there can be no *via media*, three noteworthy struggles in progress, diplomatically or legally, appeal to foreign Catholic hearts, viz., sequestrations of the Irish College in Paris, the Montmartre Church of the Sacred Heart, the Grotto and Sanctuaries of Lourdes.

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\* The Holy Father has not only refused any Peter's Pence from France, but is assisting the French clergy. The education budget voted in December last amounted to \$42,000,000, or about six times as much as the suppressed budget for religion. This secular instruction, unillumined by any "heavenly lights," is that given exclusively now by what M. Guiry, academy inspector, in February told a congress of teachers is "the Godless school, a title flung at us, but which we claim as a title of honor, a title expressing the reason for our establishment and a part of our programme."

That the Masonically engineered *entente cordiale*, a rather frail and sickly exotic, might not suffer chill, Lord Lansdowne left in the lurch the English Benedictine Congregation, who naively dreamed of the British Lion procuring justice for their Douay College and properties, if not immunity from dispersion under the associations law of 1901. But just now the Irish race and votes are highly esteemed in Downing street, so it is highly probable that MM. Clemenceau, Briand and the bloc will, before autumn, be taught through the British Foreign Office and the Paris Embassy some needful lessons in settling knotty questions arising out of their proposed confiscation of the college in Rue des Irlandais, Paris.

In the Rue des Carmes (No. 14) is still to be seen the chapel of the Lombard College, built for Irish ecclesiastical students forced to quit Ireland by the various persecutions of the Royal Tudor Bluebeard, his illegitimate daughter and the regicide Cromwell. The French monarch, by letters patent in 1672, authorized its constitution as a corporate body, and a century later Dr. Lawrence Kelly, its rector, by royal permission, acquired for a larger seminary the considerable additional freehold property in the Rue des Irlandais, from the first destined and used for seminarists, the Lombard College (now leased to a Catholic workmen's club) being reserved for priests. When the sequestration period arrived there were seventy Irish seminarists in this Irish College, under the charge of Irish Vincentian Fathers, directed by the Irish episcopate and perfectly independent of the French Church, State or public, being maintained by Irish foundations. During three centuries the successive French Governments have recognized and protected the important establishment. The existing government want to sell what they have claimed so unjustifiably to seize, viz., the valuable freehold and invested "foundations," converting the proceeds into three per cent. rente, and creating bourses (scholarships) therewith for English, Scotch and Irish seminarists (nominated by the British Embassy) who will follow their theological course in France, where the few Catholic institutions still available to such students are threatened with final suppression sooner or later. The difficulties under which seminaries suppressed and reconstituted labor are explained further on in this paper.

Unnecessary is it to enumerate the manifold absurdities of this fantastic scheme.<sup>7</sup> It is energetically opposed by the present Am-

<sup>7</sup> The thimble-rig game played by these confiscators, once the P. (for product) is in their hands, was, shortly before Easter, exposed in the civil tribunal at Lorient, where Madame Giotin, a widow, sued and obtained judgment against the official sequestrator of a considerable sum she had paid to the Church fabrique at Merville for Masses of requiem that have ceased to be said since the December seizures in that parish, although when

bassador of the Protestant State that is (originally) responsible for the formation of an Irish College on French soil! Sir Francis Bertie told Monsignor Montagnini, referring to it before the Papal guardian of archives was expelled (last December): "I said to M. Pichou (the French Foreign Minister) Great Britain never allowed, never will allow, British subjects to be despoiled with impunity in any part of the globe." After the expulsion and the outrage against international law as well as against diplomatic manners, the envoy of another Protestant State (Holland), Chevalier Stuers, remarked: "This may astonish civilized folks, but what better can be expected from such duffers (*mufles*)?" The same outspoken diplomatist truly said to Mgr. Montagnini the French Catholics were "fighting not only for the Pope, but for Christianity."

On December 13, 1906, an order of the Protestant Prefect of the Seine nominated a sequestrator of the Sacred Heart Basilica at Montmartre, Paris, as forming part of the ecclesiastical properties of the archbishopric, and the official designated at once notified tenants of dependent buildings to pay their rentals on January 1 to him. The Church has long been coveted by the Grand Orient, but the will of the lodges has not, up to now, been decided and indicated to the obedient Cabinet. In December, 1870, two Parisians who had fled to Poitiers made a vow there to cause a national church dedicated to the Sacred Heart to be built, that the calamitous war, then at its worst stage, might cease. Several Bishops approved the project, the Pope assented, a subscription list was started and the work, constituted thus by private initiative, began in the early months of 1871, Paris being chosen as headquarters of the undertaking, which the Archbishop, Mgr. Guibert, approved in the January following. Four years later His Grace became its president, and on March 5, 1873, addressed a letter to the Minister of Worships, which was submitted during the parliamentary session to the Chambers with a project of law that was discussed during two days, voted on July 24 and promulgated as law July 31, 1873, as follows:

"Art. 1. The construction of a church on the hill of Montmartre conformably to the demand made by the Archbishop of Paris in his letter of March 5, 1873, to the Minister of Worships is decreed to be of public utility. This church, which shall be constructed exclu-

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the money was paid taxation upon it was also paid to the proper official bureau in order to legalize the transaction; so that to levy that tax and then lay hands on the whole fund taxed is, in the words of Canon Minelli, of Rhelms, simple robbery. The sequestrator's defense was merely the legal quibble that he was incompetent to plead in an action which could only in law be brought after all the property sequestrated should be handed over to benevolent uses. This, although the Government has declared no moneys destined for such pious uses should be handed over to any one for any purpose; all such are to be "reserved."

sively with funds provided by subscriptions, will, in perpetuity, be used for exercising public Catholic worship. Art. 2. The site shall be settled by the Archbishop of Paris in concert with the Prefect of the Seine. Art. 3. The Archbishop of Paris, for himself and his successors, shall substitute themselves for and take on themselves all administrative rights and obligations, and are hereby authorized to acquire the ground requisite for constructing the church, with its dependencies, either by private treaty or, if necessary, by expropriation."

Thus the work of the national vow to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was legally declared to be of public utility.

The land necessary was acquired solely by means of public and private subscriptions, gathered from probably every country in the world as well as from French citizens. On the faith of this law eight million dollars were collected and expended on the vast temple and the land, every subscriber reckoning on that perpetual use for Catholic worship of this church which the Republican Legislature in Article 1 had guaranteed. The work has always been kept independent of the archiepiscopal properties, among which the Prefecture seeks to include it. Appeal against the iniquitous sequestration was, after the Christmas holidays, made to the Council of State and other proceedings were also taken in the Tribunal of the Seine.

Many readers of this REVIEW have made the pilgrimage to Lourdes once or oftener. All must have at least read Henry Lasserre's delightful classic, "Our Lady of Lourdes," a book that has had a much greater circulation than any volume (excepting the Bible) published in any country last century, and that is printed in some eighty languages.

Universal satisfaction was experienced when it became known that on November 25, 1906, some three weeks before the operation of the separation law of 1905, a lease was signed before notaries between the Bishop of Tarbes and the Count Etienne de Beauchamp, Mayor of Morthemmer, departmental councillor of Vienne, and president (these many years) of the corps of brancardiers, or litter-bearers who take the infirm and sick daily to and from the Grotto; the lessee to have uncontrolled possession of the Grotto and grounds for periods of three, six or nine years (customary periods in French leases), at his option, at an annual rental of \$1,300. The basilica, crypt and Rosary Church, by Papal directions, are not included in the property leased, but, of course, access to them can only be had through grounds leased to the Count, who can exclude whom he pleases. Nevertheless, before Christmas a sequestrator was nominated and sequestration notice was served. The Count is wealthy and will contest his rights to the last.

French judgments about their compatriots, the causes of the lamentable situation and its probable future are more interesting than are the views of foreigners. Here, then, are some observations from lay native authorities on such questions: "The present persecution is a Divine chastisement. Blind indeed is the man who cannot see this. Sad to acknowledge, it is true to say that, like to some fallen great ancestral house, France lives only on her ancient reputation. In name the eldest daughter of the Church and a Christian nation, she is really scarcely one or the other. Where are the true Christians whose actions correspond to their faith? They are an *elite*, and every *elite* is a small body. The great mass of Christians set foot inside a church for baptism, First Communion, marriage, burials only. They are indifferent, forgetful, degenerate Catholics, without regard to either the law of Sunday observance or that of Easter duties. Business, amusements constitute in two words their ideal and represent their life. Practically they ignore God, Jesus Christ, the Church. Such, I am bound to say, is a great part of what we style 'Christian France'—a mere shadow of itself in the past. This being so, how could the Almighty, who chastises in order to enlighten and cure, refrain from permitting to sweep over the land this purifying wave of persecution? The illustrious St. Cyprian of Carthage in the third century hoped for a persecution to awaken his 'sleeping faithful,' many of whom were frequent or daily communicants; and would not that martyred Bishop, did he appear among us, far more earnestly desire a wind of persecution to rouse from mortal lethargy innumerable French Catholics all but dead, without faith or Christian life?" (M. de Bonneval.)

Compare these denunciations with the following eminently prudent, faithful and acute criticisms of the distinguished lay sociologue, the Catholic author of "Jewish France." He writes of his country:

"Every one tries to discover the cause of these evils in his own way. It is the incomprehensible baseness of our generals, says one, which has lost everything. Another says, it is our principal misfortune to have had no true parliamentary opposition. Others charge the education given to our youths by the congregations with failure to produce the results expected. Public opinion is strongly impressed by the contrast between the very real sufferings of our clergy and the luxurious, pleasant lives led by a section of our aristocracy. The real cause of our evils is, in my opinion, that our race is used up. Not only are beliefs weakened, but the characters and temperaments wherein they were sown are weakened. We are told in the Gospel parable of the seed lost among stones and weeds, how the Word of God is choked and stifled by the cares and pleasures of this life. During two decades the Jesuits have had the education

of the youth of the aristocracy and upper middle class; but instead of therefore being now masters in France, they are treated as pariahs, not as French citizens. Their colleges are shut, their communities dispersed. Profoundly unjust would it be to deny that many who were formed in those establishments are among our best and most devout; still, it is incontestable these instructors, incomparable in certain respects, have not produced a strong generation, prepared for every sacrifice, ready to dare and do everything to ensure the triumph of their ideas. If you broach these questions with the religious they will tell you all that is true, but they had not the right sort of stuff to work on. It is quite certain, at any rate, they never taught their pupils 'Don't trouble about the crimes, scandals and cowardly acts that dishonor your country; infamies committed against everything Christian, everything inspired by love for Christ, who died for you, are no concerns of yours. All you need think of is how to amuse yourself, how to get the best places in the fashionable theatre of the day to see the piece of the season.' The fact is, the religious did their best to turn out a courageous and resolute generation. Others did their best. Everything has failed."

The same experienced observer, contrasting his decadent contemporaries with their predecessors of the days of Montalembert, Gratry, Gaume, de Ravignan, Veuillot, Berryer, Lamoriciere, says: "I suppose traces of character, manliness, firmness are not to be expected in the magistrature now, nor in the parliamentary world) any more than in the army. Nothing is more instructive than the feebleness, the sterility of our so-called republican regime, which has nothing republican about it beyond the name. Base, contemptible oligarchy as it really is, directed by a syndicate of Jews and Freemasons. This regime has so demoralized, corrupted, perverted the country by numberless scandals, by the spectacle of robbery, conspiracy, deception, practically become inherent to our customs and institutions, that the notions of forty years ago are completely altered. The question of public or private morality has no longer importance or meaning. Formerly had an African compaigner been ordered to attack, in time of peace, seminary or convent, he would have angrily said his business was to defend his country, not to do such dirty work. Now, officers who have had better Christian training than that blunt African veteran, and who on occasions approach the sacraments, obey without a frown Masonic commands that are outrages on their faith. There is an atrocious irony about our times when everything done for the best has turned out for the worst; and to point this out from time to time is the only earthly consolation left to us unfortunate writers for persevering, indefatigable labors, for courageous and devoted efforts in the good cause."

A highly competent authority on Freemasonry, M. Paul Nourisson, in a conference at Paris in February, complained: "How often among Catholics do we hear it said, 'Oh, the Freemasons won't do this; they don't dare,' and then every one goes quietly to bed. It is a woful mistake. Our enemies have an end in view and will go on until they reach it. They may pause now and again to give us time to calm down, but presently a fresh wave will come to sweep us under it. Let us not say Providence will save us. God does not owe any miracles to us. It is for us to labor at our salvation and our country's salvation. God once did for France what He never did for any other nation, but then it was to favor a Joan of Arc. Are we to-day worthy of like Providential help? We ought to take action upon every ground, the religious, the social, the commercial; bearing in mind the admirable reply Joan made to her judges' question why she did not negotiate with the enemy instead of giving him battle, 'Because,' said Joan of Arc, 'I knew I could only get peace at the point of the lance.' It is at the lance's point we, too, are bound to reconquer peace for ourselves, liberty and independence for our holy religion."

It is not exaggerating to say that if such counsellors as I have quoted had been listened to *and followed*, there would have been no "ecclesiastical" legislation since 1901. The opposition and the governmental party voters are within about a quarter of a million equal in their total numbers in the whole country; and it is said—no doubt with some truth—the scale is weighted on the wrong side by the 603,566 functionaries and employés of State, departments and communes.

If Providential interposition to do what is the duty of Catholics themselves need not be hoped for, yet unexpected judgments have already befallen the hapless nation, others are in store for it.

On December 11 last the guardian of Papal archives in Paris was arrested, then conducted to the Italian frontier, which he crossed next morning on his way to Rome, where, on the day of Monsignor Montagnini's arrest, the guardian of the French Government archives in the Eternal City, M. Arnoux, had breathed his last. His papers were placed under seal by the French Embassy to the Quirinal about the same hour (on December 11) as the seals were being placed in Paris on Monsignor Montagnini's papers, and his corpse passed by the free prelate on the same Italian railway line on its way to the French capital.

Exactly three months passed. The last seventeen naval chaplains remaining of that body of priests—suppressed by a gradual process of extinction a few years ago, but whose term not being arrived, had been unexpectedly anticipated by sudden ministerial decree—com-

pleted their service and finally quitted fleet and dockyards in the afternoon of March 11. Accordingly, for the first time the French navy began the day of March 12, festival of the Pope St. Gregory the Great, without a single ecclesiastic or a single Mass. Immediately after the midday meal there occurred the sudden destruction of the Jena and 110 officers and seamen, a score of whom were so utterly consumed that no trace or particle whatever of them or their dress could be discovered.

These Divine warnings and punishments are commonly unheeded by the men who provoke them, however remarkable or awful they are. Hence it was not surprising to Christians of experience that strict orders were given by ministerial direction not to admit any priest to the naval hospital in Toulon, where the injured seamen and officers lay, unless indeed the wounded man expressly asked for one. Mr. Thomson—Freemason, Protestant and married to a Jewess—who is Minister of Marine, sent like orders to Rennes, in Brittany, where a Solemn Requiem for the dead sailors, many of whom were Bretons, was sung in the Cathedral on the 21st, prohibiting (at midnight preceding the function) the attendance at this Mass of any officer, seaman or official even in a private capacity.

On the day of the funeral in Toulon, the 16th March, after Mass in the crowded church the burial ceremonies were celebrated in the principal square, where the Prefecture stands (the Place d'Armes), and where a kiosque had been erected in its centre, by the Bishop, assisted by all the parochial clergy. The imposing function, which lasted an hour, was attended by naval representatives of England, Germany, Russia, the consuls of all foreign States having consulates in Toulon and delegations from municipalities of the city, of Marseilles and of most places in the department. The absolution having been given by the Bishop (of Frejus) and the coffins blessed, the cortege then started for the arsenal, and *not until then* did the Naval Prefect, the President of the Republic, the Premier, Clemenceau; the Ministers of War and Marine, the Vice Presidents of Senate and Chamber and the delegations from both, who had arrived from Paris the even before, make their appearance! The President Fallieres' wife and daughter attend Sunday Mass, but he (like most of his predecessors) never hears one. The writer already quoted in regard to decadence of his countrymen, remarks: "This cousin of a Bishop, this hypocrite who surpasses in ignominy Loubet himself, affects not to be able to cross the porch of a church where the dead are prayed for. These naval officers, who used to be pictured as lofty and noble characters, accept humbly all this. Such obedience is perhaps more alarming in view of the future than the revolt of workingmen who, braving authority by striking, show that at least there is blood in



their veins. By follies inconceivable, by insanities more contemptible, degrading and repugnant than any of their other acts, our governors are striving to the utmost to weaken our last supreme strength, to extinguish the very last flame. A day or two after one of those catastrophes that usually elevate and purify mankind through the involuntary meditations inspired by death, especially when tragical, these scoundrels prevent the priest from approaching these Breton seamen who, like our fathers, are Christians, as Christian as they are French. It is utter folly to suppose a people given over to such anarchy can exercise any action or influence, or count for anything whatever in the universe."

However, it is cheering to know Christians in Paris did not follow the lead of politicians in Toulon on Holy Thursday and Easter Sunday, when all the churches of the capital were magnificently adorned and crowded with worshipers. Many carriages drove from one to another before it was possible for their occupants to squeeze themselves past the thresholds. The parochial clergy are able to record numerous unexpected conversions or returns to the practice of religious duties, which they not unreasonably attribute to the effect produced on the average human mind and heart by the unscrupulous persecutions that distinguish this century, for which better things are still hoped by more sanguine persons than the present writer.

The most edifying feature in the Easter devotions was this spectacle (which must have been a profitable object lesson to the thoughtful) of male communicants in thousands at Notre Dame. Another, that all Paris churches were almost as crowded at afternoon Vespers as in the morning. Another surprise was the increased numbers over last year's records. Yet worshipers at the Madeleine, the Trinity, St. Augustine's, St. Roch, St. Philippe du Roule, St. Louis d'Autin, St. Germain l'Auxerrois or even St. Vincent de Paul (all profusely decorated florally and provided with customary magnificent music) are not classes that must bear the brunt of the persecution. Wealthy or well-to-do people in Paris can and will help themselves to get what they desire, let governments (who seldom venture to interfere much with the upper ten anywhere) do their worst. It is the majority, *i. e.*, those with slender means, the poor, the helpless (such as conscript youth driven out of seminaries and wounded sailors), especially in country places or provincial towns, who are at the mercy of unscrupulous demagogues attained to the temporary dignity of law-makers as rewards for their successful careers of professors of zeal for toilers. Not ecclesiastics attached to fashionable churches, but the rural clergy, that peasant clergy which is the backbone of the French Church, and dispersed religious of the smaller congregations, are now silently enduring miseries that, if known,

must excite unmeasured indignation in the Protestant and Mohammedan worlds. For instance: At a small commune of Aube, where there is no resident priest, a pauper died whose daughter asked the priest of a neighboring commune what the fees would be for religious burial. "You have nothing to pay." At the hour and on the day fixed this priest presented himself, after a six-mile walk, to the weeping woman, who told him the Mayor having vowed the commune should not pay for coffin or bearers if the body entered a church, there must be a civil interment, the family being penniless. The sudden death on the eve of Passion Sunday of the parish priest at Manthelon (Tours diocese), who, a sufferer from heart disease, received then a notice to quit his presbytery on the Monday, is another case of mayoral brutality. On Good Friday a man of seventy died at Liffre, a commune near Rennes of 3,000 inhabitants, after refusing the sacraments. The priest accordingly refused Christian burial and was surprised on Easter Monday to see a funeral cortege, including Mayor and his deputies, enter the church with what turned out to be the old anti-clerical's corpse. He protested, some one cried, "This belongs to us; we can sleep here if we like," and the Mayor ordered one mourner to recite the rosary, another to toll the bell, saying to the priest, "If you won't do your duty, I will do mine." Consequent on this sacrilege the Archbishop, from Low Sunday (when three Low Masses were said), has suspended public worship in Liffre, one vicar being left in an adjoining commune for emergencies; the other and the parish priest are removed away.

When the three priests left the church 1,200 persons awaiting outside escorted them to the railway station, chanting hymns and crying "Vive Jesus Christ! Vive la Republique!" The Abbé Imblet, one of the vicars, with much feeling thanked the Catholics in the commune for their welcome spontaneous demonstration. After the train left with parish priest and vicars, the procession and its flag-bearers betook themselves to the Mayor's house, to manifest in other fashion. At the solicitation of the municipality the Bishop consented to raise this interdict and the church was reopened a fortnight afterwards.

The Mayor very soon afterwards thought it prudent to resign office. And in Angers diocese, the parish priest of Champ refusing to lease his presbytery on the terms fixed by the municipality, and threatening to quit the commune, a formidable popular demonstration resulted, during which the Mayor, despite his seventy years, was hustled, struck and was himself turned out of (his own) doors. Some time ago the Mayor of Lens, in the Nord, having prohibited "religious demonstrations" on public roads, a priest dared, notwithstanding, to go on foot vested to a house where a corpse awaited

burial with religious rites, and was prosecuted, but was acquitted by the local tribunal. The righteous decision being appealed against, was, in the last week of April, quashed by the high Court of Cassation.

Thus it is now declared to be illegal *for the poor* (because they cannot afford the expense of a carriage funeral) to have their dead escorted religiously to a cemetery in the land of equality! In the same land of liberty, in the same week, Colonel Septans, an "officer in reserve," was "suspended for a year" from his functions by the War Minister, General Picquart, for the offense of attending a Catholic demonstration protesting against the expulsion of his diocesan Bishop from the episcopal residence. This officer early last year retired into civil life after forty-two years' military service and an experience of many campaigns.

Twenty-seven Ursuline nuns at Nantes early in March were prosecuted there and condemned to pay fines amounting to \$85 for the offense of obstinately persisting to live together as a religious community in what the prosecution and the judge admitted to be legally their own house, built long ago out of their own resources upon their own freehold land. This, although they had, as required by the law of 1901, ceased to carry on a school or to teach, which they were legally authorized in last century to do. They must, to obey the law in 1907, become homeless, though several are infirm or bedridden! Out of the 130,000 religious women dispersed a large proportion are absolutely penniless and friendless. Few indeed know anything of the world into which they are thus brutally flung. Legislation by African savages could scarcely be more barbarous at this time of day.\*

The appeals against their dissolution and dispersion, which had been ordered in July, 1904 (*i. e.*, nearly three years ago), by decrees of the Minister of Interior under Combes—of the Congregation "Daughters of the Cross" and other congregations combining teaching with the boarding of "paying guests"—have at last been pronounced upon by the Council of State. This supreme tribunal annuls the decrees in question on the ground that the appellants prior to 1903 had ceased to teach, and there is no law to prevent their carrying on, as they were doing solely in 1904, the business of receiv-

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\* The same legal tribunal (correctional) at Marseilles, some weeks later, acquitted twelve defendants accused of reconstituting as a "free school" the boarding school in the Rue Hozler, which they used (prior to dissolution) to carry on together as the school of their religious congregation. The court found that the defendants, although formerly members of a dissolved congregation, could not be deemed to have reconstituted it from the mere fact of living together to teach. Here is "incoherence" between the two courts.

ing into their houses females of any age under the conditions laid down by their statutes.

The serious losses of Sisters, houses and means sustained by the congregations so illegally scattered and partially ruined, in particular, as I can testify, by the *Filles de la Croix*, of Treguier; Loudeac, Nagour and Guingamp, will not be recouped by M. Combes nor by his Minister of Interior nor by Clemenceau & Co.

This decision is, nevertheless, so far satisfactory; but, in the case of the Nantes Ursulines, who were so shortly before fined for daring to live together, teaching had been long given up, and unless their sentence be quashed the "incoherence" follows that religious may live together in their own house in the land of liberty, equality, fraternity only if they take in boarders; otherwise they must quit their country to live together! The boarders may be children, but cannot be taught!

The deplorable results of this persecution upon children of the struggling classes can be realized from a letter addressed in April 25 by the Bishop of Nancy to M. de Marcère, Senator and president of the French Patriotic League. Mgr. Turinaz says: "I applaud with my whole soul the contest waged by you and your friends against the perverters of children and youth in our country. It is impossible, I will not say for believers in any religious body, but for any man imbued with those principles, wanting which society and nations perish in dishonor, in bloodshed and in the gutter, to tolerate any longer the flagrant, impudent and perhaps soon to be universal violation of the professed neutrality of our schools. For large numbers of the masters and mistresses are now attacking and outraging not alone religious doctrines, but the great fundamental truths called by Cicero 'the patrimony of mankind;' the existence of God and the soul, the superiority of man over the unreasoning animal, his freedom and consequent responsibility, the essential distinction between truth and error, good and evil; all the living forces of our country in this present time, all its lofty, noble traditions in the past. There are in certain villages schoolmasters, and even schoolmistresses yet more unworthy and contemptible, who not merely inculcate envy, hatred, the setting class against class in social life and socialistic dreams, but have introduced the promiscuous mingling together of boys and girls of ten, eleven, twelve years on the same school benches. In one such school in a thoroughly Christian parish of my diocese the father of a child induced the Mayor to visit the school with him and rebuke the master for doing this. The answer they received was, 'Your beasts are well enough placed so in your stables.' These disgraceful words are a revelation, I might say a programme; for to bestiality do such masters seek to drive the French people.

Your appeal and organization deserve national gratitude. Jointly with your League, in which Catholics should take a large part, there should be a great league of all faithful men, all true liberals, all honest folk against the perverters of childhood and youth."

Many expelled religious who have established themselves in England are conducting boarding schools there for children whose parents cannot bear to expose them to the new dangers besetting French youth in their own country. To part with their children for long periods thus is grievous sorrow to a French father and mother. Family and home life are cherished in France far more strongly than in England, where it is a common practice to send young people during several years away from the parental circle. Not so in France. But now the French Catholic parent feels that to preserve the faith and purity of his child he must send her across the frontier or the Channel. Accordingly, numerous Ursuline nuns, whose speciality has long been teaching for classes of limited means, have opened several boarding schools in England that are exclusively places of refuge for their expelled Sisters and for French children, whose parents (in many cases barely able hitherto to make both ends meet) are thus forced to suffer other painful and arduous sacrifices by the tyrants who boast of and glorify "ancestral" precursors—Robespierre, Danton, Marat, *et hoc genus omne*.

In a report to Rome, which will appear in the White Book now preparing at the Vatican in full, by Mgr. Montagnini the prelate says: "The masses are not hostile to the Church; they are even sympathetic to a certain extent with us. In the provinces, in the North, Brittany, the Lozère, in Auvergne, Normandy, the people are believing; in Beauce, Champagne, Burgundy, indifferent; in country places generally the population are practical Catholics, less so in towns, still less so in manufacturing centres. Generally religious instruction is deplorable, Catholics are disunited, and the majority of practical Catholics belong to the aristocratic and well-to-do middle classes; though just now the freethinking wind appears sweeping the latter class away. Protestantism and its propaganda are spreading. Eleven per cent. of the magistracy are Protestant. In the Menilmontant quarter of Paris sixty per cent. of the children are unbaptized. The catechism is taught in Paris in rather a routine way, and instruction in it is so fragile that after First Communion the child forgets what principles he had been taught."

The Bishop of Digne, which is the poorest French diocese, writes when acknowledging a remittance in aid: "I have a modest second floor, no valet, only an old general female servant, and live economically. My priests astonish one by their poverty and self-denial. Were I to indulge in anything not necessary it would have to be at

their expense. You should see an average presbytery. Two dollars quarterly is not, for many of them, an unusual rent. Several occupants of such dwellings have had to quit theirs because the roof gave way or the rain came in, though in their hamlets of fifty or sixty people no other quarters could be had. Some parishes are half the year under snow, storms being so violent that weeks sometimes pass without anybody communicating with the outside world. People and priest must provide a store for the whole winter and make their own bread. Fortunately my clergy are industrious; they are accustomed to be content with little. One lives on \$60 a year, giving for good works the rest of his stipend. Another does not trouble about the future, for, he says, his honorarium of a franc for Mass and another daily franc earned by his sister for working outside are enough for them. Some earn their bread by repairing clocks or watches or making beehives; others make knitted articles, work on the land or live by agriculture."

A Catholic association that has been formed is occupied in procuring necessary teaching or finding congenial work for clergy who may need thus to eke out grants which the Bishops may be enabled to make from proceeds of the fund they have organized, *Denier du Culte*, or worship penny. Still only priests who had been used to some handicraft of their father's, or to field and stable, before entering the Little Seminary, are likely to earn money by manual labor, which anyhow can be but a makeshift, a very temporary expedient to keep the wolf from the door. It is idle to quote St. Paul's determination to be "chargeable to no man" or his testimony that he and St. Timothy "in labor and in toil worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you," for he was an Apostle, his "beloved son" a Bishop. Neither saint was a parish priest. And the same extraordinary Apostle repeatedly affirmed that he had for an extraordinary purpose refrained from using the power and right he possessed, as do all parish priests possess it, since "the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel"—not by plowing, sowing, knitting or mending old shoes. Had the dispersed congregations kept steadily in mind the policy of the wise maxim, "every man to his own trade," it is highly questionable whether the Bloc and Grand Orient could have succeeded in enlisting enough of an acquiescent spirit in French public opinion to enable them to carry the associations law of 1901.

In Digne the despoilers could have got little or nothing. Let us see what they secured in two other dioceses. At Nancy the French rente devoted to pious uses that is confiscated represents a yearly revenue of \$22,000, not reckoning rente devoted to charities or other uses, nor lands and buildings also "sequestrated."

In Orleans, besides the Bishop's palace, Monsignor Touchet enumerates as follows: "For our minor seminary of La Chapelle the Bishop in 1844 bought the land and began the building. This was continued by the next Bishop, Mgr. Dupanloup; by his successor, now Cardinal Coullié, and completed with the fine church built by the actual vicar general. In 1860 an old convent of minims was bought by the diocese and ceded for a grand seminary, that of Holy Cross, with its handsome chapel, old cloisters, fine class rooms and dormitories. For these two buildings the State never contributed a cent; the Catholic body did everything, paid for everything, from the ground itself to the building stone and the roofing slates. Not a nail in Sainte Croix, not a shrub or tree in La Chapelle can the State claim as its own. Nevertheless the State lays daring hand upon Holy Cross and La Chapelle; robbing the diocese of them, it takes them simply without ado.<sup>9</sup> The Grand Seminary owned in Orleans six houses given it with the consent and guarantee of the State for maintaining poor seminarists, besides some land in the suburbs; the State simply takes all this property. The Grand Seminary also possessed with the same State consent and guarantee, for the same maintenance of poor seminarists, rente inscribed in the State ledgers as payable to specific persons (not to bearer). The State simply takes the whole, producing \$2,200 yearly. A house bought by the diocese with its own money, another bequeathed to us—both are simply taken by the State. Rente of \$800 yearly for supporting aged infirm priests, the State simply takes. Capital for providing foundations of 17,217 Masses for the dead the State simply takes. Having 'taken' goods of the living, the State takes likewise goods of the dead. Goods of the poor, of the invalid clergy, of the departed, the State takes, takes; takes all. 'Ill-gotten goods profit little,' says the proverb. Does the proverb refer only to individuals? For the sake of my country, I wish it did. But with history before me I cannot doubt it concerns States, too, and the thought terrifies me."

The enormous difficulties in repairing some of the evil wrought are apparent from the ensuing account of what has been done towards reconstituting grand seminaries, whereof every one in France by the middle of February was dissolved, dispersed and completely evacuated by students and *personnel*. Indeed, by that time some had twice (within two months) been subjected to these legal

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<sup>9</sup> This is what the French republican State has done throughout France in the dawn of the twentieth century. Its cordial ally, one hour's steaming from Calais, whose statesmen and journalists for generations lectured the world as though its unique teachers were apostles of freedom, justice and the rights of property—every Briton's house being his castle—has been dumb while these deeds of darkness were being done. Only two or three newspapers (after all was over) denounced the iniquities.

outrages, viz., a few whose occupants after a first expulsion had returned under rights of lease of the premises from the former Seminary Bureau. For the vital importance to the Church of those essential organs of life, its seminaries, is felt to call for repair of the mischief perpetrated without an instant's loss of time; hence a reconstitution began from the 15th December last that will go on indefatigably as dissolution follows each reconstitution. One difficulty encountered at once is the choice of a place; a second is the legal basis for the proposed teaching; and in many dioceses a solution of the first is not yet discovered, the seminarists in the meantime being scattered in all directions. In some, albeit, what could be got has had to be put up with; though the situation is less bad, it is not free from much that is inconvenient. Dwellings separated from teaching rooms are often too small for the number of youths, who have to be divided among two, three, four houses, while everywhere, cells being too few, sleeping has had to be arranged in dormitories and work to be done in common hall. Then, the seminaries having lost all their regular resources, the regime of living is so poverty-stricken as to verge on misery. As to the legal basis whereon it has been obligatory to reorganize without delay the system of teaching, rules, with the Supreme Pontiff's approval, have had to be settled according to the laws applicable. With a few hesitations at the outset all the grand seminaries are being, or will be, organized under the law of 1875, and in "establishment" form, very rarely in "private course" form. Persons interested can obtain information from the secretary of the "Alliance des Seminaires" at their office, 74 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris.

On this footing the seminaries have, in a large majority, as best they could, contrived to reopen. But one important difficulty in the way is still without solution, viz., their legal right to possess! This can only be certainly secured by creating regular associations legally entitled to own freeholds and movable property. As matters stand there is much uncertainty whether such a legal right is enjoyed. Briefly, summarily, everything has yet to be done, and the good-will of Catholics able to coöperate has many more channels for its exercise in the work than they can fancy. For many a long day yet the zeal, the material activity, the practical devotion of the faithful, clerical and lay, will be necessary to maintain and restore what their bitter foe is bent on destroying.

This account is translated from a paper by M. Lorphand in the *Univers*: "The wasteful extravagance in dealing with its ill-gotten gear displayed by the plunderers is exemplified by their utilization for accommodating sixty girls from the Ecole Normale (or Normal School) of St. John's School, Versailles, valued at \$120,000, a mag-



nificent establishment built by the dissolved Eudist Fathers, who boarded 300 youths there."

A couple of hours elapsed from the moment of penning the last paragraph when the news from Rome, dated April 6, reached this writer: "Monsignor Montagnini is appointed Apostolic Protonotary. Cardinal Merry del Val instead of resigning (as one consequence of the publication by M. Clemenceau of portions of the seized Papal archives) continues to enjoy the entire confidence of the Pope and the Sacred College."

Simultaneously there arrived in print what is doubtless a true copy of a despatch marked "very confidential," from the Cardinal Secretary of State at the Vatican February 27, 1906, to Monsignor Montagnini in Paris, desiring the prelate to tell Cardinal Richard (the Archbishop) that the Holy Father up to that date had no thought or intention of accepting the separation law "worship associations." This was to be communicated to the Cardinal-Archbishop "in the most absolute secrecy;" and violation of the secret was the handiwork of M. Clemenceau with the prefect of police, M. Lepine, on December 11 last. Its publication in the *Autorité* before three months is the doing of the Premier. From this important document, which will surely redound in the minds of all intelligent fair thinkers outside France, whether Catholic or anti-Catholic, to the highest credit and advantage of its writer and of Pius X., the following weighty expressions and indications of Papal views and aims appropriately conclude this paper, pending the announced publication as soon as practicable of a second White Book devoted to a faithful copy of the whole correspondence so violently captured in the Nunciature Hotel owned by the Pope in Paris. Cardinal Merry del Val wrote then, long before the elections that were mostly won by the Bloc of indifferents, anti-clericals and anti-Christians:

"I am greatly disquieted because I clearly see we are now at a historical turning point in the history of the Church Universal. The whole forces of evil, of international Masonry, are opposed to the Church, and in this struggle France is found in the front rank. What shall be done in France shall serve as an example to all other peoples. On this account the decisions that shall be arrived at will be of utmost importance. Evidently, if the majority of French Bishops pronounce for a practical trial of the separation law, it will be difficult for the Pope, although assured of their obedience, to command action contrary to their convictions. But it is false, most false, that the Pope, if he be supported by the views of a sufficient number of these Bishops, is not ready to proclaim resistance. The Pope awaits the Bishops' opinion before pronouncing the final word. Each will be able to state his personal opinion."

Shortly after Easter the Councils Generals assembled. Each department has its own, consisting of the Deputies, Senators and other local notabilities, who are elected by a select body in order to look after local interests. The Council General of Maine et Loire listened sympathetically to an eloquent opening discourse by its president, Monsieur Grignon, denouncing the religious persecution, "so disastrous to the country," and severely reproaching the Prefect for his ill-judged intervention at the siege of Beaupreau Seminary (described on page 178), "which all but provoked a revolution in the district and the Cholet region." After a heated discussion between the Prefect and the Duke of Blacas, supported by other members, the Council unanimously approved the declaration by its president that he was "bound to protest energetically against the consequences of laws violating rights of conscience and deeply troubling their provincial populations."

The Aveyron Council General, after a long debate, voted (by 28 against 3) that the episcopal residence at Rodez be leased to the Bishop for eighteen years from July 1 at a rental of \$300 annually, all important repairs to be at the charge of the department. The municipality had offered twice that rental for the premises—built by Bishops of Rodez and now of high artistic value. The Haute-Marne Council General voted a request to government that the interest of moneys or investments confiscated be placed at the disposal of the parties interested, "in order that wishers of testators and donors be respected." On the other side, the Council General of the wealthy manufacturing and mining department of the Nord, which contributes seven per cent. of the country's total taxation, voted a motion, proposed by Socialist Councillors, demanding suppression of Catholic faculties at Lille University.

On May 7 and 8 will be celebrated at Orleans the annual national commemoration of Joan of Arc. Accordingly a month previously M. Clemenceau officially forbade all State functionaries to attend or take any part in these *fêtes* because, the Premier said, eleven Bishops will be present. He could not prevent the proceedings, which are the business of the Orleans municipality, but in the land of liberty he can prevent any participation in these national rejoicings by the army, magistrature, the universities, functionaries high and low, from postmen to Ministers, and used his power, disregarding the pressing remonstrances of the Radical Deputy for Orleans, who is a brother Freemason high in rank. The aged General Charette at once addressed an eloquent appeal to all his companions in arms of 1870, inviting their attendance at Orleans on May 8 to salute the heroine and supplicate her to drive out of beautiful France all its enemies, "whoever they may be."

Never did the city wear such a gloomy aspect as during this year's festival, which is fittingly styled "a mourning procession in a dead city." It was practically a military affair, the official *corps* of Magistrates, Judges, professors, delegates from Chamber of Commerce, etc., being surrounded by troops, the Court of Appeal Judges, for instance, being protected by forty soldiers under a lieutenant. The *cortège*, preceded by a picket of gendarmes, a squadron of chasseurs and two sub-divisions of fire brigade men, began with a group of Freemasons thirty in number, whereof only seven Orleans citizens, one Paris and one full-blooded Negro Mason, never before seen in the city any more than had been a few Jewish featured brethren. Besides the troops, these thirty, who marched with an uneasy air, were protected by police in uniform and in plain clothes. The only Masonic emblem was a branch of artificial acacia worn in a button-hole. Next came some local societies, municipal council, two Senators, four Deputies, the general commanding, the Prefect, President of Appeal Court, and then diverse functionaries and *corps*, with several detachments of different troops. In the Rue Jeanne d'Arc, where customarily from end to end there was profusion of drapery and flags, every house, excepting two so decorated (the State College and the residence of the central commissary), had its shutters closed; and the same was the situation in the Rue Royale excepting only three cafés, a librarian's and three dressmakers' shops. Madame Bruchon, the Mayor's daughter, has a hide and skin warehouse in this street, and when the municipal group approached it the crowd saw this lady advance to the window and herself draw down the iron shutters closing its front, the Mayor outside turning pale and frowning as he passed. An explosive petard was thrown into the Masonic group, who scattered affrighted in all directions, but no damage was done.

In afternoon and evening games and fireworks attracted the country people. When these were over and the city was deserted, its sad, mourning, closed aspect returned. The greater part of its well-to-do population had left it the previous week instead of receiving as guests for the festival friends and relatives from without; accordingly Orleans "commerce" is furious and "Catholicity" is disgusted.

M. Clemenceau, an eminent Freemason himself, not content with arbitrary ministerial interference with State servants' rights, promptly proceeded to stir up his sect to harass Catholic clergy and laity in regard to commemorations one would naturally suppose in no way interested Masons otherwise than as objects for ridicule by aproned anti-Christians.

On November 21, 1894, their generalissimo, the notorious Italian

Jew Lemmi, circularized French lodges: "The eternal adversaries of reason and progress wish to glorify an hysterical girl whose existence was a bigoted and vicious fraud, and hold her up to universal admiration. French *chauvins* for some time past have used her name as a standard. We invite our French initiated brethren to resist this priestly agitation under the name of Joan of Arc. The movement must by every means be paralyzed. Give orders accordingly everywhere, and point out how association with this Joan glorification under pretext of patriotism is really to fall into clerical snares. We date this encyclical *voûte* on the anniversary of the immortal Voltaire. Written, given and signed in solemn *voûte* the 1st day of the moon Nisan, being 17th day of the 2d month of the year of True Light 000894." (Translated from "The Jew as Sec-tarian" by L. Vial.) And on February 2, 1898, eve of a debate in the French Chamber upon a petition for appointing a yearly national festival in honor of Joan, the "Venerable" Monteil, from the "Orient of Paris, 2 February, year CVI.," circularized all French Freemasons: "We entreat you, dear brethren, declining sordid compromises, to prevent the institution of the proposed national festival. This Clement Friendship Lodge has repeatedly opposed energetically the proposal. We cried and still cry, 'This is clerical reaction. It would be a festival of civil war.' We count upon your opposition." ("Le Juif Sectaire," by L. Vail.) Upon which "the Convent" adopted as its own the following resolution: "The Lodge of the True Friends felicitates the Clement Friendship Lodge for having initiated a protest against instituting a national Joan of Arc festival. Considering Joan lived at a time when our country did not yet exist, and that the very idea of country was not formulated in France until long afterwards; that this personality is before all things legendary, and could not from any point of view be a concrete figure of our country of France, such as the apologists of the festival try to make people believe in; considering, further, that a national Joan of Arc festival would be an anachronism as opposed to historic truth as to popular tradition—for these reasons the True Friends Lodge energetically protests against the institution of a national festival styled Joan of Arc *fête*, which would be an outrage on historic truth, a pretext for machinations by the Church, a cause of internal troubles, a menace to liberty of conscience, a defiance to republican France and to free thought." By these three documents the attitude of Freemasonry is so authoritatively, clearly defined officially that, while formidable, unscrupulous, opposition to this year's commemoration of the Maid of Orleans was expected as a matter of course, nobody could have anticipated the sect—hypocritical fundamentally and radically destitute of real principle though it is—would play the part

that shall be concisely described at the instigation of the demagogue who so unworthily fills a place occupied in all other important countries by sagacious statesmen.

But the old saying teaches us circumstances alter cases, so no surprise was felt when the public learned that on Sunday, April 28, 1907, 200 Freemasons, half of them Orleans citizens, had assembled to consider a letter from the Mayor to the "Venerable" of the local lodge. This letter was an urgent appeal for the sake of the "liberal traditions" of the sect, to facilitate arrangements for the city's annual commemoration by refraining from attending in the street procession as a Masonic body. After lengthy deliberations the lodge unanimously decided to demand official place in the said procession for the Masonic body as such, the alleged reason for this unwelcome decision being an episcopal declaration made about ten days previously by Monsignor Touchet that His Lordship and clergy could participate in this essentially religious procession (which dates from A. D. 1429) only if allowed the customary processional cross; and, secondly, to halt as usual for prayers before a cross (not yet demolished by the iconoclasts) at a spot in the route historically associated with the English defeat by the inspired Maid; and, thirdly, if assured there would be no official Masonic association with the procession.

Various proposed anti-clerical modifications or abandonments of the usual ceremonial the Bishop had courteously, while regretting the departures from practices consecrated by long usage, consented to accept.

On the next day, April 29, the Municipal Council deliberated on the Masonic demand. Fourteen members voted for acceding to it, fourteen for rejecting it, whereupon the Mayor voted in its favor and for inviting as well any other association hitherto not represented at the commemorations. Of course, it was thus rendered impossible for the Bishop and clergy to take any part. For the first time the sacred cross must be absent, must be replaced by Masonic fripperies.

A brief resumé of proceedings and negotiations during the three weeks preceding this final municipal enunciation of Christ for Barabbas will set the true motives of the parties concerned in better light. On the 12th of April M. Clemenceau made an officious announcement that encouraged these Orleans Masons to apply to the Mayor on the 14th for permission to participate in the procession that is so emphatically stigmatized in the foregoing quotations from M. Vial's book. The application was made, they say, in a manifesto, because the lodge considered neutralization of the commemoration would constitute "a philosophic progress," wherefore, though Masons "are not accustomed to participate in public ceremonies, they

could, and should, by their presence associate Masonry with this official consecration of mutual toleration and liberty of conscience."

This Pecksniffian rhodomontade, far from impressing the Mayor, caused him to convene next day, 15th, a special meeting of the municipality, which drafted at his instances an urgent letter to M. Clemenceau representing: "We have learned with profound regret your decision prohibiting this year's celebration of the Joan of Arc festival in the customary fashion. Our citizens are attached to this patriotic anniversary, consecrated by usage, and whose special, unique character yearly attracts to our city numerous strangers, the source for local commerce of most important profits. Tradition requires each of us to forget, for that anniversary, yesterday's dissensions in order to salute with united energy and harmony the heroine who saved France. Those material interests, these imperishable souvenirs your decision seriously affects, and local feeling is therefore greatly stirred." This document, unanimously voted, was replied to by the Premier next day, 16th, in an ironical, sardonic letter of considerable length, assuring the municipality, the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, the union of Loiret syndicates and the syndicates of commerce and industry, as well as the two Radical Deputies of Orleans, that their joint representations (whereof the principal passages are given above) had been read by him "with the greatest attention." "The social evolution," said M. Clemenceau, "can be achieved only by a progressive abandonment of certain 'customary forms,' of certain 'traditions.' Now, by voting separation of the Church from the State, Parliament and Republic renounced one of those 'customary forms,' one of those secular 'traditions.' This grand new fact has changed many other things than arrangements of a mere procession. We are all bound to accept its natural consequences loyally. If Orleans commerce needs religious ceremonies, allow me to tell you that ought to have been thought of before the separation law was voted. But, far from cherishing any such apprehensions last year, the city of Orleans, which had two Deputies, only one of whom voted against it, replaced that one after the project became law by a partisan of the new state of things. We are, therefore, it would seem, agreed about the principle. How, then, can you ask government to do what you did not wish to do yourselves?" Negotiations between the Mayor and the Bishop followed, during the course of which M. Clemenceau declared the Freemasons must be allowed to join the cortège if they desired; but the prelate announcing the Church's irreducible minimum (which included exclusion of Freemasonry), the Mayor replied on the 26th to the local lodge's application of the 14th of April by a categorical refusal to accede to it, a refusal denounced by the recipients as

"injustice, iniquity, flagrant violation of popular rights in a lay republican city." Three days later this same Mayor gave way, though he had declared he could "not understand the Premier's interference in a celebration that would be useless and meaningless if it did not preserve its traditional character." This weak-kneed Mayor, M. Courtin-Rossignol, whose conduct down to the 28th of April was perfectly fair and correct, is now said to be also a Freemason. Such is the calibre of public men in France to-day. "We are the sons of the Crusaders," gravely affirmed Montalembert!

In a neighboring village, Crécy, seven miles from Orleans, with a railway station, Joan slept the night before freeing Orleans from the foreigner, and it has been customary to piously celebrate her anniversary there also. This year, on Sunday, 5th, and Monday, 6th of May, had to resort thither pious crowds from Orleans for religious ceremonies of which Orleans is deprived, much to the dissatisfaction and indignation of its population. They were regaled instead on Tuesday, 7th, and Wednesday, 8th, with an exclusively lay, military and civil perambulation of the ordinary route; though, as the Mayor on April 30 reminded the Bishop, His Lordship could "not entirely keep aloof from the festival," wherefore it was settled that on Sunday, 12th of May, the civil "rejoicings" being over, Bishop and clergy would, in the Cathedral where Joan prayed, "fulfill their duty of preserving the memory of the religious mystery, lacking which the inspired liberating Maid of Orleans becomes wholly inexplicable."

Monsignor Touchet closed his letter (on April 30) with an assurance that: "Later, this festival of fraternity and tradition will be reëstablished, for, history tells us, such has always been the course of events."

The banner of the heaven-sent Maid was not included in the inventory taking, and is in safe custody waiting the fulfillment of monsignor's forecast. As to his casting vote on the wrong side, which converted the ancient Catholic celebration into a purely civil perambulation of streets, the Mayor assured the Bishop it was given solely from business motives. His exact words, literally translated, are: "Apart from religious considerations, my duty as Mayor was to regard the material interests of my fellow-citizens; that reflection alone, setting aside my personal sentiments, influenced my decision to vote for a purely civil festival in honor of Joan of Arc."

On the other hand, the "Orleans free-thinking group," meeting together on the 28th, resolved an expression of "regret that associations claiming to exercise free thought forget its fundamental principles so far as to demand place in a religious procession beside those of whom they profess to be the foes." As for General Charette, he

could not wait idly in Orleans for a fortnight, and invited Pontifical Zouaves and other comrades to honor Joan in Rouen.

On April 11 the Abbé Jouin, parish priest of St. Augustin's, Paris, was tried at the Correctional Tribunal by the president of the section, assisted by two other Magistrates, one being a Jew, the advocate prosecuting on behalf of the Ministry of Justice being a Protestant. The charge was a breach of the separation law by publishing in his parish *Bulletin* "a direct provocation to resist the execution of laws or of lawful procedure by public authority and calculated to excite hostility between citizens or to arm a part of our citizens against another part." In announcing a mourning Mass on December 12, 1906, the day that, the paragraph stated, "will consummate the apostasy of official France and its rupture with the Church, which it will henceforth only know as an object for persecution," the abbé had said: "War has begun; let us wage it valiantly like Christians. Our mourning, however sad and profound it may be, *must be an armed mourning*. To keep the faith is not enough. We must defend it." The defendant pleaded that energetic resistance of an unjust law was what he intended to urge as a duty, but repudiated any intention of suggesting use of other armor than the helmet, shield and sword. St. Paul exhorted Christians to assume for the good fight of faith; and the Court, accepting this view instead of the interpretation alleged by the prosecution, nevertheless, after an adjournment until the 13th of April, condemned the abbé to pay a fine of 16 francs on grounds stated by the presiding Judge as follows:

"In law the defense would have prevailed, were it not that the separation law of 1905 has made a penal offense any provocation to resistance thereof *by a minister of worship*, and independently of all anterior prescriptions of our penal code. From explanations made by the mover in the Chamber before the voting of that law it is clear that it is now inadmissible for a priest in a sermon to the faithful to incite them to resist its execution. Those explanations were accepted as its own intention by the Chamber in voting the law, so that to invoke anterior precedents is useless. The law of 1905 regards as 'incitement to resist' any provocation to resist in principle its provisions without there being any need to have distinctly specified any particular act of resistance in the discourse or the writing impugned. The reproach addressed by the prosecution to the defendant of advising acts of violence when using the expression 'armed mourning' is groundless, since the phrase does not mean materially armed, but only means a persistent will to create objections and set up obstacles in hindrance of the law's operating, and by such obstacles to prevent its due execution."



Thus, while any citizen except a priest may so resist the new law unscathed, a priest only is punished by the law. Is this or is it not persecuting the clergy?

The Minister of Justice has appealed to the Court of Cassation against this judgment, alleging the grounds for the decision are improperly and inadequately stated! It is generally believed government carry that Court of Cassation in the pocket, or at beck and call at any rate. If the judgment be quashed, there may be a retrial, should the Clemenceau Cabinet last and consider it politic to keep the business open; otherwise the affair will be quietly dropped. It is not hard to perceive the vast importance to Masonic government and Bloc of getting this remarkable judgment annulled for the precise reasons given.

I submit the judgment supplies solid ground for parliamentary and other action to obtain annulment of the separation law of December, 1905, as being *ultra vires* constitutionally. The French Constitution confers the rights of free speech and of free press upon French citizens, while that law deprives a class—the clergy—as appears from this judgment, of both rights. Now, a parliamentary majority clearly cannot legislate contrary to the Constitution of the Republic! Therefore the whole “law” is illegal surely.

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### THE MEN OF THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE.

Such is the name given by the Jews to the great council assembled at Jerusalem by Ezra the Priest, its president after the Babylonian exile. By its aid and support he restored the whole Church of Jerusalem and Judæa, purged it of many corruptions, faults and vices contracted in Babylon, and constructed it afresh. . . . Ezra and Nehemiah associated with themselves certain other of the more noble and learned of the people, so that the entire council, or ecclesiastical senate, embraced the number of 120 men.—*Buztorf: Tiberias.*

TOWARDS the end of the Fourth Book of Kings we read of the unconditional surrender of the King of Juda to the powerful Babylonian army which appeared before the wall of Jerusalem under the command of Nabuchodonosor. This leader had already defeated the Egyptian host and broken their power, and now for a time at least the ascendancy was to remain with the Chaldean. The ambition of the Egyptians was thus suddenly crushed and they saw the land which they had held as far as the Euphrates pass out of their dominion to augment the vast wealth of the King of Babylon. The overthrow of Egypt left Palestine an easy prey

to the foreign army, and Joachim of Juda soon became a vassal of Nabuchodonosor. For three years Joachim was loyal to his new lord, but then he revolted, perhaps at the instigation of Pharaoh Necho, and in 597 the Chaldean forces, aided by bands of Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites, came against him. From the Books of Kings and Paralipomenon it is not an easy matter to gather what was the immediate outcome of this encounter; this at least is clear, that the King of Juda was succeeded on the throne by his son, also called Joachim. After but a brief reign of three months the victorious army of Babylon under the personal leadership of their King came to assault the city of Jerusalem. Joachim, seeing that resistance was useless, went out with his mother and the seniors and nobles to offer his submission to his enemy; and with him he carried all the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the King's house.<sup>1</sup> He himself, with many thousands of the people, were led captives to Babylon, and over the remnant Matthaniah, the uncle of Joachim, was appointed King in Jerusalem, his name being changed to Sedecias.<sup>2</sup>

During the nine years that followed this event Juda and its new King were entirely subject to the sway of Babylon, and it had been well for them if they had willingly submitted to the foreign yoke in accordance with the reiterated advice of Jeremias. But again the standard of revolt was raised and retribution was quick to follow; for Nabuchodonosor came forth from his royal city and all his army with him to finally crush the power of Juda. On this occasion King Sedecias was taken prisoner to Babylon, to be soon followed by the remnant of the people. The walls of the city were broken down; the temple, the King's palace and the other buildings set in flames. Treasures that were not burnt were taken away to adorn the Chaldean capital.<sup>3</sup>

The captivity lasted, we are told, till the reign of the King of Persia.<sup>4</sup> It would be interesting to know the manner of life followed by the Jews during these years, their relations with their idolatrous conquerors, the degree of freedom with which they were allowed to practice the religion of Jahveh. It would be pleasing to know whether they carried with them into the strange land the sacred books containing the law of God and their historical records, or whether these were all destroyed when the city was fired by the Chaldeans. Possibly they were saved from the flames by Seraiah, the High Priest, Sophonias, the second priest, and the three doorkeepers whom the general of the army led away among the cap-

<sup>1</sup> IV. Kings xxiv., 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>3</sup> IV. Kings xxv.

<sup>4</sup> II. Paralipomenon xxxvi., 20.

tives,<sup>6</sup> or possibly they were entrusted to the poor of the land, husbandmen and dressers of vines, who were left the sole guardians of the land against the day of return. History has not preserved for us the answer, and it is in the endeavor to trace the history of the sacred text about this period that we meet with the Talmudic Tradition of the Men of the Great Synagogue.

When again we take up the history of Juda we have as our guide the Book of Esdras, which opens with the proclamation of Cyrus, King of Persia, in favor of the exiles. Babylon had now passed away from the Chaldeans, and one of the first acts of its new sovereign was to "*shepherd*" the people of God and to allow them to return to their native land. Many thousands<sup>6</sup> availed themselves of this royal concession, and they brought back with them the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the temple to the number of 5,400.<sup>7</sup> It was probably in the year 536 B. C. that the people returned from exile under the guidance and leadership of Zorobabel,<sup>8</sup> the son of Salathiel.

The first care of the chief of the people was to reconstruct the temple of the Lord. The manner in which from the beginning the old accustomed rites and ceremonies were duly performed, and this many years before the arrival of Esdras in the city, suggests that through the years of the captivity the law of Jahveh had lived in the hearts of the people and had been handed down from the fathers who went into exile to their offspring, who returned the same way seventy years later and were again rejoicing in their newly acquired freedom. But even more than this: various references to the written law and to other documents prove that either during those days of trouble they had kept the sacred books in their midst, or in their leisure hours had committed again to writing what may have been destroyed at the capture of the city. Then in the list of those that accompanied Zorobabel we read of certain families "who sought the writing of their genealogy and found it not, and they were cast out of the priesthood."<sup>9</sup> The word translated *writing* in the original is *Katab*,<sup>10</sup> and refers to the priestly book called "the enrolled" or "the register." Thus, for instance, in Ezech. xiii., 9, the same word occurs and is used of the "register" of the House of Israel. It would appear, therefore, that the priestly registers at least had been preserved. A further reference, however, is also made to the written law, for we are told that an altar was built "that they might

<sup>6</sup> IV. Kings xxv., 18.

<sup>6</sup> Close on to 50,000, according to I. Esdras ii., 64-65.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. I. Esdras i., 11.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. I. Esdras iii., 2.

<sup>9</sup> I. Esdras ii., 62.

<sup>10</sup> The same word occurs in I. Esdras iv., 7, where it means "a letter."

offer holocausts upon it, as it is written in the law of Moses, the man of God."<sup>11</sup>

Another interval of some seventy years now occurs in the narrative of the people of God. Not all the exiles and their families had returned to Jerusalem in accordance with the permission granted by Cyrus. But further exodus was made during the reign of Artaxerxes, when Esdras "went up from Babylon . . . with some of the children of Israel, and of the children of the priests, and of the children of the Levites, and of the singing men, and of the porters, and of the Nathinites to Jerusalem."<sup>12</sup>

Esdras himself was a "velox scriba."<sup>13</sup> "He had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do and to teach in Israel the commandments and judgment."<sup>14</sup> Not long after the first return from Babylon many of the people had fallen away from the teaching of the prophets and had joined in unlawful wedlock with the neighboring tribes. In language taken from the Book of Deuteronomy (vii., 3) Esdras rebuked his fellow-countrymen for their sin and succeeded for a time in reestablishing the literal observance of the law, so that many were ready to put away their "strange wives." The work of reform, however, soon relaxed until the advent of Nehemias, the son of Helchias. He was cupbearer in the palace of Artaxerxes, and moved by the depressing news that reached him from Jerusalem he asked and obtained permission to pay a short visit to his people.<sup>15</sup> Fired with fresh enthusiasm, the citizens undertook the renovation of the city walls, so long neglected, and soon brought the work to completion in spite of the opposition of the neighboring tribes, who strove to prevent the breaches in the wall from being filled in.

The story of Nehemias' labor is told in this Second Book of Esdras. Having finished the circuit of the city walls and built towers and placed watchmen, Nehemias began the work of moral reform, and in this he found a ready and willing ally in the person of Esdras, who again came forward as the exponent of the law of Jahveh. The people gathered together as one man to the street which is before the water gate and spoke to Esdras the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses.<sup>16</sup> And on the first day of the civil year Esdras the priest brought the law before the multitude of the men and the women and all those that could understand and read it plainly from morning until midday. And the ears of all the

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<sup>11</sup> I. Esdras iii., 2.

<sup>12</sup> I. Esdras vii., 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> I. Esdras vii., 6.

<sup>14</sup> I. Esdras vii., 10.

<sup>15</sup> II. Esdras i., 11.

<sup>16</sup> II. Esdras viii., 1.

people were attentive to the book. The work of interpretation was undertaken by Esdras and Nehemias and the scribes, and thus in solemn assembly day by day for seven days the Book of the Law was read aloud. And on the eighth day they made a solemn covenant with God to observe the law they had heard and understood, and the covenant was formally sealed and signed by Nehemias and the chosen representatives of the priesthood and the people.

It was necessary to give this sketch of the history of the period in order to understand the questions that gather round the tradition of the "Great Synagogue." Indeed, it would seem that this tradition has arisen from the account of the assembly given in chapters 8, 9 and 10 of the Second Book of Nehemias, to which reference has already been made. That Esdras did good and lasting work for the transmission and preservation of the sacred text seems most probable, and most likely in his work of reform he had some chosen men to help him; but we have not sufficient trustworthy evidence to convince us that he founded the permanent body of men known in the Talmudic writings as the Great Synagogue.

"The 'Great Synagogue' according to Jewish tradition," says Driver,<sup>17</sup> "was a permanent council established by Ezra, which continued to exercise authority in religious matters till about 300 B. C. But the statements respecting it are obscure and vague; already critics of the last century doubted whether such a permanent body ever existed, and in the opinion of many modern scholars all that is told about it is fiction, the origin of which lies in the narrative (Neh. viii., 10) of the convocation which met at Jerusalem and subscribed the covenant to observe the law."

Previous to the Christian era the Old Testament text was secure in the hands of the "Scribes," but it is impossible to trace the rise and early history of these guardians of the sacred writings. Yet, on the other hand, there was undoubtedly a time when Israel ceased to number prophets among its teachers. The law had been given and God's dealings with His people explained and justified by the prophets, and these now passed away, leaving to others to carry on the traditions of Israel and to see the fulfillment of the written law. History does not record the manner in which the interval between the last of the prophets and the first of the scribes was bridged over. Nor is it till about A. D. 200 that we find an attempt made to supply this want that must have been felt by all who cared to study the history of the text from the time of Esdras to that date. The reference occurs in the Mishnic tract *Abuth*, and the following is the translation of this important document as given the edition of the "Talmud" (page 1) by Rodkinson:

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<sup>17</sup> Introduction to "Lit. of Old Testament," *xxxiii*.

"Moses received the law on Sinai and delivered it to Joshua; Joshua in turn handed it down to the elders. From the elders it descended to the prophets, and each of them delivered it to his successors until it reached the men of the Great Synagogue. The last named originated three maxims: 'Be not hasty in judgment; bring up many disciples, and erect safeguards for the law.' (Page 22.) Simeon the Just was one of the remnants of the Great Assembly. His motto was, 'The order of the world rests upon three things: on law, on worship and on bestowal of favours.' (Page 27.) Antigonus of Socho, who received it from Simeon the Just was in the habit of saying (page 27): 'Be not like slaves, etc.' The "Pairs" of Jewish scribes preceding Hillel and Shaminai are then enumerated.

This, then, is our earliest evidence of the existence of the Great Synagogue, and the testimony amounts to this, that in the chain of tradition from Moses to the scribes of the second century B. C. the Great Synagogue intervened between the prophets of the "Pairs" of scribes and that Simon the Just was its last surviving member. It is the only Mishnic evidence we have of the existence of this Great Synagogue; the rest of the Talmudic testimony is Gemara and therefore not earlier than the fourth, fifth or sixth centuries A. D.

Against this testimony, if such it may be called, we may balance another piece of evidence, also Mishnic, in which there is no mention of the Great Synagogue as the link between the prophets and the scribes. It occurs in the treatise called *Peah* (corner tithes), in which minute instructions are given concerning the tithes to be paid for grain. It would appear that these tithes were assessed with reference to the number of angles in the field. The passage may be translated as follows: "Rabbi Innion the Masphatite, when he had sown two sorts of grain in his field, chanced to question R. Gamaliel what he ought to do in that case concerning (the corner tithe). The rabbi, not knowing what answer to give, they betook themselves to the tribunal to seek a solution. Nahum the scribe said it was received from Rabbi Moses, who received it from Rab (*i. e.*, Rabbi Ichudah), who received it from 'Pairs,' who received it from the prophets, that in accordance with the Mosaic ordinance and tradition from Mount Sinai, if a man sow two kinds of grain, he must pay for it double the corner tithe if it is separated into two, but not so in the contrary case."

It will be observed that here the chain of tradition from Moses to the later days of the scribes does not contain the Great Synagogue as one of its links. This piece of evidence is important, inasmuch as it weakens considerably the only other early testimony we have for the existence of this body of men. Had such an influential assembly really existed and labored with Esdras in the establish-

ment and transmission of the Torah after the return from the exile some mention of it must have been made during the six or seven centuries that intervened before the Rab committed to writing the Mishna. Yet we find no reference to it in the Apocrypha written during that period; the books of the Macchabees contain no allusion to it; neither Josephus nor Philo seem to have known of its existence. The first of these writers would surely have made some allusion in his "Antiquities of the Jews" to a permanent body of men which, if we are to believe the modern upholders of that theory, played such an important part in the religious and social life of the nation during the whole period of the Persian dominion over Judæa. Yet nowhere does Josephus even hint at the "men of the Great Synagogue." In his work against Apion written to establish the antiquity of the Jews and the trustworthiness of their early history, Josephus rather implies that from the time of Artaxerxes to his own day there had existed no permanent body of men such as would be required by the theory of the Great Synagogue. (Pages 1 and 8.) "For we have not," he says, "myriads of discordant and conflicting books, but twenty-two only, comprising the record of all time, and justly accredited as Divine. Of them five are the books of Moses, which embrace the laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind until his own death, a period of almost 3,000 years. From the death of Moses to the death of Artaxerxes the prophets who followed Moses narrated the events of their own time in thirteen books. The remaining four consist of hymns to God and maxims of conduct for men. From Artaxerxes to our own age the history has been written in detail; but it is not considered worthy of the same credit on account of the exact succession of the prophets having been no longer maintained."

Thus far, then, we have found only one piece of evidence testifying to the existence of the "Great Synagogue," which evidence is at the least very doubtful. In studying the later development of this tradition it will be necessary to bear well in mind how weak is the foundation on which it rests. Writers in later ages, Talmudic and Rabbinical, constructed from this small and shadowy beginning a wonderful edifice that apparently showed strength and power of endurance; but gradually the stones have fallen away and again laid bare the first foundation, and one wonders how an edifice so built could have stood so long. It is interesting to watch its gradual growth and see how stone by stone has been added in succeeding generations, and having seen the building in progress and knowing the foundations on which it has been erected, one is not surprised to find it later crumble and fall away.

Five or six centuries, therefore, after the cessation of prophets in Israel we are told by one only authority that these were succeeded

by the men of the Great Synagogue, who receiving the law of Sinai from their predecessors, delivered it to later generations. The existence of this Synagogue is not definitely connected with the work of Esdras and Nehemias, nor does it appear from the text of the Mishna that the members of that Assembly were concerned with any other part of the sacred text except that in which is embraced the law Joshua received from the hands of Moses.

From the Mishna we may now pass to the Gemara or Rabbinical commentaries to study a further stage in the tradition of the Great Synagogue. This second part of the Talmud dates back to the fourth or fifth century, *i. e.*, at least 200 years after the composition of the Mishna itself. We shall have to quote from the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds; these are but the two sets of explanatory notes and illustrations appended by the rabbis of the different schools to the traditional text of the Jewish "Second Law."

From the Palestinian Talmud,<sup>18</sup> Tract Berakhoth (Blessings), we learn that the Great Synagogue numbered 120 members, including more than eighty prophets, and these men, according to Rabbi Jeremias, arranged and put in order the prayer containing the eighteen blessings. Similarly in the Tract Megilla<sup>19</sup> of the Babylonian Talmud we read: "If the 120 elders, and among them many prophets, have arranged the eighteen blessings, why have we learned in another place that Simeon of Peaite had ordered them? They had been forgotten, so he reintroduced them is the answer. But according to Ryle the number of elders is given as eighty-five in the same treatise of the Palestinian Talmud and in the Midrash Ruth. It has already been said that possibly the theory of the Great Synagogue arose from the historical fact of the convocation that met in Jerusalem to hear the law read by Esdras; and very probably the Talmudic traditions of the numbers constituting that Assembly owe their origin to a combination of the lists of names mentioned in chapters 8, 9 and 10 of Nehemias, to which reference has been made. One list gives us eighty-four or eighty-five signatures to the covenant; a second names twenty-six who stood by Esdras at the promulgation of the Torah, and finally there were eight Levites who sang and offered prayer on that occasion. Admitting that these three lists are distinct from one another, we get a total of close on 120.

The later schools of rabbis have given the names of many of the members who constituted the Great Synagogue. But in the Talmud itself, besides the single statement that "Simon the Just" was of the remnants of the Great Synagogue, there is no other direct allusion by name to members of that body.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Schwal. I., 40.

<sup>19</sup> Rodkin, p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Except we admit the following from "Babylonian Megilla," Rodk., p. 33:



We may now gather from the Talmud some notices of the work done by the members of the Great Synagogue. At first we find various references to Esdras himself and his book. Thus in the Babylonian Tract Sanhedrin we read:<sup>21</sup> "Mar Zutra, according to others Mar Ugba, said: Originally the Torah was given to Israel in Hebrew characters and in the Hebrew language; the second time it was given to Israel in Ezra's time, but in Assyrian characters and in the Aramaic language; finally the Assyrian characters and the Hebrew language were selected for Israel, and the Hebrew characters and the Aramaic language were left to the *Acdiolim* (Idiots). Who are meant by Idiots? Said R. Hissa: The Samaritans. . . ." <sup>22</sup> A similar passage occurs in the Palestinian Tract *Mojilla*: "R. Jonathan said there are four beautiful languages appropriate to the usage of the world, to wit: Greek for song, Latin for precise exposition, Syrian (Aramaic) for threnody, Hebrew for ordinary speech. Others join to these Assyrian (square characters) for writing. This last is perfect as written, not when spoken, while Hebrew, though perfect when spoken, leaves much to be desired when written. Thus the Jews in their day chose the square characters for writing, but Hebrew for speech." Two explanations are then given of the name Assyrian as applied to writing; one of these is because the Jews under Esdras brought it with them from Assyria. The words of R. Jose are then quoted, "that Ezra was worthy that the Torah should be given through him if Moses had not preceded him," and that although the Torah was not given through him, the characters of it were changed. Two other statements are made concerning the writing of the sacred texts—one that in the very beginning the Torah was given to Israel in the Assyrian characters, the other that the characters underwent no change at all. These three traditions are all supported by quotations from the Testament itself, and the reader is left to draw his own conclusion.

We shall take one more reference<sup>23</sup> to Esdras. The passage occurs in the Babylonian Talmud Tract Sanhedrin, and is a good specimen of the method of reasoning among the rabbis: "All which is written in the Book of Ezra was said by Nehemias ben Chackhalyah. Why then was it not named after him? Said R.

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"And the thing became known to Mordecai." R. Jonathan said Bigthan and Thevesh were Tarsess, and spoke their own language and said among themselves: "Since Esther has come into the court we know no sleep. Therefore, let us put poison into the king's drink in order that he should die." And they knew not that Mordecai was of the great Sanhedrin, every one of whom knew seventy languages. In "*Mishna. Schequalim*," v. 1., *Mardoche* (*Balsan*) is reported to have known seventy languages.

<sup>21</sup> Rodk., 58-59.

<sup>22</sup> Schwal. vi., 212.

<sup>23</sup> Rodk., p. 284.

Nehemias b. Abah: Because he was proud of it. As it reads: "Remember for me, my God for good, all that I have done for this people" (v., 19). But did not David also say similar to this (Ps. lvi., 4): "Remember me, O Lord, when thou favourest thy people?" This was said only as a prayer. R. Joseph said: "The Book was not named after him because he slandered the former governors . . . (v., 15), and in the slander Daniel, who was greater than he, was also included, as he was of the former governors who made their exodus from Babylon a long time before Nehemias. And whence do we know that Daniel was greater than he? From Daniel x., 7: "And I Daniel saw alone this appearance; but the men that were with me did not see the appearance; nevertheless a great terror fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves." Who were these men? Said R. Jeremiah—Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. In one respect he was better than they, because he saw the appearance, but they did not. And in another respect they were better than he, as they were prophets, while he was not. Though they did not see it, their guardian angels did. Said Rabhina: "Infer from this that if a man is shocked unaware of the cause his guardian angel must be aware of it, and his remedy is stepping back four ells or reading the portion of them."

The mention of the three prophets recalls another passage in the same tract (page 24): "The rabbis taught: Since the death of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, the Holy Spirit has left Israel; nevertheless, they were still used to a heavenly voice. It happened once that they had a meeting in the attic of the house of Gariah, and a heavenly voice was heard: Among these people there is one worthy that the shekinah should rest upon him; but his generation is not fit. And the sages turned their eyes on Hillel the Elder. And when he departed they lamented him. 'Woe, pious! Woe, modesty! O, thou disciple of Ezra.'"

Our next passage contains a strange piece of exegesis on the words,<sup>24</sup> "And Ezra blessed the Lord, the Great God," and at the same time assigns a reason for the name of the Great Synagogue. It occurs in the Babylonian Tract Gormah.<sup>25</sup> "Great," because he pronounced the express name of God. R. Matter says: "What is written 'the great' means that he said,<sup>26</sup> 'Our God, the great, the mighty, the terrible.' . . . Why is it called the Great Assembly? Because they restored the old crown. What is it? Moses had said (Dt. x., 7): 'The God, the Great, the mighty, the terrible.' Then rose Jeremiah and said: 'The idolaters are destroying his temple.

<sup>24</sup> Nehemias viii., 6.

<sup>25</sup> Rodk., p. 101.

<sup>26</sup> Nehemias ix., 32.

Where is his terribleness?' So he said only 'the great, the mighty, omitting terrible.' Then came Daniel and said: 'The idolaters keep us slaves, His children. Where is His might?' So he omitted 'mighty.' Then came the men of the Great Synagogue and said: 'On the contrary, this is His might that He is patient towards the wicked, and this is His terribleness that if men had not felt His terror, how could such small peoples (as Israel) keep itself among so many peoples of idolaters? Therefore they introduced again the phrase 'the God, the Great, the Terrible, the mighty.'"

It is constantly stated in the Talmud that the men of the Great Synagogue brought again into currency this collocation of epithets which had fallen into disuse. The fact that this exact phrase occurs in the Levites' prayer during the assembly in Jerusalem<sup>27</sup> under Nehemias suggests again the possible source from which may have arisen the traditional story of the Great Synagogue.

We find another reference to the men of the Great Synagogue in the Tract Pesachim. It is therein stated, on the authority of the rabbis, that there are four professions, from the proceeds of which one can never perceive a sign of blessing. These are the scribes, criers, those who earn their money from orphans and, finally, those who traffic at sea. As to the scribes, R. Jehoshua b. Levi said: "Twenty-four days the members of the Great Assembly fasted and prayed that the scribes of scrolls . . . should not become wealthy, for if they did they would not write any more."<sup>28</sup>

Such passages are certainly unsatisfactory, nor do they afford much *historical* evidence for the existence of the Great Synagogue. Yet, together with the quotation which we are about to give from the Babylonian Tract<sup>29</sup> Baba Bathia, they are the chief references to this body to be found in the Talmud. The passage opens with an interesting discussion on the order of the prophets and of the hagiographa, and then continues: "And who wrote all these books? Moses wrote his book and a section of the Bil'am (Numb. xxii.) and Job. Jehoshua wrote his book and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch, beginning, 'And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died.' Samuel wrote his book, Judges and Ruth. David wrote Psalms with the assistance of ten elders, viz., Adam the First, Malachi Zedek, Abraham, Moses, etc. Jeremiah wrote his book, Kings and Lamenta-

<sup>27</sup> II. Esdras ix., 32.

<sup>28</sup> Besides fostering the work of copying the Torah, we learn from other tracts that this body of men introduced certain corrections in the text of the Old Testament to prevent misunderstanding (Midrash. Tanchuma, 26 a.), and that they are responsible for the directions concerning the reading of the book of Esther and the keeping of the feast "Purim" (Makkoth. 23. Jeras. Meg. 1).

<sup>29</sup> Rodk., p. 44.

tions. King Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Songs and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Assembly wrote Ezechiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel and the Book of Esther. Ezra wrote his book and chronicles the order of all generations down to himself. And who finished Ezra's book? Nehemiah ben. Chakhalyah."

Even to the rabbis themselves this passage presented many difficulties, and hence it is followed by a lengthy debate. As being of present interest we may be allowed to make the following selection (page 46): "One of the rabbis said: 'Job never existed, and he is mentioned in the Scripture only for an example.' Said he (R. Samuel) to him: 'The Scripture is against your theory, as it states plainly (Job i., 1), "There was a man," etc. But according to your theory it is also written (II. Sam. xii., 3), "But the poor man had nothing," etc. Was it so in reality? It was written only for an example. The same may be said concerning Job? If it were so, why then his name and the name of the country he came from?" Different opinions are then given as to the generation in which Job lived, and each opinion is proved from some verse in Scripture. Thus, for example, the proof that Job lived in the days of Ahasuerus is drawn from xlii., 15: "And there were not found such handsome women as the daughters of Job" (page 47), and in which generation were handsome women sought for if not in the generation of Ahasuerus?

This style of argumentation would be sufficient to throw discredit on the whole passage; at least it suggests the attitude of mind in which the rabbis themselves looked upon many statements found in the Talmud. Thus it is difficult to understand how the rabbi who held that Job lived in the time of Ahasuerus could believe that Moses wrote the history of the man of the land of Hus. Nor is it easy to see what assistance David received when engaged in the composition of the Psalms from Adam, Abraham, etc., or at least in what undefined way he was influenced by these patriarchs when he gave form to their words. (Cf. Driver, *Introd. to Lit. of O. T.*, xxxiv. n.)

Among the compositions again of the Great Synagogue we find the writings of Hosea, Amos, Micah and Ezechiel, prophets who lived long before the earliest date that is assigned to the supposed institution of Ezra's Assembly.

We may now pass from the witness of the Talmud to that of later Jewish rabbis, remembering that we are watching the gradual growth of a tradition built upon a single Mishnic text of the second century A. D. We shall find the connection between Esdras and the Great Synagogue becoming more marked and the field of their labors much extended. As early as the tenth century the names of the members

of that body are mentioned, and these can be identified with the list of names given in the Book of Esdras, another proof, if further proof were needed, that this tradition has arisen from an interpretation of the events recorded in those chapters. Thus the Targum of "Song of Songs" speaks of "Ezra the priest and Zerabbabel and Jeshua and Nehemiah and Mordecai and Belsan, the men of the Great Synagogue, who are likened to roses that they may have strength to labour in the law day and night" (vii., 1-2). Other authorities add to this list Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, also Daniel, Mishaël and Azariah. One author makes the list up to twelve and says that these went up from Babylon to Jerusalem at the beginning of the age of the second temple, and that others were added from among the leading men of Israel to make up the total to 120. In these rabbinical writings there is hopeless confusion in chronology. Zorobabel came up from Babylon in 536 and was not followed by Esdras till 458, yet the Great Synagogue founded by Esdras, according to tradition, numbers among its members Zorobabel and men who had come up with him from captivity eighty years previously, and one of the remnants of this Assembly was Simon the Just, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. That these men should have been contemporaneous is just possible on the Talmudic computation, according to which Alexander occupied the throne in the generation after the return from exile; but historical evidence forces us to place the career of Alexander two centuries after that event and one century after the mission of Esdras.

According to the rabbis these wise men established good laws for the right government of the people. They "restored the law to its former condition," for they collected the Scriptures, which had been scattered at the first captivity, and by careful study and scrutiny of the MSS. established a text free from doubtful passages, and finally they divided the Scriptures into three divisions, the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa.<sup>30</sup>

Though many references to the Great Synagogue and its supposed functions may be found in the writings of the rabbis who lived between the age of the Talmud and the sixteenth century, the first really important work was not published till 1538. In that year Elias Levita edited his commentary on the Massorah, in which he defended the tradition of the men of the Great Synagogue, and advanced that tradition along a line that attracted the attention of the scholars of the Reformation. According to Elias, Esdras, with the assistance of the men of the Great Synagogue, promulgated the

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<sup>30</sup> With wonderful facility do these Jewish scholars fall back on the authority of the Great Synagogue, tracing to them anything ancient, the exact origin of which had been lost in a remote antiquity.

correct consonantal text, and at the same time formed the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is well to note that according to this book the whole period of the Great Synagogue did not exceed forty years. The reputation of Levita as a scholar obtained for his theory ready acceptance among Protestant divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But a still more exhaustive treatise appeared from the Basle press in 1620 entitled "Tiberias S. Commentarius Masorethism," by John Buxtorf, containing all that was then known from Jewish tradition concerning the Massorah. Buxtorf endorses the theory of Elias concerning the canon of the Scriptures that Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue defined the limits of the Mosaic prophetic and other books that were written by special inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He also strives to prove against Elias that the principal source of the Massorah was the same body of men. "Authores ejus (*i. e.*, Massora) Massoretha vocantur quos Hebrai communiter viros Synagoga Magna esse volunt."

The theory of Elias Levita and Buxtorf that Esdras and the men of the Great Synagogue established the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures is a distinct advance on the early tradition, and a very important one. That Divine inspiration and prophecy *de facto* came to an end among the chosen people some time after the return from the exile seems to have been the common belief among the Jews. Yet previous to the sixteenth century we do not find any writer stating that the Hebrew canon was closed by an authoritative act of the Great Synagogue. Josephus, it is true, maintains in his work against Apion that from the days of Artaxerxes the exact succession of the prophets had ceased in Israel; and in the Babylonian Tract Sanhedrin we learn on the authority of the rabbis that since the days of the last Prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi the Holy Spirit has left Israel. But it was reserved for later writers to assign the closing of the Scripture canon to the first generation after the return from Babylon.

No further advance has been made in the tradition of the Great Synagogue since the publication of the "Tiberias," and subsequent supporters of the theory have been engaged in defending it against the attacks of adversaries. As early as the seventeenth century there were gifted scholars—as Altling (1618-1697) and Burmann (1632-1679)—who began to question Jewish tradition and were unwilling to admit the existence of the men of the Great Synagogue. At the beginning of the next century (1727) Rau published at Utrecht his "Diatribes de Synagoga Magna." Though written under the influence of strong prejudice against the authority of Jewish scholars, this work gives a full account of the tradition of the Great Synagogue and shows how devoid it is of any substantial foundation.

In more recent times Ruemen's historical investigation of the tradition has considerably weakened it, so that its supporters, in order to meet the attacks of criticism, have been forced to change in some important points the traditional story. Being unwilling to reject the Mishnic testimony, according to which Simeon the Just was of the remnants of the Great Assembly, men like Ginsbury, in his edition of Levita's work (1867), and Westcott (Bible in the Church) have departed from the old Jewish chronology and assigned to the Great Synagogue a much longer existence than is justified by the evidence at our disposal. At present, therefore, the weight of authority based on historical evidence seems to be entirely against the existence of the Great Synagogue.

In conclusion, therefore, we may ask ourselves, was the Great Synagogue a religious body instituted by Esdras to establish again Jewish worship and to last for a generation only, or was it a permanent body? The first hypothesis is in keeping with the Talmudic writings and the rabbinical tradition up to the seventeenth century, but is untenable because, among other reasons, it supposes that one of its members was Simeon the Just, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The second hypothesis is equally untrustworthy, for the supposition that the Great Synagogue was a distinct religious body, playing an important part in Jewish history during the 200 years subsequent to Esdras, is a departure from the traditional story and is unsupported by any historical evidence.

The convocation under Nehemias, called together to pray, to confess their sins, to fast, to hear read the Torah, might fitly be called a Synagogue-Keneseth—an assembly met for worship—and a Great Synagogue indeed, as it was epoch-making in the religious life of the Jews. But such a Great Synagogue met once for all, and its history is told in chapters 8, 9 and 10 of the second canonical Book of Esdras.

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## PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

## V.

THE French Republicans who had seized Rome and their Roman adherents whom they had installed as nominal rulers of the city had not been restrained by any feelings of veneration or compassion from driving Pius VI. into exile, but they seem to have dreaded the odium which they would have incurred had his death been the result of their brutality, and the aged Pontiff was allowed to bring his first day's journey to a close at the village of Monterosi, about twenty-six miles from Rome.<sup>1</sup> The greater part of his escort of dragoons had been withdrawn on reaching the French camp beyond Ponte Molle; the remainder left him at La Horta, the first post station, after insisting on being paid for their services, and the two majors continued to accompany him to the end of his journey. Pius VI. was then in his 81st year. He had barely recovered from a long and dangerous illness, and such was his state of exhaustion on reaching the Benedictine Abbey of Monterosi that he had to be lifted out of his carriage by his attendants and carried to his apartments. He was able, however, to continue his journey on the following day, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and traveled to Tuscany by easy stages, stopping at Viterbo, where he prayed at the shrine of Santa Rosa, whose body is still preserved intact in the convent of the Franciscan nuns at San Lorenzo Nuovo, Radicofani and San Guirico.<sup>2</sup>

At many places along the road followed by the Holy Father the peasantry assembled from the neighboring villages to receive his blessing, and in the towns where he stopped the crowds were so great that his carriage could hardly make its way through them; but on arriving at the Tuscan frontier no representative of the Grand Duke came to welcome him. Ferdinand III. and his Ministers, who

<sup>1</sup> Mgr. Pietro Baldassari: "Relazione delle avversità e patimenti del glorioso Papa Pio VI. negli ultimi tre anni del suo Pontificato." Roma, 1889. Mgr. Baldassari was secretary to Mgr. Innico Diego Caracciolo, the Maestro di Camera to Pius VI. Though he did not accompany the Holy Father when he was carried away from Rome, he rejoined him when he was living at the Carthusian monastery near Florence, and was able to obtain a minute account of his journey.

<sup>2</sup> Sciout (Ludovic) *Le Directoire*, Paris, 1897, Vol. M, p. 330. The Directors had at first intended to send Pius VI. to Portugal, and on the 1st Ventose (19th February, 1798) had sent General Berthier a decree to that effect. They then changed their minds, and by a decree of the 8th Ventose (26th February) they ordered him to send the Holy Father to Brazil on board of one of the frigates at Incona or Civita Vecchia. But the Pope was already in Tuscany.



knew how powerless they were to offer any resistance to the armies of the republic, were much embarrassed on learning that it was the intention of the Directory to send Pius VI. into Tuscany, as they feared that a snare was being laid for them, and that any manifestation of sympathy with the misfortunes of the Holy Father might afford the French Republicans a pretext for invading their country. The government had therefore decided that the Pope should not be allowed to live in Florence, and Mgr. Zondadari, the Archbishop of Sienna, was requested to prepare lodgings for the Papal Court in some monastery in that town. Notice was also given to the Bishops, to the heads of religious orders and to the police that, as the Grand Duke believed that the Pope was traveling merely as a private person, he forbade any public demonstration in his honor, such as the ringing of bells, ceremonious receptions or even the applause of the people.\*

Pius VI. arrived at Sienna on February 25, which was the first Sunday in Lent, and though great crowds had assembled to greet him, no acclamations were allowed, all signs of rejoicing were sternly suppressed and the people could only show their veneration for the Holy Father by kneeling in silence to receive his blessing. The Augustinian monastery at Sienna had been chosen as the residence of Pius VI., who was received on his arrival by Mgr. Odescalchi, his Nuncio at Florence, and a few days later the Marchese Manfredini, one of the Ministers of Ferdinand III., came to compliment him on the part of his sovereign and to request him to take up his abode at Sienna rather than at Florence. The Holy Father willingly consented, but as many prelates and persons of high rank, both French and Italian, known to be hostile to the republic, came to reside in Sienna, the anxiety of the Tuscan Ministry to avoid giving any offense to the Directory was such that Lieutenant General Martini, the Governor of Sienna, received orders in the beginning of May not to allow any persons who had formed part of the Papal Court in Rome, with the exception of those actually in attendance on the Holy Father, to remain in the town for more than forty-eight hours, or, in very exceptional cases, three days at the utmost. Few even of the Cardinals who passed through Sienna were allowed to stay so long, and every obstacle was placed in the way of the Bishops of Tuscany to prevent them from coming to do homage to the Head of the Church.

Before the French troops entered Rome some of the Cardinals who, on account of their official connection with the Papal Govern-

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\* Count A. F. D'Allonville, "*Memoires tires des papiers d'un Homme d'Etat sur les causes secretes qui ont determine la politique des Cabinets dans les guerres de la Revolution*," Paris, 1831-1837, Vol. V., p. 251.

ment or their well-known hostility to France, had reason to dread the vengeance of the republic, had taken the precaution of seeking a refuge in the kingdom of Naples; others fled to Tuscany soon after the departure of Pius VI. Of the thirteen who still remained in Rome, six were arrested on March 8 and imprisoned in the Convent of the Convertile, together with the Governors of Rome and Perugia and some other prelates; the others were ordered to leave Rome and to return to their native cities. Two Cardinals, unfortunately—Tommaso Antici and Vincenzo Marias degli Altieri—when threatened by the consuls of the new republic, first with imprisonment and then with deportation unless they renounced the dignity of Cardinal, yielded to these menaces, and said to the Holy Father that their great age and their infirmities rendered it impossible for them to fulfill any longer the duties attached to their position or to uphold it becomingly, and they therefore requested him to accept their resignation. Pius VI. was deeply affected by this cowardly act, and in the hope that the erring Cardinals might repent and revoke this abdication of their rank, he deferred taking any decision in the matter until the month of September, when, finding that they still persisted in their determination, he accepted their resignation and declared them to be no longer members of the Sacred College.<sup>4</sup>

The six Cardinals who had been imprisoned in the Convent of the Convertile were sent after a few days to the Dominican manastery at Civita Vecchia, and it was suggested to them also that they should lay down the dignity of Cardinal, but they rejected the proposal with indignation, and even refused to purchase their liberty with money, as they considered that it would be dishonorable to make such a concession to those who had arrested them so unjustly. They were soon joined by Cardinal Archetti, Bishop of Ascoli, and by the prelates who had been Governors of Frosinone, Loreto, Ascoli and Spoleto, and their imprisonment lasted until the end of March, when they were ordered to leave the territory of the republic and were obliged to embark in very stormy weather for Leghorn, from where they retired to various parts of Italy.

The banishment of the Sovereign Pontiff, the dispersion of the

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<sup>4</sup> Baldassari, p. 45. Cardinal Altieri died on February 10, 1800, aged seventy-five. He had deeply repented the weakness of which he had been guilty, and when dying he wrote to the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College, asking him to obtain for him the forgiveness of the Pope who should be elected in the conclave then being held. In renouncing the dignity of Cardinal he had acted by the advice of a theologian who held Jansenist opinions. Cardinal Antici passed the rest of his life in retirement at Recanati. At the time of the conclave in 1800 he sought to be readmitted into the Sacred College, but his demand was rejected, and he died in 1812, after having written to Pius VII., who was then imprisoned in Savona, to express his repentance and ask pardon for his fault. *Ibid*, p. 57.

Cardinals and the consequent disorganization of the congregations for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs over which they presided was apparently considered by the French Directory as presenting a favorable opportunity for inflicting further injury on religion by the creation of an anti-Pope and of a schismatical church, which, like that which had been founded in France, might furnish a convenient pretext for further confiscations and proscriptions. The candidate selected for the purpose by the French authorities in Rome was Mgr. Emmanuel di Gregorio, of the family of the Marquises of Squillace, the civil viceroy of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, a prelate distinguished by his learning and whose kindness and affability had rendered him very popular in that city. He was privately informed that it was the intention of Generals Vial and Dallemagne, who commanded the French garrison, to name him Patriarch of the West and Pope, and on his objecting that the Sovereign Pontiff was still alive, he was informed that Pius VI. would be persuaded or forced to resign, and that as the Cardinals were absent from Rome, the election would be made by the parochial clergy and the people. Mgr. di Gregorio was astounded at this proposal, and fearing to excite the anger of the Republicans by refusing to act the part of an anti-Pope, he fled from Rome and rejoining Pius VI. at Sienna, revealed to him this conspiracy which threatened the unity of the Church. It was not, however, carried any further, for the French and Italian revolutionists were confronted with more difficult problems which demanded an immediate solution, namely, the extortion of more money from a country which had already paid such heavy contributions, and the suppression of the insurrections which had been excited in many parts of the Papal States by the insults offered to religion, the spoliation of the churches and the taxes levied by the newly created republican authorities for the celebration of patriotic feasts in honor of government.<sup>5</sup>

The rising of the inhabitants of the villages near Rome, so easily put down by Murat, was followed in April and May, 1798, by a far more serious revolt in the mountainous region near the Lake of Trasimen. From Castel Rigone, where it began, the movement was spread rapidly throughout the district by bands of from 400 to 800 armed peasants carrying the Papal flag, who pulled down

<sup>5</sup> "Mémoires du General Baron Thiebault," Paris, 1894, Vol. II., p. 204: "L'insurrection du Trasimène eut les mêmes causes que toutes les insurrections qui l'avaient précédée; la composition des nouvelles autorités; le chantage de agents très mal famés les contributions forcées des villes pour des fêtes dites patriotiques; les réquisitions pour ainsi dire incommodes des sujets du Pape; les vexations et concussions des percepteurs . . . la loi qui défendait aux religieux de quitter et aux prêtres de faire des aumônes."

the trees of liberty, and at last concentrating their forces, seized Citta di Castello, where they massacred the French garrison and the republican municipality. A strong French column which attacked the town was repulsed with loss, but when it returned to the assault with artillery, the insurgents left the town during the night and the inhabitants surrendered. What remained of the bands was soon scattered and the country was apparently pacified, but the commissioners who represented the Directory in Rome, instead of acknowledging that the rapacity of their agents had driven the people to take up arms and adopting measures to put a stop to their dishonesty, preferred to throw the blame on the clergy, and especially on the Holy Father. They wrote, therefore, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany asserting that the signal of revolt had been given from Sienna; that the agitators had received their instructions from Pius VI. and from those about him; that these facts showed the necessity of removing the Pope from the neighborhood of the frontier, and they requested His Serene Highness to send him to Leghorn, where they would provide a vessel which should bring him to Cagliari. The commissioners probably hoped that in the feeble condition of the Pope's health the sea voyage to Sardinia might prove fatal to him; but Ferdinand III., though careful to avoid whatever might irritate the republic, refused to yield to this insolent demand. He sent Marquis Manfredini to Rome furnished with medical certificates to prove that to send the Holy Father to Sardinia would endanger his life, and at the same time to remind General Gouvion de St. Cyr and the commissioners of the precautions which he had taken to isolate Pius VI. and to remove from Sienna the prelates who had been in the service of the Holy See; but he was only able to obtain as a favor that the Pope should be allowed to reside at the Certosa di Val d'Ema, a Carthusian monastery about two miles from Florence, which he should be ready to leave for some other place whenever the Directory might judge fit.

This uncertainty as to his future movements, and the fear that at some future period he might be deprived of all communication with the faithful, caused Pius VI. before leaving Sienna to send to Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, who, together with the greater number of the Cardinals, had taken refuge at Naples, the bull "*Christi Ecclesia*," which he had signed on December 30 of the preceding year, and by which he had authorized the election of his successor, to be held wherever the majority of the Cardinals should judge most convenient and without observing the delay of ten days which should elapse between the death of a Pope and the opening of the conclave.

In obedience to the will of the French Commander-in-Chief, the

Grand Duke issued the order for the departure of the Holy Father on May 26, and on the same day a violent earthquake took place in Sienna by which the Augustinian convent was much damaged, and the Pope, who narrowly escaped with his life, was obliged to take refuge in a villa outside the town. He left for Florence on June 1. Crowds of people had assembled along the road from Sienna to Florence to see him pass and ask his blessing, but between Florence and the Carthusian monastery patrols had been placed to prevent any demonstration or concourse of spectators, and such was the Grand Duke's anxiety to avoid whatever might displease the Directory, that when he had paid one ceremonious visit to the Sovereign Pontiff shortly after his arrival, he had no other interview with him during his stay of nearly ten months at the monastery. It was a period of almost absolute seclusion for the Holy Father, who while at Sienna had been allowed to receive visitors and give audiences every day, but at the Carthusian monastery this liberty was denied him. Neither the inhabitants of Florence nor strangers passing through were allowed to visit him, and the French Ambassador Reinhard, who caused him to be narrowly watched, denounced to the Grand Duke the persons suspected of wishing to see him and requested him to expel them from the city. Before long the Holy Father's health became still more enfeebled; he was unable even to stand without the assistance of two persons, and was obliged to cease from the celebration of Mass.

The Emperor of Austria and the King of Spain, at the request of the Nuncios at Vienna and Madrid, had vainly endeavored to persuade the French Government to allow Pius VI. to remain at the Carthusian monastery, but finding that the Directors were resolved to expel him from Italy, they expressed their desire to receive him in their States. The King of Spain proposed to convey him to one of the Balearic Islands, but the Holy Father could not accept this offer. The Emperor demanded that he should be allowed to reside in the Venetian territory recently added to Austria, and he also invited the Cardinals to take up their abode there, promising them that in case of the Pope's death he would assure the liberty of the conclave for the election of his successor. Pius VI. advised the Cardinals to accept this offer, and those who were living in various towns of Northern Italy went to Venice, where those who had taken refuge at Naples followed them when King Ferdinand left his capital and fled to Palermo on the advance of the French army. The demand for the expulsion of the Holy Father from Tuscany and his exile to Sardinia was again renewed by Reinhard in the month of July, while Manfredini suggested, on the other hand, that the Convent of Melk, in Austria, would be a more suitable place of

residence; for, besides the danger which might result to the Pope's health from a journey by sea, he would also run the risk of being captured by an English cruiser or an Algerine corsair, and the matter was again referred to the Directory for their consideration. The Grand Duke, indeed, had made every effort to please the French Government; he had expelled the French emigrants; he had recognized the Cisalpine Republic, though its emissaries were seeking to revolutionize Tuscany; he had also been obliged, in spite of his protestations, to grant at least a partial recognition to the Roman Republic by taking down the Papal arms from the Nuncio's palace; but he saw that the Directors aimed at causing the death of the Holy Father without rendering themselves directly responsible for it, and he steadfastly refused to allow himself to be made a tool for the execution of their odious intrigues.

The derogations which Pius VI. had made by the bull "*Christi Ecclesia*" to the laws regulating the election of a Sovereign Pontiff did not seem to many of the Cardinals sufficient to provide against all interference with the liberty of the conclave or the danger of the election of more than one Pope by isolated groups of Cardinals. Yielding therefore to their request, the Holy Father by the bull of November 13, 1798, "*Quum nos, superiori anno,*" granted a still further relaxation of the laws and constitutions of his predecessors and decreed that if all the Cardinals were not able to come together, those who were in greatest number in the States of a Catholic monarch were alone to exercise the right of election. They were also allowed to make preparations for the conclave during his lifetime, but they were not to discuss the choice of a candidate. Two-thirds of the votes of the Cardinals present would suffice for a valid election. The bull was sent to the senior of the Cardinals residing in the Venetian provinces in the beginning of March, 1799, but on the death of Pius VI., as the exceptional case to be guarded against did not occur, it was not necessary to have recourse to it.

The Directory continued to aim at the conversion of the Italian States into vassal republics humbly devoted to the interests of France. It still pretended, indeed, to recognize the independence of the King of Piedmont, but it encouraged invasions of his territory by armed bands from the adjacent Cisalpine and Ligurian Commonwealths for the purpose of exciting his subjects to revolt; but Charles Emmanuel appealed to his people, who rallied round him and crushed the insurgents. When the Directors found that all attempts to excite a revolution in Piedmont were of no avail, they imposed on the King a new treaty, by which a French garrison was to occupy the citadel of Turin for the space of two months, and they promised in return to guarantee the tranquillity of his kingdom

and not to assist directly or indirectly those who sought to overthrow his government.

It was only the dread that the Directory might side openly with the revolutionary party, which by itself was unable to overcome the loyalty of his troops, and the hope that Austria would soon declare war again that could have induced Charles Emmanuel to make such concessions. They did not, however, satisfy the Directors; they sought to extort from the King by threats several millions for the support of their army. The French troops continued to hold the citadel of Turin long after the expiration of the prescribed time, and when at last the King's downfall had been decided, a demand was made for the contingent of 9,000 men which had been agreed on by the previous treaty. As the King could not comply at once with the request, Eymar, the French envoy at Turin, withdrew to the citadel as though his life were threatened, while the French troops in the Cisalpine Republic, crossing the frontier by night, surprised and disarmed the garrisons of several towns (15 Frimaire an VII.—5th December, 1798). At the same time General Joubert, the French Commander-in-Chief at Milan, published an order of the day in which he accused the Piedmontese Court of plotting against France and shedding the blood of French and Piedmontese republicans and declaring that his army, which was about to invade Piedmont, would respect property and religion and assure the peace and happiness of the country. General Grouchy, who commanded the citadel of Turin, then, by gaining over some of the advisers of Charles Emmanuel, persuaded the King to abdicate, though without making any formal proposals to him, so that it might seem that the act was voluntary;<sup>6</sup> and on the night of the 9th December, 1798, the royal family left Turin for the Island of Sardinia, the only possession which was left to them. On the following day a pro-

<sup>6</sup> "Le Marquis de Costa de Beauregard, un Homme d'Autrefois," Paris, 1877, p. 435. After the hasty retreat of the French on the approach of the Austro-Russian forces, a copy of General Grouchy's secret report to the Directory on the abdication of Charles Emmanuel IV. was found, in which he described the perfidious mode whereby, without binding himself by any engagement, and although war had not been declared, he persuaded him to abdicate. "Le moment etait venu de faire jouer tous les ressorts secrets que j'avais prepares, je les mis en mouvement, et trentat un envoye du roi m'arriva c'etait l'avocat (name omitted) homme a gagner, et il le fut. D'autres personnes l'etaient egalement; mais la grande difficulte etait que les propositions emanassent du Roi; qu'il fit ce qu'on voulait, et que sa volonte seule le lui fit faire sans que rien d'ecrit ne Vienne de moi; afin que dans tous les cas je puisse etre desavoue. Cette conduite etait d'autant plus necessaire que la guerre n'etait pas declaree au Roi de Sardaigne, qu'on ignorait le parti que seraient forces de prendre le Directoire et le corps Legislatif, et qu'il fallait agir de telles manieres que l'acte du Roi paraisant volontaire ne put amener l'Europe entiere contre la Republique Francaise et faire rompre le Congress de Rastadt."

visional government was established in Turin. The French republican calendar was imposed on the Piedmontese people; many of the principal nobles were sent as hostages to France; a war tax of two millions of francs was levied on the country, and on February 8, 1799, the annexation to France was voted by the provisional government.

The overthrow of the King of Sardinia was followed in a few months by that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, from whom Reinhard, the French Ambassador, continued by order of the Directory to demand the deportation of Pius VI. to Sardinia. The temporary occupation of Leghorn by an Anglo-Neapolitan force on November 28, 1798, when the King of Naples was marching upon Rome, and the seizure there of some French privateers, was made the pretext for demanding an indemnity of 2,500,000 francs, of which half was paid, although the Grand Duke had remained neutral and was in no way responsible for the invasion of the port. The arrival, too, of the King of Piedmont in Florence (January 18, 1799) while on his way to Sardinia under the escort of an adjutant-general named Chipault, was taken advantage of by the Directors to make fresh efforts to induce the Holy Father to accompany him to that island, and thus cast on Charles Emmanuel instead of on the Grand Duke the responsibility for the fatal consequences which might ensue. But Pius VI. was then dangerously ill of fever; his limbs were covered with sores; the doctors had lost all hope of saving his life, and he had received the last sacraments. When, therefore, at the end of January, 1799, Adjutant-general Chipault came to visit the Holy Father with orders from the Directory that he should embark for Sardinia along with the royal family, he was so much shocked and affected on finding that he presented more the appearance of a corpse than that of a living being, that he did not venture to carry out his instructions, but merely said that the King of Piedmont, being about to leave, invited the Holy Father to accompany him, to which the Pope replied that it was impossible for him to comply with the request. The King sailed, therefore, for Sardinia, and on March 10 Chipault was again commanded by the Directory to make every effort to oblige Pius VI. to leave Italy, and it was only by the production of a protest written by the Holy Father, accompanied by medical certificates which proved that it was absolutely impossible for him to undertake the journey, that he was induced to desist.

Before the certificates had been placed before the Directors the Grand Duke was warned by a despatch from his representatives in Paris that if he wished to preserve his States and ensure the tranquillity and welfare of his subjects, he should at once insist that



Pius VI. should leave for Sardinia. Ferdinand III., who fully understood the hopelessness of his position, yielded at last to these repeated threats. He assured Mgr. Odescalchi, the Papal Nuncio, that nothing should ever induce him to constrain the Sovereign Pontiff to leave his States, but that he hoped that Pius VI. would consider how impossible it was for him to withstand the power of France, and that in case of an invasion, Tuscany would be overwhelmed with the same misfortunes which had befallen the rest of Italy. He therefore requested the Holy Father to take whatever steps he might judge advisable and promised to respect his decision.

Pius VI. received this intelligence calmly and fearlessly. He declared that he was prepared to undergo any suffering in obedience to the will of God, and that he would not allow his dread of undertaking a journey to Sardinia to serve as a pretext to the Directory for invading Tuscany. Preparations were therefore made for the departure of the Holy Father, but on the following day Reinhard suddenly informed the Grand Duke that the Pope was to remain at the Certosa.

Neither the contributions which had been exacted from the Grand Duke nor whatever concessions he might be induced to make with regard to Pius VI. could avail to preserve him from sharing the fate of the other Italian sovereigns, and when the Directors thought that their interests demanded that Tuscany should adopt republican institutions they accused Ferdinand III. of conspiring with Austria and Naples against the French republic and of having consented to the occupation of Leghorn by the Anglo-Neapolitan expedition. The legislative councils in Paris, therefore, declared war against both Austria and Tuscany on March 12, 1799, and though when the news was received in Florence, Manfredini was despatched to Mantua to treat with General Scherer, the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Italy, and offer whatever terms might be necessary to obtain peace, and though Reinhard assured that he had received no information on the subject, the French troops in the province of Bologna crossed the frontier on the 24th under the command of General Gauthier and entered Florence on the 25th, while another detachment coming from Lucca took possession of Leghorn and seized all the merchandise belonging to the English, the Russians and the Portugese. The Grand Duke and the members of his family were allowed to leave Florence for Vienna, and when a few days later General Scherer received orders from Paris to arrest and bring them as prisoners to Briancon, they were happily beyond his reach. The occupation of Tuscany by the French was followed by the grotesque ceremony of planting "trees of liberty" in the various towns, as was customary on the proclamation of a

republic. The Tuscan troops were disarmed and sent to the Genoese territory; a provisional government was installed in Florence under the guidance of Reinhard and the usual band of French agents and commissioners who accompanied the French armies plundered the palace of the Grand Duke of all its treasures.

On the day following the arrival of the French troops a detachment of sixty men was sent to guard the Certosa, and next day Pius VI. was informed by a French general that it had been decided that he was to leave that night for Parma, to which he merely replied: "For Parma? Very well," and though the prelates who accompanied the Holy Father and the representatives of Spain made every effort to obtain from General Gauthier a delay of twenty-four hours, his departure was fixed at 2 o'clock on the next morning (28th March) in order that he might pass through the streets of Florence before dawn. Such was the helplessness of Pius VI., the lower part of whose body was paralyzed, that he required to be lifted by four servants into the carriage in which he was to travel, and the effort caused him so much suffering that some of the troopers who formed his escort were affected to tears.

The Directory had already decided that Pius VI. was to be imprisoned at Briançon, a fortified town in the department of *des Hautes-Alpes*, but that fact had not as yet been made known to him, and he had been allowed to believe that his ultimate destination was to be Parma. Before, however, entering on the description of the long and painful wanderings in which Pius VI. was mercilessly forced to pass the last year of his life, it will be necessary to follow the progress of the armies of revolution, as under pretense of inaugurating an era of liberty, equality and universal prosperity, they spread bloodshed and desolation throughout the southern provinces of Italy.

The Neapolitan army of nearly 40,000 men which had invaded the Papal States had been hastily raised. It was largely composed of untrained recruits and its officers belonged to the aristocracy, among which the Masonic lodges had been allowed to diffuse the principles of the revolution almost without hindrance. It had been beaten at all points by Championnet's troops, which did not reckon more than 15,000 or 16,000 men, forced to evacuate Rome and retreat hastily across the frontier. The French followed it in several columns, committing the same error as that of which Mack had been guilty, but without paying the same penalty. General Duhesme, marching along the shores of the Adriatic, seized the important fortresses of Civitella del Fronto and Pescara, both strongly fortified and garrisoned, without meeting with any serious resistance, and on the coast of the Mediterranean the town of Gaeta, generally considered

to be impregnable, was surrendered to General Rey after a few shells had been thrown into it.<sup>7</sup>

General MacDonald alone was checked in his advance by a retrenched camp under the walls of Coyma, where the defeated Neapolitan army had been rallied. The King, who was warned on December 18 by General Mack that he despaired of offering any serious opposition to the progress of the French, had already issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Abruzzi, calling on them to take up arms for the defense of their religion, their King and their homes, and reminding them of the bravery with which their ancestors had fought to place the crown of Naples on the head of his father. Though this appeal met with an immediate response, and though the *lazzaroni* or populace of the capital asked for arms to defend the King and attacked those whom they suspected of holding revolutionary opinions, Ferdinand IV. felt that his position at Naples was untenable. The nobles about him urged him to come to terms with the French, but the fate of the King of Sardinia deterred him from accepting their advice. His army was disorganized and the majority of its officers had shown themselves to be traitors or cowards. The fleet could not be manned, as the greater part of the sailors refused to serve, though offered double pay,<sup>8</sup> and the turbulent *lazzaroni* inspired but little confidence, for their manifestations of loyalty took the form of pillage and assassination. The King decided, therefore, to take refuge in Sicily, where he

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<sup>7</sup> The fortress of Civitella del Pronto stands upon a steep rock which commands the surrounding country; the town at its foot is defended by strong walls washed by a deep torrent. Its works were in good condition and armed with twelve guns. Its garrison of one hundred men was sufficient for its defense. It surrendered after an attack of a few hours. "Thiebault," II, p. 296.

Pescara was strongly fortified. It had eighty guns, was well provided with stores and had a garrison of two thousand men, while General Duhesme had only four small field pieces, yet it surrendered after a few hours' fire. *Ibid*, p. 307.

Gaeta was generally looked upon as an impregnable fortress. It had seventy heavy guns, twelve mortars, twenty thousand muskets, a garrison of three thousand men and provisions for a year; but its commander, Marshall Tachudy, a Swiss officer, surrendered it when General Rey had sent a few shells into it from a howitzer. *Ibid*, p. 340.

<sup>8</sup> Freiherr von Helfert. Fabrizio Ruffo. Revolution und Gegan—Revolution von Neapel, November, 1798, bis August, 1799. Wien, 1882, p. 517. Letter from Queen Caroline to the Emperor of Austria, 21st December, 1798: "Nous sommes complètement malheureux, les fuyards arrivent en grand nombre, toute la ville est découragée, le peuple crie, hurle, se rassemble, mais dit vouloir saccager punir les Jacobins internes, non chatier, les combattre, c'est à dire il voudrait saccager avant la venue des Français et ceci est une populace très nombreuse . . . la noblesse ne fait rien que blâmer tout ce que fait le Gouvernement; le militaire et la marine est douteuse, . . . il faut tenir avec le canon les matelots à bord, car tous veulent s'enfuir."

might form another army with which to reconquer his States, and on the night of December 21 he left the palace by a secret passage, together with the royal family, and embarked on Nelson's flagship, the *Vanguard*. They carried with them over £2,000,000, the crown jewels and the most precious works of art from the royal palaces and the museums, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the French. On the following day a deputation of all classes of citizens, headed by the Archbishop of Naples, came to implore of the King to remain in his capital, but he refused and sailed on the 23d for Palermo, accompanied by two vessels of his fleet, the crews of which had remained faithful, after naming Prince Francesco Pignatelli-Strongoli vicar general of the kingdom and General Mack captain general of the army.

Before the French columns which had marched along the Adriatic and through the central provinces could rejoin General Championnet at Capua they had to fight their way through the Abruzzi, where the mass of the population had risen, and though badly armed and without organization, were opposing the invaders with an undaunted courage which offered a splendid contrast to the feeble resistance made by the regular army. At Aquila every house had to be taken at the point of the bayonet; at Pepoli nearly all the inhabitants were massacred; at Isernia, where the churches, the convents, the houses were loopholed and changed into so many fortresses, no quarter was given, and all those taken in arms were shot, to the number of 1,500. If General Mack had taken advantage of this rising and coöperated with it, Championnet, whose communications with Rome had been intercepted, would have been obliged to surrender; but Mack had lost all confidence in his army, for a revolutionary committee formed in Naples and comprising many members of the aristocracy had gained over some of his superior officers. He and Prince Pignatelli decided, therefore, on demanding an armistice for the purpose of concluding a peace, and the Prince di Migliano and the Duke di Gesso were sent to treat with Championnet. The French general was hemmed in on all sides; the mountaineers had taken Itri, Fondi and San Germano; they had blown up a park of artillery, and his troops were almost without provisions or cartridges, but he refused at first to treat unless Naples were surrendered. The envoys came back next day and were again dismissed; it was only on their third visit to the French advanced posts at Sparanisi that Championnet, who had just learned that General Duhesme was within two days' march, consented to grant a truce to an army which, were it properly led, had it in its power to make him surrender unconditionally. By the terms of this armistice, which was to last two months and was signed on January 12, 1799, Capua was to be sur-

rendered, the Neapolitan troops were to be withdrawn behind a line passing across Italy from the mouth of the Lagni on the Mediterranean to that of the Ofanto on the Adriatic, thus abandoning a third of the kingdom to the French; the seaports were to be declared neutral, and the King was to pay to the republic ten millions of *livres tournois* (about \$2,000,000). The French entered Capua on the 14th, and Championnet fixed his headquarters in the palace of Caserta, where a committee of Neapolitan revolutionists, presided over by the unfrocked monk Bassal, who had organized the Roman revolution and whom the Directory had just dismissed from his post of secretary to the Roman Consuls, maintained an active correspondence with the disaffected in the capital. But when the French Commissioner Archamba appeared at Naples to receive the first instalment of the war tax, the *lazzaroni*, considering themselves betrayed, rose to the cry of "Death to the French!" They disarmed and expelled the troops which had just returned from the expedition to Leghorn; they seized the four castles which commanded the city without resistance from their garrisons, threw open the prisons, set free the galley slaves and proceeded to massacre the persons whom they suspected of being Jacobins. Representatives elected by the people then chose as their leader the Prince of Moliterno, a distinguished cavalry officer, in whom they had much confidence, but who had been secretly gained over to the cause of the revolution. He succeeded in appeasing the people and restoring order and placed the four castles under the command of members of the aristocracy. Prince Pignatelli was then requested to leave, and he set sail for Palermo, where the King caused him to be arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Girgenti, while Mack fled to Championnet's camp, surrendered to him and was allowed to return to Vienna.

It was only a minority of Neapolitan revolutionists which wished to introduce the French army and French institutions into the kingdom; the majority hoped to repel them and to found an independent State based on democratic principles, while the populace had but one idea—to fight against the Jacobins for their religion and their King. When, therefore, the Prince of Moliterno went to request Championnet not to enter Naples, a demand which the general (who considered the amistice as having been broken) roughly rejected, the *lazzaroni* denounced him as a traitor, seized again the arms which they had laid down and dragged several pieces of cannon to positions which commanded the approaches to the city. They then renewed their onslaught on persons reputed to be partisans of the French, plundering and burning their houses until, towards nightfall, Cardinal Capece-Zurlo, the Archbishop, succeeded in calming their fury. They marched out on the following day with the intention

of seizing the French camp near Aversa, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and during their absence the revolutionists, who were now all united in desiring the coming of the French as their only safeguard against this state of anarchy, took by surprise the castle of Saint Elmo, the most important of the Neapolitan fortresses. On January 21 Championnet, whose army now amounted to over 22,000 men, attacked Naples from three sides, and though the city was not protected by walls of bastions, the *lazzaroni*, aided by a few thousand of the disbanded foreign soldiers of the royal army, disputed every inch of the ground with such courage and tenacity, though cannonaded by the castle of St. Elmo and repeatedly charged with the bayonet, that it was only after a combat of three days that the French overcame their opposition and were masters of the capital.

The *lazzaroni*, decimated and exhausted by a struggle which had lasted sixty-seven hours, offered no further resistance to the revolution, and Championnet proceeded to inaugurate the new commonwealth, which took the name of the Parthenopean Republic. He appointed a provisional government, with Carlo Lauberg, an unfrocked monk, as President, which under the influence of Bassal introduced the French republican calendar, decreed the formation of a national guard and divided the kingdom into eleven departments. A war tax of 2,500,000 *livres tournois* was imposed on Naples and one of 15,000,000 on the provinces. It must be said, however, to the credit of Championnet, that he expelled from Naples the French Commissioner Faypoult, whose plundering he considered to be on too large a scale, but he was recalled in consequence by the Directory and replaced by General MacDonald.

In order to cause the authority of the provisional government to be acknowledged in the provinces and its representatives accepted, General Duhesme was sent with three columns toward Lucera and Foggia, meeting with no resistance until reaching San Severo, a town in the neighborhood, where on February 25 he fought against a royalist army of 12,000 men composed of peasants and disbanded soldiers, defeated them with a loss of 3,000 men and then plundered the town. Another expedition under General Broussier was sent in March to relieve Bari, the inhabitants of which were republican and had held out against royalist bands for over a month. On their way the French attacked Andria, and though repulsed at first, took it, burned it and massacred 4,000 of the inhabitants. Trani underwent the same fate on April 25, though it was defended house by house after the walls had been scaled by surprise. It was plundered and burned, "and this once beautiful, rich and populous city was changed into an abode of misery and desolation." Even Bari was not saved by its republicanism from the imposition of a war

tax of 40,000 ducats and the payment of forced contributions for the support of the army.

The courage which these towns displayed in maintaining their fidelity to the cause of royalty is a proof that the entire kingdom was far from following the example of the capital, where since so many years the ideas of the French philosophers had been spread among the aristocracy and the middle class; but in many provincial towns the Jacobins, owing to their better organization, had been able to impose their will on the royalists and establish a republican form of government. Nevertheless, the partisans of the Bourbons, though scattered and disorganized, were so numerous that the presence of a representative of the crown would suffice to rally them and enable them to restore to his throne a sovereign who had been overthrown by a foreign invader rather than by the will of his subjects. It was for this reason that, shortly after the arrival of Ferdinand IV. in Sicily, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo was chosen by him to be his lieutenant, with the title of vicar general and with full powers for the reconquest and reorganization of the kingdom, and on February 8, 1799, he landed at Catona, on the coast of Calabria, with a few companions and a sum of only 3,000 ducats. He was met by a body of three hundred of the tenants of his family, which owned extensive possessions in that province, and immediately issued an address to the Bishops and the clergy, calling upon them to make the people take arms for the defense of religion, of their King and of their country. His appeal met with a response which surpassed his expectations. From all sides the people, led by their priests and wearing white crosses in their hats, thronged around him, and in a few days two camps were formed of several thousand men each—at Palmi, for those from the low country; at Mileto, for those from the mountains. Out of this crowd of badly armed volunteers, which comprised rich landowners, townsmen, peasants, workingmen, disbanded soldiers and retainers of noble houses (*armigeri baroniati*), Cardinal Ruffo, who throughout the campaign displayed the talents of a great administrator and of a great general, succeeded in organizing an efficient army,<sup>9</sup> which when he passed it in review towards the end of April, when it had been two months in the field, was composed of ten battalions of 500 men each, consisting of soldiers of the disbanded regular army, while the irregular troops formed 100 companies of 100 men each. He had also 1,200 horsemen and eleven field pieces. The Cardinal had also organized a commissariat, and to provide pay for the troops he sequestered the revenues of the landed proprietors who were residing not on their

<sup>9</sup> Abate Domenico Sacchinelli, "*Memorie storiche sulla vita del Cardinale Fabrizio Ruffo*," Napoli, 1836.

lands, but in Naples. The towns in the province of Calabria, where the republicans had most power, were Monteleone, whence they fled on the Cardinal's approach; Catanzaro, where the royalists rose and expelled them; Cotrone, which the royal army stormed and plundered, and Altamura, from which its defenders fled at night after making a short resistance and shooting in cold blood fifty of its royalist inhabitants.

The Cardinal had not to fear any opposition to his progress from the French, for the war which had again broken out between France and Austria in Switzerland (on March 6) and in Lombardy (on March 26, 1799) had proved so disastrous to the armies of the republic, especially when on the arrival of a strong Russian contingent the command of the allied armies was given to Marshal Suvaroff, that it became necessary to recall General MacDonald from Naples. He therefore broke up his camp at Caserta on May 7, leaving a garrison of 3,000 men at Capua and of 700 both in the castle of Saint Elmo and in the fortress of Gaeta, and marched with 7,000 in two columns by Itri and San Germano. That which took the latter road was commanded by General Watrin and was that which had invaded Apulia under General Duhesme. The soldiers who composed it, brutalized by the atrocities they had committed, "seemed especially anxious to shed the blood of priests, but every human being who came within their reach fell pierced with bullets." They massacred some Trappists in a monastery near Veroli; they burned part of the town of San Germano and plundered the monastery of Monte Cassino; they took, after five hours of desperate fighting, the town of Isola, which had been strongly barricaded, plundered it and reduced it to a heap of ashes; while the column under General MacDonald had to fight its way through the defiles of Itri and Fondi, "losing men and baggage at every step."<sup>10</sup>

After taking the chief towns in Calabria the march of Cardinal Ruffo was continued through the other provinces without meeting with serious resistance until he reached Naples. Near Manfredonia he was joined by a detachment of 480 Russian marines and later on by some Turks. The Neapolitan republicans established a fortified camp at the Ponte della Madalena, an adjacent fort, and gunboats

<sup>10</sup> "Thiebaud," Vol. II., p. 324: "Peu d'insurrections ont été aussi formidables. C'était une croisade: or, ainsi que je l'ai dit, après nous avoir forcés à les mépriser comme soldats ces Napolitains nous avaient appris à les redouter comme hommes . . . c'est, pour ainsi dire lorsqu'il n'y eut plus d'armée Napolitaine que la guerre de Naples devint effrayante. Quoique les Napolitains de 1793 farouches et superstitieux aient été battus partout, quoique sans compter les pertes qu'ils firent dans les combats, plus de 60,000 des leurs aient été passés au fil de l'épée sur les décombres de leurs villes ou sur les cendres de leurs chaumières nous ne les avons laissés vaincus sur aucun point."



commanded by Admiral Caracciolo also commanded the position; but on June 13 it was stormed by the Calabrian bands, which after a few days' more fighting were masters of Naples. The *lazzaroni* in the meanwhile had arisen against the republicans and slaughtered all the partisans of the French who fell into their power, in spite of the efforts of the Cardinal to restore order. The forts of the *Castle Nuovo* and the *Castle del Novo* soon capitulated, and though the Cardinal consented to allow the Neapolitan prisoners to leave for France together with the French soldiers, Nelson on his arrival with the English fleet refused to recognize the capitulation and seized those who had the most active share in promoting the revolution, an action which has given rise to much bitter controversy which it would be impossible to examine here. The castle of St. Elmo capitulated shortly afterwards, and its commander, General Mejean, surrendered to the Neapolitan Government those of its subjects who had joined the French revolutionists and founded the Parthenopean Republic.

MacDonald's troops passed through Rome on the 16th and 17th of May, where they were reinforced by a few thousands of the division of General Garnier, who remained in command of the district with 2,400 men, while 1,900 of MacDonald's sick and wounded filled the hospitals. Garnier before long replaced the consuls by a provisional government, put Rome under martial law and tried to raise the national guard to the number of 10,000 men. A large number of towns and villages in the Papal States still showed the utmost hostility to the revolution. Civita Vecchia, rendered independent by the Neapolitan invasion in November, refused to submit to the Roman consuls, stood a regular siege, repelled several assaults of the French troops and capitulated only on March 7. The neighboring village of Tolfa was then attacked by the republican army and stormed, though defended house by house. It was reduced to ashes and 156 persons taken in arms were shot. In July an insurrection at Ronciglione was suppressed by the massacre of eighty-six of its citizens, but the armed bands of Rodio, Pandigrano and Michele Pezza, of Itri, better known under the name of *Fra Diavolo*, were advancing from the south, and though they were sometimes driven back by the French, they soon regained their positions and put themselves in communication with the bands coming from Tuscany.

There, on May 6, the citizens of Arezzo had revolted and, aided by the peasantry of the neighborhood, who came, led by their clergy, they had driven out the French garrison and formed a league known as the Federation of Arezzo, which barricaded the town and governed it in the name of the Grand Duke. Disciplined and led by an Austrian officer, Baron Schneider, they spread the insurrection

to the neighboring towns. Together with some Austrian troops they entered Florence on July 7 after it had been evacuated by the French troops. They took Perugia in August, Monte Rotondo and Finnicino in September, at which time only Rome and Ancona remained in the power of the French. The latter town and the adjacent provinces were defended by General Monnier against the bands of Ascoli and the Marches commanded by Donato de Donatis and Giuseppe Costantini, surnamed Sciabolone; but though winning many victories with a handful of troops, he was gradually driven back on Ancona, which after a brilliant fight of three months against an allied army of Austrians, Russians and Turks, he surrendered to the Austrians on November 13, 1799.

General Garnier, who could put only 2,000 men under arms, saw that further resistance was impossible; he did not wish to expose Rome to be taken by indisciplined mountaineers, and preferred, therefore, to negotiate with Commodore Troubridge, who commanded an English squadron then cruising before Civita Vecchia. He concluded with him a capitulation, by the terms of which Civita Vecchia, Corneto and Tolfa were to be occupied by the English and Rome by the Neapolitan troops of the regular army commanded by Marshal Burckhardt, a Swiss officer whom Cardinal Ruffo had sent forward after he had taken Naples. The French soldiers were allowed to keep their arms and the Romans who had been compromised in the revolution and who wished to leave were also to be brought to France by the English. Marshal Burckhardt entered Rome on September 30 and immediately formed a provisional government to take charge of the State in the name of the King of Naples.

A month previously to the overthrow of the republican government in Rome the sufferings of Pius VI. had come to an end at Valence, in the south of France, the last stage of the long and painful journey which the Directory had obliged him to perform without consideration for his age and his infirmities. At Bologna, through which the Holy Father passed on his way from the Certosa di Val d'Ema to Parma, he had been allowed to rest for a night at the Spanish College, but was brought away hastily on the following day, for the French troops had been defeated by the Austrians near Legnano, on the Adige, and it was feared that he might be rescued by the Imperialists. For the same reason his stay at Parma, where he was lodged at the monastery of St. John the Evangelist, was suddenly ended. An officer arrived at dawn on April 13 with a despatch from the Commander-in-Chief at Florence ordering the Holy Father to leave for Turin within two hours and stating that if the Duke of Parma hindered his departure or did not furnish him at once with everything requisite for his journey, Parma and

Piacenza should be treated as hostile towns. It was only on the production of certificates by two doctors testifying on oath that such was the state of exhaustion of the Holy Father that he could not be removed without endangering his life that the officer consented that the Pope's departure might be deferred till the following day. Pius VI., however, had expressed his resolution not to leave Parma, but the Duke's minister, the Marchese Ventura, represented to him so dolefully the dangers to which his refusal would expose Parma and its inhabitants, that the Pope, interrupting him in the course of his lamentations, answered calmly that he would be very sorry to be the cause of any misfortune to the Duke or his people; that he was resigned to the will of God, and that at any risk to himself he would continue his journey. He left Parma, therefore, at an early hour on April 14, and at the request of the French officer who escorted him, the Duke, who had no cavalry, furnished a guard of twelve halbardiers, who followed in carriages.<sup>11</sup>

The Holy Father passed that night at Borgo San Donino in the Bishop's palace and the next at the College of San Lazzaro, belonging to the missionaries of St. Vincent of Paul, near Piacenza. His journey next day by Lodi to Milan was interrupted, as it was reported that the Austrians were approaching, and he was again brought back to San Lazzaro; but only a short rest was allowed him, and at daybreak on the 17th he crossed the swollen waters of the Trebbia by a ferry. Castel San Giovanni, Voghera, Tortona, Alessandria, Casale and Crescentino were the stages by which Pius VI. reached Turin. With very few exceptions the people received him everywhere with signs of veneration and compassion, crowding around his carriage in the towns, and in the country hastening from a distance to kneel by the roadside and ask his blessing as he passed. At Voghera the French commandant had the courtesy to allow him to rest beyond the appointed time, but at Tortona the officer in command insisted on his immediate departure for Alessandria, and it was only because heavy rains had rendered impossible to ford the Scrivia, a mountain torrent which crossed the road, that he was allowed to remain for the night. The citizens of Tortona showed such indignation at this brutality that the commandant judged it prudent to put the garrison under arms, but Pius VI., with the courage and resignation which never abandoned him, calmly said:

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<sup>11</sup> Abate Coppi, "Annali d'Italia dal 1750 al 1829," t. II., p. 15. In May, 1796, Bonaparte had made an armistice with the Duke of Parma, by the intervention of the Spanish Ambassadors which enabled him to remain independent from 1796 to 1801, on condition of paying 2,000,000 francs and furnishing 1,700 horses fully equipped, 10,000 quintaux of wheat, 5,000 of oats, 2,000 head of cattle and 20 paintings (1 quintal = 100 kilogrammes = 220 pounds).

"Everything depends on the will of God. We are in His hands; may His will be done." At Alessandria the Pope was received with enthusiasm by the people and by many of the aristocracy, who came a long way from the town to meet him. At Casale the national guard rendered him military honors on his arrival at the Bishop's palace, and he met with equal respect at the little town of Crescentino, where he passed the night in the house of the Fathers of the Oratory. General Grouchy, on the contrary, who commanded in Turin, irritated by seeing the people leave the city by thousands to salute the Holy Father, ordered his journey to be delayed at the village of Chivasso, where he was obliged to stay at a filthy inn until nightfall. Even then he was not allowed to pass through the streets of Turin in order to reach the citadel, but he was brought to it by a long and circuitous road outside the walls, broken up with deep ruts and quagmires, and so great were the sufferings he underwent that he fainted several times.

The general was persuaded by the prelates who accompanied the Holy Father to allow him to rest for a day before continuing his journey, but he would not permit him to have an interview with the Archbishop of Turin or with Don Pedro de Labrador, who had been just named representative of Spain in the place of Cardinal Lorenzana; and he made him leave Turin at midnight for Suza, at the foot of Mont Cenis, on the road to Grenoble, where he said the Directory intended that he should reside. The Holy Father arrived at Suza on the evening of April 26, where he was received with military honors and lodged in the Bishop's palace; but he was so exhausted that the commandant, who was more courteous and friendly than most of the officers of the republic, ventured to disobey the instructions he had received and consented to let him stay till the 28th. He also told the Pope that his destination was Briançon, and not Grenoble, and the commissioner who had accompanied him from Turin stated that General Grouchy had purposely concealed the fact, as he feared an outburst of indignation on the part of the citizens if they learned that the Sovereign Pontiff was to be imprisoned in a town situated high among the Alps with a rigorous climate. It was therefore necessary to dismiss, after satisfying their exorbitant demands, the drivers who had been hired for the crossing on Mont Cenis and to hire a sedan chair and bearers to bring the Holy Father over Mont Genevre by steep and rugged paths covered with snow, as well as mules for the prelates and attendants who accompanied him.

It was on April 30 that Pius VI. crossed the Mont Genevre. He had been detained for more than a day at the little village of Oulx, for a heavy fall of snow had covered the path leading over

the mountains and workmen had to be assembled from the environs to clear the way; but though the delay was involuntary, he was made to pay for the maintenance during that time of the detachment of cavalry which escorted him. At Briancon the Holy Father was respectfully received. The town was crowded with people from the neighborhood and the national guard came to meet him and render him military honors; but the Jacobin municipality, fearing a demonstration on the part of the Catholics, had decreed that the keys of the belfry and of the church should be kept in the town hall.

Pius VI. and a few of his servants were lodged in a house belonging to the hospital of the town, where they had four rooms. The sitting room was large, the windows had neither glass nor shutters, but were closed with linen, and the chimneys smoked. Some of the servants slept there, and when their beds had been removed in the morning Mass was said there, after which it served as a refectory for the Papal household. The Pope's bed room, where he remained all day, opened off this room. The prelates and the other priests who accompanied the Holy Father and formed the Papal household had lodgings in the town, but passed the day along with the Holy Father. Sentinels guarded the door and allowed no one to enter who was in the service of the Pope. The commissioner who represented the Directory in the town was named Berard, a man despised for his vice and his impiety, who reprimanded the commandant because his wife heard Mass in the Pope's apartment, and ordered her not to assist at it again.

The Austro-Russian troops were at that time not far from Briancon. Their leader, Marshal Suvaroff, had reconquered Lombardy and was still driving the armies of Moreau and Victor before him. He seized Tortona on May 9 and Novi on the 15th, and the Piedmontese peasantry were everywhere taking up arms against the French, undeterred by the atrocious cruelty with which these risings were suppressed. The citizens of Turin opened their gates to Suvaroff on the 26th, and on June 20 the citadel capitulated. A panic terror prevailed among the troops at Briancon; the forts round it were hastily armed and put in a state of defense, but Suvaroff, who, it was reported, had orders to rescue the Holy Father, and whose advanced posts had taken Suza on May 28, withdrew them on June 10 and marched in the direction of Parma.

A large number of Italian republicans, flying before the allied armies, had taken refuge in Briancon, and from hatred for the Church they sought to excite the authorities against the prelates of the Papal household by accusing them of manifesting their joy at the news of French defeats and Austrian victories; of corresponding secretly with the enemies of France and sending them plans of

the forts. Berard, who always tried to inflict as much annoyance as possible on the Holy Father, laid these denunciations before the commandant and requested him to send Pius VI. to some town in the interior of France; but a council of war held by the officers of the garrison rejected the accusations as calumnious and declared that the Directory alone had the power to order the Pope to be removed. Berard then applied to General Muller, who was in command of the department, and the general ordered the Pope and his household to be transferred to Grenoble, or, if he were too feeble to undertake the journey, he might remain at Briancon, while the prelates and the servants who were not absolutely necessary should leave.

The remonstrances and the supplications of the prelates could obtain no modification of this decision, though the commandant allowed them to delay their departure until they procured traveling carriages from Embrun; but when General Muller arrived at Briancon on June 7 he severely reprimanded the commandant for not having executed his orders and insisted that the Pope's household should leave immediately for Grenoble, and that Pius VI. should remain at Briancon. A strong protest against this act of injustice and cruelty was drawn up by the principal citizens of Briancon, but it was rejected by the general, who allowed only a few servants to remain with the Holy Father and but one priest, his confessor, Padre Girolamo Fantini, of the Trinitarian order, a very pious monk, but unused to the world and not fitted for the task of aiding the Holy Father with his advice in the intricate matters which he laid before him. On the evening before their departure the prelates had an audience of Pius VI., when he granted them all the faculties and privileges which are usually granted in the countries where the Church is openly persecuted, and named Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, Apostolic Delegate with power to sub-delegate his authority whenever he should judge it necessary for the greater glory of God and the advantage of souls. The Abate Marotti, his secretary, then said: "Let us pray to the Lord that we may not be hindered in the exercise of these faculties." This apparent want of confidence displeased the Holy Father, who replied in a loud voice: "When will you then leave aside these doubts of yours?" "Habete fiduciam!" They had a last interview with the Sovereign Pontiff on the morning of the 8th before they left, when he gave them his blessing and looking at them affectionately, merely said: "*Andate nel nome del Signore.*" (Go in the name of the Lord.)

When the prelates arrived at Grenoble on the 12th they were closely guarded by sentinels at the inn where they had alighted and

were informed that on the following day they were to continue their journey to Dijon. By a happy coincidence, however, Don Pedro de Labrador, who had been vainly trying to find out to what place Pius VI. had been carried, arrived in Grenoble on the same day and hastened to visit the prisoners. He obtained from the general that they might remain at Grenoble, and some of them even were about to be allowed to return to Briançon when the Directory by a decree of 22 prairial an VII. (10 June, 1799) decided that Pius VI. was to be transferred to Valence, in the department of la Drome. A commodious carriage was therefore to be sent from Grenoble and a doctor, who should take charge of him during the journey, but though General Muller authorized the commandant of Briançon to delay the Pope's departure until their arrival, and though the surgeons of the hospital bore witness that the Holy Father was so infirm and feverish that he could not be removed without endangering his life, the commissioner of the Directory for the Department *des Hautes-Alpes*, whom Berard had asked to come to Briançon, insisted on his leaving and said: "Alive or dead, the Pope must be brought away to-morrow morning."

On the 27th of June, therefore, the Holy Father was carried by his servants down to the gates of the city (for no wheeled vehicles can pass through its steep and narrow streets), and there placed in a carriage which was little better than a cart. Padre Fantini sat beside him and two servants before him. A large number of soldiers had been put under arms to suppress any disturbance on the part of the inhabitants, but they could not prevent them from manifesting their grief and their indignation by their tears and the reproaches which they addressed to the representatives of the republic.

All that day the Pope remained in a state of lethargy, from which even the jolting of the carriage failed to arouse him. On the following day the commissioner who accompanied him refused to stop at Embrun, where the most distinguished citizens were anxious to receive the Sovereign Pontiff, but went on to the village of Savines, and there made him pass the night in a filthy inn, though the owner of a neighboring castle begged to be allowed the honor of offering him hospitality. Dr. Duchadez, who had been sent from Grenoble to attend the Holy Father and to whom General Muller had given full powers to regulate his journey as he might judge fit, met him not far from the town of Gap, where he made him rest for two days, and this repose so revived the Pope's strength that he was able to give audience to the administration of the department and to the municipal council.

The towns of Corps, la Mure and Vizille were the stages where the Holy Father stopped on his way from Gap to Grenoble, and

during this progress the people of the neighboring villages came from all sides to line the road along which he passed or surround the houses where he stopped and to testify by their enthusiasm that in spite of the persecution which the Catholic Church was even then still undergoing, the French people had not lost their faith.

The house of la Baronne de Vaulx at Grenoble, where Pius VI. was to reside, had been surrounded by guards in order to keep the people at a distance, but vast crowds left the city to greet him, and though the authorities, irritated at the sight of such enthusiasm, ordered the gates to be closed as soon as the Pope's carriage passed, other crowds assembled in the streets and accompanied him to his destination. There he had the happiness of being received by Mgr. Spina, Mgr. Caracciolo, the Abate Marotti, the Abate Baldassari and Padre Pio, of Piacenza, from whom he had been so long separated; while the people which thronged the street and filled the windows and covered the roofs of the surrounding houses, asked for his blessing with such persistency that the commissioner of the department, fearing a disturbance, allowed him to be carried to a window and shown to the crowd. Cries were at once raised of "*Viva la Saint Pere!*" but as the commissioner stood insolently beside him, wearing his hat, other cries were also raised of "*A bas le chapeau! A bas le commissaire!*" on which he angrily withdrew and closed the window.

The Holy Father, escorted by cavalry and gendarmes, continued his journey to Valence on July 10. The prelates and secretaries had left the day before, and his carriage was again surrounded by enthusiastic crowds, who barely left room for it to pass. Tullins, Saint Marcellin and Romans were the towns where he stopped, being received everywhere with the same demonstration of affection and respect, while some of those present uttered cries of indignation at the treatment to which the Holy Father was subjected and asked if he, too, were about to be led to the scaffold like their own priests.

The house where Pius VI. was to reside at Valence was situated in the citadel and had been occupied by the Governor of the town. The rooms were then completely bare and some noble families of the environs offered to send what should be necessary to furnish them, but the administration of the department refused to accept any loan from the aristocracy, and as nobody else offered anything the rooms were still unfurnished shortly before the Pope's arrival. Then the authorities announced their readiness to accept assistance from any one, and in less than forty-eight hours they received more furniture than was wanted.

The administrators of the department, who, with the exception



of one of their number were bitterly hostile to the Church, announced by a decree dated July 12, two days before the arrival of the Holy Father, that he was under arrest (*dans un état de détention*), but that the persons along with him might circulate freely, on condition of not causing any assemblage, and both the Pope and his household were warned to be "very prudent in their language and to avoid any expression which might afford a pretext for malevolence or fanaticism." A strong guard prevented any one having access to the Holy Father without permission. There was a sentinel at the door of his room, and the thirty-two priests who were imprisoned in an adjacent monastery were not allowed to go into the courtyard of their prison at the same time that the Holy Father was carried out by his servants on the terrace in the garden of the citadel lest they should communicate with him by signs.

The Directory, apparently, still dreaded that the Pope, whom they regarded as a hostage, might be rescued from their power, and they therefore decreed on July 22 that he should be transferred to Dijon. On being informed by Mgr. Spina of this new act of barbarity, the Holy Father, with that patience and fortitude which never abandoned him, merely remarked: "Let it be as God wills. Truly we had hoped that we should have been allowed to remain here to die in peace. But in this, too, let the will of God be done." The paralysis from which the Holy Father had long suffered had since some time become more developed, and the doctors certified that it was absolutely impossible that he could leave Valence. Curnier, the commissioner of the department, had always shown himself well disposed to the Pope and willing to render his captivity less painful; he, too, was anxious that the Pope's journey should at least be deferred until he should regain his health, and he was therefore dismissed from his post and replaced by one Brosset, whom the Directors considered more adapted to carry out their views. But even the new commissioner and the administrators had to agree that it would be impossible to execute the decree, and on the 18th of August the Directors consented to suspend it.

The Holy Father had been able to take part in the devotions for the novena of the feast of the Assumption, but on the 27th of August, feeling his strength becoming exhausted, he asked to receive the Viaticum, which was administered to him by Mgr. Spina after Mgr. Caracciolo had recited for him the Profession of Faith, of which he was able to pronounce the last words. On the 18th he received Extreme Unction, and about midnight his household was warned that the end was near. The Holy Father could still, however, recognize them, and when Padre Fantini asked him to forgive his enemies, he was able to reply: "*Domini, ignosce illis.*" Then

while Padre Fantini was reciting the prayers for a departing soul he gave his blessing three times to those standing round his bed, and a few minutes later tranquilly passed away. He was then aged 81 years, 8 months and 2 days and 24 years, 5 months and 14 days.

The authorities consented to allow the body of Pius VI. to be embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, which remained exposed in the chapel of the citadel for nine days, according to the Roman usage, but the administrators made every effort to exclude the Catholics who came to pray around it, and finding that the national guard would not execute their orders, replaced them by a detachment of regular troops. The coffin was then deposited in a vault beneath the altar. Mgr. Spina and the Spanish Ambassador applied to the Directory for leave to transport the remains of Pius VI. to Rome, but their request was not answered, though the servants received passports and were allowed to leave.

On October 10 as the two prelates and the secretaries were walking on the road to Lyons they were overtaken by some carriages accompanied by an escort of gendarmes. In one of these was General Bonaparte, along with General Berthier, just returned from Egypt. Bonaparte questioned the prelates about Pius VI., whose death he deplored, and then asked them what were their plans. When he found that they could not obtain leave to convey the remains of the Pope to Rome, or even to correspond with their families, he expressed his indignation, and taking leave of them courteously, continued his journey. When the passports were furnished a few weeks later the exiles returned to Italy, with the exception of Mgr. Spina, who remained to watch over the tomb of the Sovereign Pontiff, and it was not until December 30 that Bonaparte, then First Consul, decreed that Pius VI. should be buried in France and a monument raised over his grave. The ceremony took place on January 30, 1801, when the remains of Pius VI. were interred in a specially constructed vault in the cemetery of Valence. There were no religious rites, for it had been the intention of the authorities that the constitutional clergy should have officiated on the occasion, but Mgr. Spina, anxious to prevent what would have been an insult to the deceased Pope, succeeded in persuading them to change their decision.

It was not until 1802 that the remains of Pius VI. found their proper resting place. On January 10 they were placed in charge of Mgr. Spina, who had come from Italy to receive them, and on February 17 they entered Rome by the Porta Flaminia. The richly decorated car which bore them was received by the clergy of Rome and by all the Bishops then present in the Eternal City and brought in procession to Saint Peter's, where Pius VII., surrounded by

eighteen Cardinals, was awaiting it, and they were placed in a temporary tomb until the time came to deposit them in the crypt of the basilica, and the statue which commemorates the illustrious Pontiff represents him kneeling in front of the tomb of the Apostle.

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### SOME RECENTLY BEATIFIED MARTYRS.

THE persecution that is now being waged against Catholicism in France gives a special significance to the ceremony that took place in Rome on May 27 last. Without treating the separation of the Church and State, taken as a bare fact, as an unmitigated evil, it would be childish to ignore that in France, owing to attendant circumstances, it is fraught with grave danger to the cause of religion. Given the well-known opinions of the politicians who have brought it about, a change so radical cannot, in their hands, be innocent of evil.

The French Government, as our readers are aware, is at the present time in the possession of atheists and Freemasons, who openly express their determination to unchristianize the country. To them separation does not imply liberty and independence as regards the Church. It means not merely that she is no longer supported by the State, but that she is to be gradually and craftily despoiled of her possessions and influence. The art treasures that generations of believers have bestowed upon her will be taken away, her utterances and teaching will be hampered, her work maimed, her power restricted in every way.

The law, so severely condemned by Pius X., is full of hostile provisions, expressed in subtle language, but all tending to this result. In course of years the undying vitality of the Church will evidently assert itself and she will come out from the ordeal triumphant, but the present moment is none the less full of solemn import to the Catholics of France.

To minds familiar with the history of the terrible upheaval of 1789 there are symptoms abroad that are strangely significant. The suppression of religious orders throughout the country, the confiscation of their property, the attempts made to secure the allegiance of the clergy and detach it from Rome, all these things are merely a repetition of what happened in France at the outset of the great Revolution just a hundred and seventeen years ago.

Even the indifference and light-hearted frivolity with which a certain section of French Catholics look upon the events that are now taking place remind us of the careless "insouciance" of the nobles of the old régime, and the revolutionary spirit that is rampant throughout the land adds another alarming trait of resemblance to the parallel.

All these circumstances give a peculiar interest to the beatification of the sixteen Carmelite nuns that has lately taken place in Rome.

It is the first time that the Church has officially recognized the fact that among the hundreds of innocent men and women who perished on the scaffold in 1793 and 1794 a certain number were put to death solely from religious motives, apart from any political consideration.

The verdict of the Church in this matter has a twofold result: it illuminates with the golden halo of martyrdom some of the darkest pages of modern history, the horrors of which were hitherto unredeemed, and which now appeal to us in the same light as the heroic episodes of the early Church. Secondly, the honors paid to the Carmelites of Compiègne, we may hope, in due course of time, to see conferred on other religious men and women whose case is similar to theirs.

Thus the priests who in 1791 were butchered within the Paris prisons, the thirty-two nuns who in 1794 were beheaded at Orange and others no less heroic who perished at Valenciennes, were martyrs in the same sense of the Compiègne Carmelites and their "cause" is being minutely examined by the ecclesiastical authorities appointed for the purpose. In the evil days that have already dawned for the Church in France these examples are fraught with meaning, and to the persecuted religious and priests of the twentieth century they appeal with inexpressible earnestness.

The Carmelite monastery of Compiègne, of which sixteen members were solemnly beatified only a few days ago, was founded in 1641. Compiègne, a small town situated in the "département de l'Oise," possesses a royal palace where the court was accustomed to spend some weeks every year and a magnificent forest where Napoleon III. delighted to hunt. In fact, the town was one of the Emperor's favorite residences, and its splendor departed with the fall of the second empire.

The convent was swept away after the Revolution. It stood close to the royal palace and was placed under the patronage of the Annunciation of Our Lady. Many pretty stories are told in the convent annals of the cordial relations that existed between the daughters of St. Teresa and their royal neighbors. We hear of Louis XIV. as a small boy visiting the nuns and holding tightly clasped in his little hands a golden chalice which his mother, the

Queen Regent, presented to the community. His younger brother, the Duke d'Orleans, was fond of putting on an apron and helping the "soeur cuisinière," much, we may believe, to the latter's dismay. Many, many years later, when the close of his brilliant reign was marked by public reverses and family bereavements, Louis XIV. again visited the convent. He spoke much of his mother and inquired if any nuns were still living who remembered her. The neglected consort of Louis XV., Mary Leckzinska; her daughter-in-law, Maria Josepha of Saxony, and her unmarried daughters, "Mesdames de France," were on affectionate terms with the Carmelites. Sometimes, says the convent journal, the Queen brought her work; the Dauphiness, Maria Josepha, did likewise and, adds our annalist, her fingers often bled when she stitched coarse garments for the poor. One day the Queen, whose feet were cold, asked the prioress to allow the nuns to dance a "ronde" with her that she might get warm. The permission, as may be imagined, was readily granted.

Among the young princesses who on these occasions accompanied their mother was one Madame Louise, who absorbed the influence of the Carmelites more earnestly than the rest, and when some years later she made up her mind to join their order, she secretly applied to the prioress of Compiègne to procure her a hair shirt. This she wore under her royal robes until she had won her father's permission to enter the Carmelite Convent of St. Denis.

The close neighborhood of the court and the friendliness with which its inmates treated the nuns in no way infringed upon the latter's religious habits of humility and penance. In all respects the community was a model one, and the reports of its ecclesiastical superiors during the eighteenth century are unanimous in praising the zeal and fervor with which the nuns observed their rule. Their devotional spirit was, we are told, further stimulated by a curious prophecy that was handed down from one generation of religious to another. It implied that a bloody upheaval would take place in the country, during which a community of women would perish for the cause of religion.

This prophecy formed a frequent subject of conversation among the nuns, and when towards 1789 the political horizon grew more and more threatening and the attitude of the government became openly anti-religious, they were naturally inclined to wonder whether its fulfillment might not be at hand, but fearful of seeming presumptions, they hardly ventured to express a hope that the crown of martyrdom alluded to might be their portion.

At this critical juncture the community was governed by a woman who, both in a natural and in a supernatural point of view, was a worthy daughter of St. Teresa. Madeleine Claudine Lidoine,

prioress of the monastery, was born in Paris in 1752 and baptized in the Church of St. Sulpice. Her family being in straitened circumstances, the small sum required by the Carmelites from their postulants was paid on her behalf by the young Dauphiness, Marie Antoinette, at the request of Madame Louise de France, the royal Carmelite of St. Denis. Out of gratitude Madeleine Claudine on taking the habit assumed the same religious name as her protectress—Teresa of St. Augustin.

She had been carefully educated, and from her letters and the testimony of those who knew her best she seems to have combined in a singular degree a wise and well balanced intelligence, a warm and loving heart, great courage and presence of mind. To these natural gifts she added the virtues of a perfect religious and a spirit of heroic generosity and self-sacrifice that she communicated to her Sisters. These, through circumstances of no common difficulty, remained peacefully and happily disciplined under her motherly rule. To the last tragic scene, when at the foot of the scaffold she stood at the head of her little band, she was deeply conscious of her responsibilities; forgetful of self, her one thought was to sustain her spiritual daughters through their ordeal, and, faithful to her mission, she insisted on being executed the last.

The other nuns form a compact group, among which stands out the ex-prioress, Mother Henrietta of Jesus, who was mistress of novices when the Revolution broke out. She was Mademoiselle de Croissy, a great niece of the Minister Colbert, and she became a nun when only sixteen. Her sweetness and kindness of heart made her generally beloved. Between her and the prioress there existed a close friendship, and Mother Henrietta's influence powerfully contributed to support her Sisters in their upward path.

Like the prioress, she was pursued by the thought of martyrdom. In 1792 her novices presented her, on the occasion of her feast, with a picture and some verses that seemed to point to suffering and death. "Oh, my child, God grant that you may be right," she exclaimed. About the same time Mother Teresa of St. Augustin, with an intimate conviction that a violent death awaited her community, proposed to her Sisters that they should daily offer their lives to God as a peace offering for their country.

These forebodings seemed justified by the distinctly irreligious policy of the National Assembly. In February, 1790, it suppressed religious orders throughout the country, and six months later its delegates visited the convent of Compiègne and informed the nuns that "their fetters were broken" and that they were free to leave the monastery. The Carmelites seem to have been in no hurry to take advantage of a privilege that they had neither sought nor

desired. Each member of the community was called up separately and asked whether she wished to return to the world. The answers are expressed in different words and bear the impress of the distinct personality of the speaker, but the same spirit reigned throughout, and evidently in this matter, as in all else, the Carmelites were of one mind and one heart. All stated that their desire was to remain within the convent walls, Mother Henrietta adding that she "eagerly seized this opportunity of renewing her religious promises." Another protested that she was resolved to keep her rule and habit "at the cost of her blood, if necessary." The lay Sisters proved no less courageous. "Nothing shall make me forsake Our Lord Jesus Christ, my Divine Spouse," said Soeur Verolat.

During two more years the religious were allowed to remain within their monastery walls. They continued to lead their usual life of penance and of prayer, while throughout the kingdom the tide of revolution and anarchy was increasing in violence, threatening to overthrow both the King's throne and God's altars. Although separated from the outer world by their rule, the nuns during these two years of anxiety and suspense were kept informed of the storm that was gathering. Many priests and a few faithful Catholic men and women found their way to the convent and came away soothed and strengthened by their intercourse with its inmates. The Carmelites looked upon the future with untroubled eyes, not that they were blind to the perils ahead, but they were ready to face the worst and were accustomed in their daily conversations to talk of the possibility of the old prophecy being fulfilled in their persons. One Sister owned to her confessor that these conversations were painful to her. She was, we are told, young and timid and secretly dreaded the thought of the "guillotine" and its attendant horrors. "My child," kindly replied the priest, "when your Sisters talk thus, does it really hurt you?" "No, father." "Now, if you were led to prison would you suffer tortures?" "No, father." "Let us imagine that you are condemned to death, would your sufferings be beyond bearing?" "No." "Now you ascend the scaffold and are told to bend your head under the knife; is this in itself acute pain?" "Not yet, father." "Well, the knife falls, and before you realize that this is death you are safe in heaven. Are you still so frightened?" "No indeed, father." This poor little Sister proved, when the hour of trial came, as brave and as cheerful as the rest.

At last, in August, 1792, the Carmelites were informed that within the space of two months they must leave their convent, which was to be seized by the State. The blow was not unforeseen, and the nuns had decided that whatever happened they would remain

together and continue to practice their rule under the government of their prioress. Mother Teresa, yielding to their wishes, secured lodging for her community in the town, and thither, after taking off their beloved religious habit, which they were now forbidden to wear, the nuns repaired on September 14, 1792. It was the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, a curiously significant anniversary for those who were entering on a path full of difficulty and suffering.

The lodgings where the Carmelites took refuge on leaving their monastery still exist. They are situated near the Church of St. Antoine, the "curé" of which, although he had taken the schismatical oath required by the government from the French clergy, was kindly disposed towards the Sisters. He allowed their chaplain to say Mass in the church and even appointed one chapel to be kept exclusively for their use.

Only a few days after their dispersion the nuns, who were now divided into three groups, were summoned by the prioress to meet the Mayor of Compiègne, who had a grave communication to make to them. To understand the part that this episode played in their future history and ultimate fate, we must remember that the French Revolution was anti-religious in its spirit and proceedings. The oath required of the priests, which is known as the "Constitution civile du clergé," was condemned by the Pope Pius VI. as unlawful, and hundreds of faithful confessors suffered poverty, exile, imprisonment and death itself rather than take it. But another oath, couched in other terms, was demanded of all men and women who were pensioned by the State, and the Carmelites, after the confiscation of their property, came under this head. It ran thus: "I swear to be faithful to the nation, to uphold liberty and equality and to die at my post." The formula seems simply harmless and even absurd where women were concerned. The Pope, to whom it was submitted, had not condemned it, and the superior of St. Sulpice, M. Emery, a prominent member of the ecclesiastical body, pronounced it to be harmless. The same opinion was professed by the Carmelites' superior, M. Rigand, and by their chaplain, Abbé Courouble. It was to induce the nuns to subscribe to this oath that the Mayor of Compiègne, M. de Cayrol, begged them to meet him at the prioress' rooms. He assured them that he had no desire to persuade them to make any concession that their conscience might reprove, but that merely for the sake of insuring their safety he begged them to write their names at the bottom of a blank page. To this the prioress objected that neither she nor her Sisters were willing to sign a page that might possibly be filled up by a formula of which they disapproved. The Mayor insisted that what he



required from them was merely a promise to do nothing against public peace and order. Trusting to his good faith, Mother Teresa and her daughters consented to affix their names to the paper, but some days later, they heard that the Mayor, contrary to what he had promised, had filled up the page with a declaration stating that the Camelites had subscribed to the oath "*liberte égalite*."

The first impulse of the nuns on hearing of the trap into which they had fallen was to protest against the Mayor's want of good faith. Although the oath was generally looked upon as lawful by the clergy in the north of France, their natural instinct prompted them to reject it. However, their friends urged them to refrain from moving in the matter at so critical a moment. They therefore consented, somewhat unwillingly, to remain silent, but we shall see how, at no distant period, they fearlessly disowned the unfair use that had been made of their signatures. For the time being they continued, as best they could, to observe their rule and, in spite of the difficulties of their position, they clung to their religious life. The departure of their chaplain, who in November, 1792, was expelled from Compiègne, deprived them of his spiritual ministrations. Their conscience forbade them to have recourse to the schismatical clergy who were in possession of the parish churches, and the faithful priests who had rejected the oath could only exercise their ministry with the utmost secrecy. In spite, however, of these spiritual privations and of material difficulties that increased daily, the nuns spent the year 1793 and the first months of 1794 in comparative peace. Several among them were strongly urged by their families to leave Compiègne, but nothing could break their resolve to remain together under the rule of their prioress, whose wisdom and prudence kept up the closest and most loving union between the different members of her scattered flock. The three groups were in constant communication with each other and with the prioress, and the increasing violence of the Revolution, the excesses of the Reign of Terror only stimulated the generous aspirations of these holy souls. They continued to offer themselves to God as voluntary victims for the crimes of their country, but although she was the first to encourage them in this generous oblation of their lives, Mother Teresa was careful to avoid any idle demonstrations. "May God preserve me," she used to say, "from exposing my Sisters to needless danger or pain."

In June, 1794, the mother prioress, although unwilling to leave Compiègne, was obliged to go to Paris, where urgent business matters claimed her attention. Here she found another member of her community, Sister Mary of the Incarnation, whom she had allowed to come to Paris some weeks previously on a similar errand.

The Reign of Terror was then at its worst. The King and Queen had already perished, together with hundreds of innocent persons of all rank and age. The hideous "guillotine," after being erected on what is now the Place de la Concorde, had been transferred, on June 17, 1794, to the Place de la Nation, where from forty to fifty victims were daily put to death. One day the two religious found themselves close to the carts in which the condemned prisoners were seated and which were slowly wending their way along the Rue St. Antoine. Sister Mary of the Incarnation, to whom we owe these and many other valuable details regarding the community, tells us that her first impulse was to draw back. "Oh, no," said the prioress; "let us remain and see how saints go to their death." Two of the victims looked steadily at the Carmelites. "They seem to say, 'Soon you will follow us,'" exclaimed the Sister. "What happiness it would be if God bestowed such a grace upon us," was the prioress' earnest answer. The next day she heard that a young girl had just died at Passy in odor of sanctity. On her death bed she opened her eyes wide at the sight of a vision that remained invisible to those around her. "I see," she exclaimed, "a community of nuns wearing white mantles; they perish together on the scaffold and heaven opens to receive them!"

Mother Teresa was deeply impressed by the tale. "I hardly venture to hope," she humbly said, "that it is our community whom God calls to so happy a fate."

A few days later, on June 21, the prioress returned to Compiègne. It was agreed that her companion, whose business was not completed, would join the community later. Little did the two religious imagine that the meeting to which they looked forward would take place not in this world, but in the next. News of grave import awaited Mother Teresa on her arrival. The Sisters who came to meet her informed her that they had been denounced as "fanatics," who continued to live under religious rule. In consequence their lodgings had just been ransacked and their papers carried away. These consisted of letters on spiritual subjects, hymns, prayers and other devotional papers, to which were added some rosaries, scapulars and pictures of the Sacred Heart.

Such as they were, these apparently harmless documents were pronounced by the revolutionary committee to prove that the nuns were endeavoring to "reestablish royalty" and to "destroy the republic." In consequence they were immediately put under arrest.

Five of the religious lived in a house belonging to M. and Mme. de la Vallée, whose direct descendant is still alive. His great-grandmother was a young girl in 1794. She remembered how, when the nuns were led away, the sub-prioress courteously thanked

M. and Mme. de la Vallée for marks of kindness received during their stay. "We leave you all we possess," she added. "If we return, you will give us back what is ours, but if we do not, pray keep these things in remembrance of us and as a testimony of our gratitude."

The sixteen Carmelites were taken to a former convent of the Visitation that served as a prison. It was already inhabited by a community of English Benedictine nuns from Cambrai who had been arrested in the previous month of October and whose sufferings from cold and hunger during the winter had been severe. No communication was allowed between the two communities, but in a letter written after her release the Benedictine abbess, Dame Mary Blyde, owns that twice she succeeded in speaking to the Carmelites "with great fear."

While their fate was being discussed before the revolutionary committees in Paris, where their papers had been forwarded, the daughters of St. Teresa were calmly preparing for death. Their first move on being imprisoned was to send for the new Mayor of Compiègne, a revolutionist named Scellier, to inform him of the trap which his predecessor, M. de Cayrol, had laid for them. They now one and all repudiated the oath "liberté egalité" and required the Mayor to insert their protestation in the official register of the "mairie." They knew that this act meant certain death, but although the oath had not been formally condemned, they had been lately informed that it was blamed by the Bishop of Soissons and that in the south of France it was universally rejected as schismatical. The case was a complex one, and M. Emery on the one hand, the Bishop of Soissons on the other, were equally in good faith; but the Carmelites disregarded these subtle arguments and went straight to what was the most perfect and most perilous line of conduct—the uncompromising rejection of a doubtful formula.

After three weeks' stay in the prison of Compiègne the nuns were transferred to Paris, where they were to be judged. They were informed of the fact on July 13, and they understood from the words in which the Mayor Scellier conveyed the intelligence that the sacrifice they had so earnestly contemplated from afar was now close at hand.

In a valuable account of their imprisonment written by one of the English Benedictines, Anne Teresa Partington, mention is made of the departure of the chosen band. The English annalist tells us that they left the prison "like saints." Before taking their place in the carts they affectionately embraced each other and with cordial gestures they bade adieu to their fellow-prisoners.

At three in the afternoon the carts, escorted by nine soldiers and

two policemen, started. The nuns, whose hands were tied behind their backs, sat calm and recollected. Probably during the long, weary journey they recited some of the prayers that, in happier days, they were in the habit of repeating in their convent chapel or prepared themselves by silent meditation for the sacrifice that they were about to offer. They reached Seulis at eleven o'clock, but only stopped to change horses and pursued their journey along the rough and lonely roads in the silence of the night.

Next day, under the burning heat of a July sun, the carts entered the great city, where at that moment terror reigned supreme. They proceeded to the prison of the Conciergerie, the "ante-room of the guillotine," as it was called, and drove into the large court, la "Cour de Mai," the aspect of which is much the same now as it was in 1794. The wide staircase that still exists was generally crowded with a tumultuous and bloodthirsty multitude, men and women, who reveled in sights of horror and who feasted their eyes on the departure of the condemned prisoners for the scaffold and on the arrival of new victims destined to share the same fate. Mingling with these fiends in human shape, whose presence at all the worst scenes of the Revolution proves to what depths human nature can sink, were sometimes friends and well-wishers of the prisoners, and it is to one of these, Mlle. Fouchet, that we owe the account of the nuns' arrival.

They had performed the long journey with their hands bound, and were numb and stiff in consequence. One of the elders, Sister Charlotte of the Resurrection, endeavored in vain to obey the guards who bade her alight from the cart. Furious at the poor woman's incapacity to move, one of the men seized her and roughly threw her on to the stone pavement. Even the mob protested. "You have killed her," indignantly exclaimed the bystanders. The old nun, streaming with blood, struggled to her feet. "Believe me," she said, turning to her enemy, "I bear you no ill will, but I thank you for not having killed me; if you had done so, I should have been deprived of the joys of martyrdom, to which I am looking forward."

The Conciergerie was at that time crowded with prisoners who were waiting to be judged and executed, for in most cases the terms were synonymous. They were huddled together in filthy dungeons, deprived of all save the barest necessities of life, and every day a certain number were brought before the tribunal and summarily condemned without being allowed to put in a word for their defense. It had been decided that in order to hasten proceedings they should no longer have a counsel, and the execution invariably took place a few hours after the sentence had been rendered.

We should know nothing of the Carmelites' sojourn at the Con-

ciergerie were it not for the single testimony of a peasant named Blot, one of the few prisoners who, having crossed the threshold of the "ante-room of the guillotine," lived to tell the tale. He came from Orleans and seems to have been a worthy man whom the "concierger" of the prison employed as a servant. Owing to this circumstance Blot had free access to the other prisoners and was fortunate enough to escape being sent before the dread tribunal. When, after the Revolution, Sister Mary of the Incarnation, the historian of the community, collected evidence regarding her martyred Sisters, she went to Orleans and the details that she gathered from the lips of the honest peasant are inexpressibly touching. He told her how "these holy ladies," as he called them, arrived at the Conciergerie on the 13th of July, a Sunday, and remained there till the 17th, when they were executed. One of them, he said, begged him to give her a piece of burnt wood and a scrap of paper. With this she wrote a hymn, composed on the lines and to the tune of the "Marseillaise." Sister Mary of the Incarnation was able to copy it some months later, and thus it has come down to us. The verses, insignificant in a literary point of view, breathe a spirit of heroic enthusiasm. Blot added that on the 16th, feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the nuns seemed to celebrate a solemn anniversary. Their sweetness, serenity and evident gladness impressed him deeply. They appeared, he said, to be "going to a marriage feast," and were radiantly happy.

On the morning of the 17th they were informed that they were to be judged immediately. Our readers are already acquainted with Mother Teresa of St. Augustin, the leader of the little band, and with Mother Henrietta of Jesus, the mistress of novices, her right hand in all things. The others were: Sister Charlotte de la Resurrection, whose forgiving spirit revealed itself on her arrival at the Conciergerie, and Marie of Jesus Crucified, also an aged religious; the sub-prioress, Mother St. Louis; the portress, Mother of the Heart of Jesus; Mother Teresa of St. Ignatius, surnamed by her Sisters "the hidden treasure," and Sister Euphrasee, who had been Queen Mary Leckzinska's special favorite, were all women in the prime of life. Sister Louise Julie de Jesus was a widow, whose broken heart found peace in the cloister; Sister Marie Henrietta Petras, a lovely woman from the south of France, who possessed the enthusiasm of her race; she was only thirty-two, but younger still was Sister Constance, the novice whose family had made many vain attempts to induce her to leave her community. Added to these eleven choir nuns were three lay Sisters, as brave and devoted as the rest, and two "tourières," or outside servants, who were bound to the nuns only by ties of affection and who voluntarily shared their fate.

Such were the sixteen victims who on the fateful 17th of July appeared before the revolutionary tribunal, together with seventeen other persons. One and all were accused of having "conspired against the sovereignty of the people," but the Carmelites' position was rendered still more perilous from the fact that they had openly refused to take the oath "*liberté égalité*"—a mortal offense—and because scapulars, hymns and letters on religious topics had been found in their possession.

Summing up the case, the public accuser declared that the women, who sat so serene and still while their fate hung in the balance, were "thirsting to see liberty drowned in torrents of blood."

As we have already mentioned, during the last days of the Reign of Terror the most elementary forms of justice were cast aside; the prisoners were often not informed beforehand of the charges brought against them and were never allowed to defend themselves. However, Sister Mary of the Incarnation, whose information was gathered from eye-witnesses, tells us that the prioress interfered once or twice in the debates in the interests of the Sisters. She did so with a presence of mind, a firmness and dignity that are in keeping with all we know of her character.

The president having accused her of keeping firearms in her house, "Here," she replied, producing a crucifix, "is the only weapon we possess, and you are not able to prove that we ever had any other."

She also repudiated the accusation of having corresponded on political subjects, but acknowledged that she had corresponded on purely spiritual matters with the exiled chaplain of the community, and she generously assumed the undivided responsibility of what was looked upon as a crime. "You cannot," she urged, "punish my Sisters for an act where they had no part. I alone am responsible; my Sisters are innocent." And when the president replied that the other nuns were her accomplices, she attempted to save the "*tourières*," who, being the paid servants of the community, were "obliged to obey the orders that they received."

The real crime of the sixteen Carmelites lay in their devotion to their religious rule, and they were condemned to death "for having kept up a fanatical correspondence," for "holding anti-revolutionary meetings," etc., etc. The word "fanatic" in revolutionary parlance meant religious. It attracted the attention of one of the nuns, Sister Mary Henrietta Petras, and she begged the Judge to explain its significance. "I mean," he angrily replied, "your attachment to childish superstitions, to silly practices of religion." With a radiant look of happiness the Sister turned to the prioress. "You hear," she exclaimed, "we are to die for the sake of our holy faith. . . . What happiness it is to die for one's God!"

The sixteen religious returned to the Conciergerie with a light step, and their sweet serenity moved the peasant, Denis Blot, to tears. He wept bitterly on hearing that they were to be executed that same evening, and the nuns had to comfort their new-found friend. "Why do you weep?" said one of them. "Our sufferings are about to end. Pray for us, and this evening when we reach heaven we will not forget you."

It was, as we learn from the memoirs of the time, difficult to procure food at the Conciergerie, and at midday the Carmelites were still fasting. With motherly forethought the prioress felt that she must sustain her daughters' physical strength no less than their moral courage, and by disposing of a pelisse belonging to the subprioress she was able to procure for each one a cup of chocolate. After partaking of this last refreshment the nuns began to recite the Office for the Dead, and they were still praying when the summons came.

According to a tradition, the Carmelites went to execution wearing the white mantles of their order that they had brought with them from Compiègne. Sister Mary of the Incarnation, however, does not mention the fact. Another well authenticated tradition tells us that when they were seated in the carts that were to convey them to the place of execution the nuns began to sing the "Te Deum" and the "Salve Regina." The distance was great between the prison of the Conciergerie, situated in the island "de la Cité," and the Place de la Nation that lies at the extremity of Paris, near the "Porte de Vincennes," and as the mournful procession proceeded along the crowded streets the little band of sweet-faced, singing women attracted general attention. Forty victims were executed that day, but among them the Carmelites were, naturally enough, the most prominent, and the sound of their glad voices singing the hymns of the Church seems to have hushed the rough and hostile multitude. For once the mob refrained from insulting the victims.

One of the most touching circumstances connected with the Reign of Terror is the devotedness with which the spiritual needs of the condemned prisoners were ministered to by a certain number of priests, who were appointed by M. Bechet, vicar general of Paris, to follow the carts from the prison to the scaffold. Each in turn these courageous men, closely disguised, kept as close as possible to the tumbrils and gave the victims a last absolution. On Thursday, the day of the Carmelites' execution, the priest on duty was a certain Abbé Renaud, but we have no means of knowing whether he was able to fulfill his mission. Be this as it may, when towards 7 o'clock in the evening the mournful procession reached the "place,"

the sixteen Carmelites had lost none of their joyous serenity. They gathered round their prioress and, falling on their knees, they sang the "Veni Creator" and then renewed their baptismal and religious vows. For the only time during the Revolution the guards, the executioner and the bystanders seemed awed by the mere presence of the victims. Not a murmur was heard while the nuns quietly performed their acts of devotion.

When they rose the prioress, who had begged that she might be executed the last, took up her station at the foot of the "guillotine," and one by one as their names were called her daughters knelt down to receive her blessing. The first to die was the novice, Sister Constance. She walked up the bloody staircase with a light step, singing the "Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes." Fifteen voices took up the strain. Then as one head fell after another the voices were silenced, and at last the prioress sang alone.

Then she, too, followed. The souls that had been committed to her guardianship were safe in the Lord's arms. Through the sorrows and perils of the last weary years she had kept her daughters closely and happily united to God and to one another. Her task was over, and, free from all anxiety, she might now lay down her heavy weight of responsibility and go to her rest.

The bodies of the victims were taken at nightfall to a deserted sand pit at a short distance from the "place," and it is here that the Carmelites lie, together with thirteen hundred and seven victims who were executed between the 17th of June and the 27th of July, when the fall of Robespierre put an end to the Reign of Terror.

After the Revolution the spot was bought by a Princess Hohenzollern, whose brother, the Prince of Salm, was among the dead. She built a wall round the little cemetery, which still belongs to her family. It is German property, and is thus safe to remain untouched among the changes and vicissitudes that for the last hundred years have swept over France.

Adjoining the enclosure, still call "*le cimetière des guillotines*," is another cemetery, a church and a convent. These were founded by the children and grandchildren of those who perished on the "Place de la Nation." The convent belongs to the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, commonly called the Sisters of Picpus. They were, like all teaching orders, condemned by M. Combes, and had already prepared to leave when, through some unexplained agency, the order was revoked and they were allowed to remain. The Fathers of Picpus, however, belonging to the same congregation, have been sent adrift and their house has been seized and sold by the government.

A curious prophecy that for many years has been current among



the nuns of Picpus seems so far to have been fulfilled. It says that the fathers will have to leave, but that the Sisters, although they will pack and prepare to depart, shall be left in possession of their house.

There are few spots in Paris more impressive than this quiet convent, far away from the noise and turmoil of the great city. In the church, where two white robed nuns kneel night and day before the Blessed Sacrament, are large marble tablets bearing the names of the thirteen hundred persons who were beheaded on the neighboring "place" in the short space of six weeks. All the great names of France are here represented, together with hosts of poor and obscure martyrs—peasants, servants, shopkeepers, sailors and soldiers, and among them the sixteen Carmelites of Compiègne.

Beyond the church, close to the "cimetière des guillotinés," is the enclosure where the descendants of the victims elected to rest near their beloved dead. The illustrious French families La Rochefoucauld, Montmorency, Noailles, des Cass, Grammont have here their burial place. Among these tombs two will appeal in a special manner to Catholics and to Americans. One is the grave of Montalembert, the great Christian orator and writer, the other that of Lafayette, above which wave the "Stars and Stripes."

Lafayette's noble and holy wife was Adrienne de Noailles, whose mother, sister and grandmother perished on the scaffold five days after the Carmelites. It was in great measure owing to her exertions that the ground adjoining the "cimetière des guillotinés" was bought and devoted to religious purposes.

One word now of the religious whose absence from Compiègne when the community was arrested deprived her of the martyr's crown. The circumstances that led to her being parted from her Sisters seem truly providential, when we remember that it is owing to her that the story we have just related has been handed down to posterity.

After the fall of Robespierre Sister Mary of the Incarnation set to work to collect all possible evidence on the subject of her martyred companions. At Compiègne she visited the English Benedictines, who were still in prison. In Paris she conversed with persons who had been present at the trial of the nuns and who had seen them on their way to the scaffold. At Orleans the worthy peasant Pierre Blot gave her all the information in his power concerning the Carmelites' stay at the Conciergerie. The Sister, an intelligent, accurate and highly conscientious woman, subsequently retired to the Carmelite convent at Sens, where she died. Her carefully written account of her Sister's heroic death was published by M. Villecourt, afterwards Cardinal, who as vicar general of the

Diocese of Sens had been personally acquainted with Sister Mary of the Incarnation, whom he held in high esteem.

The evidence so zealously collected by one who was the contemporary and friend of the martyrs has served as a groundwork for the official inquiry set on foot by ecclesiastical authorities with a view of obtaining the beatification of the Carmelites of Compiègne. This inquiry was happily completed last year and resulted in a decree by which Pope Pius X. declared that the sixteen nuns were in truth martyrs for the faith.

It was our privilege to be present at St. Peter's on the 27th of May last, when by the voice of the Sovereign Pontiff the Catholic Church laid her seal on the holy lives and heroic deaths of the martyred nuns and proclaimed their right to rank among the "beati," to whom public homage is paid throughout the Catholic world. When the solemn sound of the "Te Deum" rolled through the great basilica our thoughts flew back to the other hymn of praise that the Carmelites sang as they ascended the bloody steps of the scaffold, and remembering the perils that now threaten the Catholics of France, we felt more deeply the imports of to-day's ceremony. It told us that glory is the outcome of pain; that happiness without end or limit is the portion of those who in evil days prove faithful to God and to their conscience. It reminded us, too, that the Master loves a "cheerful giver" such as the sweet-faced, simple-hearted women who went to death as to a feast and whose joyous "Laudate" echoed under the very knife of the guillotine.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

Paris, France.

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## A FRENCH VIEW OF ENGLISH CATHOLICITY.

### I.

"*La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre au XIX<sup>me</sup> Siècle.*" Par Paul Thureau-Dangin, de l'Académie Française. Trois volumes. Troisième partie, Paris, 1906.

IT IS a difficult and rare achievement to be both able and willing to place oneself in another's intellectual position and to estimate his work, his opinions, his surroundings with insight and with fairness from his own point of view. The difficulty is increased indefinitely when barriers of race and language are added to those of various mental training, circumstances and inherited tradition. It is precisely this difficult achievement, so desirable and so infrequent, that M. Thureau-Dangin appears, in our judgment, to have successfully undertaken. In any case, such a study, written by an

author of literary ability and renown, must have been deeply interesting to Anglo-Saxon readers, especially, of course, to Anglo-Saxon Catholics. But what continually strikes, and indeed surprises, the student of M. Thureau-Dangin's book is the extraordinary sympathy he shows with the English character and with English modes thought and the remarkable grasp of English prejudices which he has managed to make his own. Probably few foreigners have been able to enter so completely into the inner life of another nation.

There is no wonder that the religious side of English life during the last seventy years should arrest the attention and the interest of any student. It is difficult to imagine anything more miserable, dead and scandalous than England's religion, viewed as a whole, at the beginning of that period. The Established Church seemed crumbling to her utter dissolution. Nearly three centuries of triumphant and almost indisputed heresy had ended by robbing her, in practice, of most of those fragments of the faith which even the "Elizabethan Settlement" had left her from the wreckage of the old religion, and on which the High Churchmen of the sixteenth century had vainly tried to found a sort of counter-reformation. In the eyes of the world, and practically by her own confession, she was the mere creature of the civil power. For some eight generations she had burnt incense to Cæsar instead of Christ, and Cæsar had repaid her worship by binding her hand and foot with fetters that she had come to glory in. Her hold on the English people was that of legal claim and the strong arm of the State, of which she seemed as much an official department as the Home or Foreign Office. The nation had never loved her, and the more earnest and devout of her children were, in spite of disabling statutes, continually tending to separate from her communion. She had shown them the way to schism, and how, in the light of that action, had she the logical or moral right to blame them if they learnt the lesson perfectly? With few exceptions the ideal of the best of her clergy was that of an educated gentleman, living a life of ease and refinement, kindly and beneficent to his neighbors, a good judge of horses and of wine, an uncompromising High Tory in politics, well read in some of the pagan classics and profoundly ignorant of the very elements of Christian theology. Those who remember some of the later survivals of this type will agree, we believe, that it was not without a solid worth of its own; but the type was that of a well-meaning, correctly-living layman. Of, alas! too many of the clergy the ideal was something immensely lower. It is unnecessary to paint the picture, one all too common, of the dissolute, intemperate, utterly slothful and careless parson of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

And yet this Establishment held by English law the monopoly of the spiritual rights of the English nation! In theory every English subject was a follower of her creed and a communicant at her altars; in practice the services, the liberal professions, the universities, parliamentary and municipal life were closed to all who avowed themselves dissenters from the State religion. Such abominable enactments as the "Test Act" at once deprived law-abiding Englishmen of the rights of English citizenship, put a premium on hypocrisy and sacrilege and made the Establishment hated by a large proportion of the people. It was only in 1828 that the Corporation and Test Acts were wiped off the statute book.

The condition of English Catholics at this period has often been described, notably in Mr. Ward's "*Life of Cardinal Wiseman*." They were, in the words of Mr. Purcell,<sup>1</sup> "a scattered remnant of a mighty people that had filled the land from sea to sea." Cardinal Newman, with his unfailing touch of deep and eloquent pathos, has told how they appeared to "a boy's curious eyes" in his childhood:

"No longer the Catholic Church in the country; nay, no longer a Catholic community, but a few adherents of the old religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about as memorials of what had been, . . . a mere handful of individuals who might be counted like the pebbles and detritus of the great deluge."<sup>2</sup>

To the eyes of the world there was as yet no sign of the coming of "The Second Spring." Various partial measures of relief had recently culminated in the Catholic Emancipation Act, passed by an unwilling government under the pressure of circumstances rather than from any sentiment of justice or love of liberty, in 1829. As Sir T. Erskine May (whose writings show neither intimate knowledge of nor any real sympathy with the Catholic faith) writes in his fascinating "*Constitutional History of England*:"<sup>3</sup> "At length this great measure of toleration and justice was accomplished. But the concession came too late. Accompanied by one measure of repression<sup>4</sup> and another of disfranchisement,<sup>5</sup> it was wrung by violence from reluctant and unfriendly rulers." We may well take exception to part of the last sentence, but there is enough of truth in it, in view of the state of feeling in Ireland at the time, to justify a Protestant writer in its use. "Violence" was dreaded by the government—an exasperated and downtrodden people will turn at last—but no violence had been attempted.

In another way, too, "the concession came too late." Not too late,

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<sup>1</sup> "*Life of Cardinal Manning*," Vol. II., p. 641.

<sup>2</sup> "*Occasional Sermons*," p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III., p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> An act suppressing the "Catholic Association" of Ireland.

<sup>5</sup> The Irish Franchise Act of 1829.

indeed, for the revival and eventual triumph of the Church, but too late for many of her children's spiritual welfare. The penal laws had done their diabolical work only too effectually. As in the days of Henry and Elizabeth, and later still, unnumbered thousands had stifled their deepest convictions and thrown aside their best and dearest treasure in view of the rack and the halter, the knife and the cauldron; so, as the generations went by, men whose fathers had faced martyrdom, poverty and exile lost heart and courage and, despairing of better things, submitted to the State-made and State-upheld religion, the profession of which at once opened to them all possible honors and emoluments. The bitterness to a patriotic Englishman (as to any other loyal son of his fatherland) of finding himself cut off from his country's service must have been such as to pierce to his very soul. And so there were thousands who, without any real change of conviction, accepted the established order of things and gave over a Catholic family to the heresy and schism which in their hearts they detested and despised. Again, the penal laws had made the shepherding of the faithful a physical impossibility, except to a limited degree. The heroism and splendid charity of our priests in those dark days can never be exaggerated; their story is written in the eternal records and in the brave lives, the patience and the perseverance of those to whom they ministered. But there were not and could not be sufficient men for the work. If the act of 1829 had come half a century earlier, the whole history of the Catholic Revival would probably have run in a different channel. There would have been to-day in England many thousands more of hereditary Catholics; but the "heroic age"<sup>6</sup> of the Revival—coinciding with the career of the three great English Cardinals, Wiseman, Newman, Manning—could scarcely have been what it was, and there might have been many thousands less of converts.

The "Renaissance Catholique," as M. Thureau-Dangin points out, naturally forms a history with two distinct currents of life and thought. On the one hand it is the uplifting once more of the ancient Church—the winning back, step by step, through frequent disappointment and patient struggle, a place and an influence in that life of England that was once all her own—the restoration, not yet indeed to her rightful throne, but to something of her former sway, of the discrowned Queen. On the other hand, it is the marvelous and all unlooked for revival of Catholic thought and instinct, inchoate and necessarily imperfect as it was, in the Anglican Church. When the worst seemed to have come to her, there arose a craving and a sense of loss which led the best and most devout of her members to

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<sup>6</sup> M. Thureau-Dangin's expression.

ask if there were not some better foundation for their creed and their ecclesiastical life than the State connection which had proved so intolerable a burden and so rotten a support. Anglican churchmen began to look backwards to the old faith of England and to ask whether they might not find there the satisfaction of their wants and a basis on which to rest their belief and their position. They looked out on Christendom and asked why it was that a small island in the North Atlantic should have arrogated to itself a position of spiritual as well as geographical insularity. There was no thought as yet of the position of the communion to which they belonged being in itself hopelessly unsound. When Keble, on July 14, 1833, preached his famous Assize sermon on "National Apostasy," when, on September 9 following, the first of the Tracts for the Times appeared, and throughout the seven years signalized by their successive appearance the endeavor and the hope of the leaders of the "Oxford Movement" was to restore to Anglicanism, as a practical system, what they were wholly convinced belonged to her *in posse*. She had but disused her supernatural powers; her children had forgotten much of her unquestionable teaching; through deplorable circumstances, that happily did not touch her essential life, she had drifted into a position of separation which it must be her children's aim and prayer to terminate. This was the theory on which the movement depended for its very life. When it was shattered, in the face of inexorable history and hard facts of the present day, but one path was left—that of submission to the authority of the One Universal Church.

There were two other streams of thought and action no less marked out than the "Tractarian" school from the typical Anglican parson of the early nineteenth century. The Evangelicals still numbered a large following, though the zenith of their influence was passed, and the decadence of the party had set in rapidly. Several high ecclesiastical positions were still held, and some would be held for many years, by members of the party, but already, as the outstanding active influence within the Anglican Church, its work was done. Another school was just rising into prominence and numbered amongst its disciples some of the most intellectual and ardent spirits of the time. It was known as the "Liberal," later as "Broad Church" party, and its first leaders were Whately, fellow of Oriel, afterwards principal of Alban Hall and Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, and Arnold, who in 1827 had been appointed head master of Rugby. This school also dreamt of a revival, the foundation of which was to be an intellectual but undogmatic piety; disdainful alike of High Churchmen and Evangelicals, it nevertheless had nothing about it of the arid unbelief of the eighteenth century. It sought to express itself by social as well as intellectual activity, and had con-

siderable influence on a limited section of contemporary English thought. The Lutheran-latitudinarian element introduced into the court by Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg naturally found sympathy and sought alliance with this school, and this led to the promotion of some of its members, notably Arthur P. Stanley, who was chosen to be the Prince of Wales' traveling tutor and was appointed Dean of Westminster. But as a party its career was short, if brilliant, and it is represented to-day by scattered individuals, rather than by a school, in the Anglican Church.

M. Thureau-Dangin gives in his opening chapter an admirable picture of the relations of these various elements, to which we have briefly referred, at the period when the "Oxford Movement" began its course. He traces the antecedents of the first leaders and relates how they came into touch with each other. They formed, indeed, a wonderful group, those men who set themselves to stem the liberalizing tendency of the day, who declared themselves the adherents of a tradition that was well-nigh forgotten and which the dignitaries of the Established Church, with few exceptions, regarded as certainly dead and, so far as they could see, comfortably buried. Keble, Newman and Froude were, all Oxford knew, three of the most brilliant of her sons. Pusey, who joined the movement somewhat later, and who occupied, as professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church, a more prominent position in the university than the others, was known as a man of stupendous learning and as a student of the rationalizing German theology which was still a closed book to most English readers. He had gone abroad for the express purpose of learning on its own ground what that system really was, its strength and its weakness and how Christianity could best repel its attacks. With these leaders were associated other friends, such as Hugh James Rose, Arthur Perceval and William Palmer, in general sympathy with the principles of at least the earlier Tracts, but possessed by a spirit of intense caution and conservatism that feared to shock the dominant Protestantism and the inert, self-satisfied respectability of the Anglican fold. If their counsel had been followed, it is scarcely too much to say that the history of the last seventy years would need to be rewritten.

The movement, however, in spite of the outspoken hatred of Puritanism expressed by Hurrell Froude and shared by some of the younger followers of the revival, was entirely and intrinsically Anglican in its methods and its aim. The vicar of St. Mary's (Newman had filled this post since 1828) designed to awaken the Church of England to a sense of her dormant capacities and her lost traditions. He and his colleagues looked back to the seventeenth century, with its famous Anglican theologians, who for the first time since

the break with the old religion (Hooker only excepted) strove after a constructive system of theology rather than laborious briefs against the Catholic faith. The earlier Tracts were full of attacks on the Catholic Church, which was declared to be "incurable, malicious, cruel, pestilential, heretical, monstrous, blasphemous;" she was said to have apostatized at the Council of Trent, and fear was expressed that the whole Roman communion was bound to Antichrist by a perpetual compact! Froude blamed this violence, and Newman acknowledged that such language was violent and declamatory, but maintained that he really believed what he wrote, and that such protests were necessary to the position of the Anglican Church and conformable to the tradition of all her theologians.

It was obvious that Anglican practice was in phenomenal contradiction to the Anglican formularies. It is so to-day, but not in the same extraordinary degree. Seventy years ago, for the great majority of the clergy, for almost the whole of the laity, such truths as the regenerating grace of holy baptism, the benefit of sacramental confession and of penitential exercise, the power of the keys as exercised in absolution, though plain enough in the pages of the Book of Common Prayer, were either utterly ignored or were indignantly and contemptuously denied. Such practices as the observance of holidays, the daily recitation of the prayer book offices, the keeping of Lent and other fast days, the Friday abstinence, though expressly commanded, shared the same fate. To-day there are many who try to be loyal to these doctrines and practices in the Church of England. But they are still, alas! in opposition to the general trend of Anglicanism, and it may be said with a good deal of truth that the more loyal a man is to his profession of prayer book religion, the more he will be treated as a traitor and a renegade by those in authority. So impotent is truth when it merely exists on paper, so ineffectual the best of rules when there is no Living Voice behind them.

The hero of M. Thureau-Dangin's work is not only in his account of the Oxford Movement, but throughout his three volumes, John Henry Newman. The movement was what it was because Newman was its real, if unacknowledged, leader. Keble had retired to his country parish in Hampshire and was seldom in Oxford. Pusey, who was afterwards recognized as leader, was essentially a university professor and an ecclesiastical dignitary; revered in the highest degree, he did not possess the personal fascination nor the intellectual splendor, marvelous both for its agility and its strength, that characterized the vicar of St. Mary's. Pusey was a man of immense gifts as well as of deep piety, but Newman was one of those souls lit with the fire of genius, of whom but very few are



granted to each generation. Not England alone—not even the English-speaking race alone—but the educated world knows to-day that among the mightiest—on the very heights of Olympus—John Henry Newman has not the least or the lowest place.

The tremendous force of his sermons—a force that owed nothing to oratorical declamation or conventional pulpit action, but was simply the result of the preacher's own moral and spiritual being acting on the hearts and consciences of his hearers—is dealt with by our author with the most complete appreciation and discernment. The theme is not a new one to English readers, but it is one that never tires. The intense quiet of the preacher, the wonderful pathos of his voice, the absolutely simple yet masterly language in which every thought was clothed and which even in his young manhood proclaimed Newman one of the great masters of the English tongue—more than all, the thrilling reality of both the man and his words—have often been described by none more feelingly and eloquently than by Newman's early and unfailing friend, Dean Church. And, as is the case with his other writings, Newman's sermons have during the last ten years attracted, in a way altogether new, the attention and the admiration of various French writers. As long ago as 1897 his preaching formed the subject of an interesting article by P. Brémond in the *Etudes Religieuses*, while six of the "University Sermons" have lately been published in a translation by M. Saleilles, an introduction being provided by the Abbé Dimmet, himself a keen student of English religious life and a writer on the subject.

The story of the Hampden controversy, the appearance on the scene of English life of Dr. Wiseman, then rector of the Collegio Inglese in Rome, the rapid growth of adherents to the movement, including such names as Oakeley, Marriott, W. G. Ward, Church, F. W. Faber, Hope-Scott and (though by no means unreservedly) Manning, are admirably told in the chapter entitled "L'Apogée du Mouvement." It seemed as if the Anglo-Catholic school were to carry all before it. Not alone at Oxford, but in the sister university in London and in the provinces generally what were known by friends as "Apostolical," by enemies as "Tractarian," principles were making way. Newman himself, in the "Apologia," states: "In the spring of 1839 my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others." He refers to an article in the *British Critic* for April, 1839, as containing, though he "little knew it at the time," "the last words which

<sup>1</sup> P. 180, original edition.

<sup>2</sup> "Apologia," p. 182.

I ever spoke as an Anglican to Anglicans.”<sup>8</sup> For the great leader was on the point, unknown to himself, of recognizing the impossibility of maintaining the solidity of that *Via Media* in which he believed himself to have found, and which he had pointed out to others as furnishing a sound basis for the Anglican position as distinguished from what he termed respectively “Roman corruption” and “Protestantism” or “Ultra-Protestantism.” In the long vacation of that year he “began to study and master the history of the Monophysites. . . . It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism.”<sup>9</sup> And though he sought, and for a time believed he had found, a more secure foundation for the *Via Media*, it was henceforth, however unconscious he might be of the fact, but a question of time before this doubt should deepen into absolute distrust. Still his whole longing was to find a resting place which could satisfy his understanding and his conscience in the communion that was so dear to him and which he had served so faithfully. All that he could do, besides, to restrain others from submission to the Catholic Church he did with earnestness and vigor. This was the motive of the publication, on February 27, 1841, of the famous Tract XC. To retrace the storm of controversy that immediately broke out would not be desirable, even if it were possible, in this place. Oxford and England have been ashamed of it for two generations. And the principle of interpretation which it applies to the “Thirty-nine Articles of Religion” is to-day a commonplace amongst probably half of the Anglican clergy. In these days, in fact, it seems so evident that we wonder at the intellectual position of the heads of houses, tutors and Bishops, whom it threw into a state of such strange excitement.

The story of the censure passed on the Tract and of the subsequent events is well known and is told well and sympathetically by M. Thureau-Dangin. He has entered in a remarkable degree into the attitude, not only of the great leader, but of the other actors in those long-past scenes. One point that he develops with especial interest is the line taken by Dr. Wiseman, now become Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, with the title of Bishop of Melepotamus. It was no doubt natural that the old hereditary Catholics of England should look with suspicion on the movement within the Anglican Church. They remembered how, under Laud’s primacy, there had been an apparent drawing towards the Catholic Church of many within the Established communion, and how the hopes then raised had crumbled in utter disappointment. The long era of persecution had so depressed the faithful remnant that they even shrank

<sup>8</sup> P. 208.

from the coming of converts into the Church, lest the new element should be one of danger and disquiet. Mgr. Wiseman, trained in the free atmosphere of Rome, where the Church was able to live her life unchecked and to manifest her Divine strength, shared none of these fears and suspicions. He watched with deepest interest and with undismayed, albeit patient, hope the struggles that were leading so much of what was noblest and best in Anglicanism to the threshold of the Church. He was able to gauge, and not afraid to confess, the superiority, in all things but the possession of the truth and communion with the true Church, of these men to the Catholic clergy, to whom the benefits of an English university training and the stimulus of taking part in England's social and intellectual life had so long been denied. In a "Letter to Lord Shrewsbury," which became justly celebrated, Wiseman treated the question of the religious crisis in England with a sympathy and a delicacy all his own. He protested against all bitterness and uncharity on the part of the hereditary Catholics; he showed a wonderful appreciation of the good faith, the piety and the gifts of the Oxford leaders. In fine, his letter was in all respects worthy of a Christian Bishop, and we do not wonder that our author writes in comment:

"Pour Newman et ses amis, il y aurait eu certes plus d'une réflexion à faire sur le contraste entre le ton dont parlait d'eux cet évêque catholique et le langage qu'à cette même époque leur tenaient leurs propres évêques." The unmeasured, and often coarse and disgraceful, condemnations passed upon the "Tractarians" in nearly all the (Anglican) Episcopal charges of the day might well make Newman exclaim to Pusey: "We have leant upon the Bishops, and they have broken down under us."

It would take too long to follow the account, as given by M. Thureau-Dangin, of the retreat of Newman to Littlemore, his long months of waiting there, surrounded by some of his most ardent disciples; the storm raised by the publications of Ward's "Ideal of a Christian Church" and his condemnation by convocation; the dramatic scene at the same convocation when the "Nobis procuratoribus non placet" of Guillemard and Church alone stayed the proposal of the vote condemning Tract XC. and, by implication, Newman, his teaching and his work. No one has described this scene more effectively than Dean Church in that simple, because so intensely scholarly, English of which he was a past master.

The closing chapter of M. Thureau-Dangin's book is aptly entitled "Le Dénouement." The long retreat at Littlemore was indeed leading up to one of the greatest and most far-reaching results that could be conceived for the Anglican Church. Two years had passed since Newman had preached (on September 25, 1843) his

last Anglican sermon at Littlemore—that famous, wonderful, eloquent, pathetic “Parting of Friends” which so long as the English tongue shall endure will be reckoned as one of the greatest of English sermons. A man who can read it without emotion is scarcely to be reckoned a deep-thinking Christian or a true Englishman. Its burning words of terrible disillusionment, of touching appeal, brand with eternal shame the Anglican Church of those days. Her rulers, case-hardened in their ignorance and prejudice, the slaves of an evil tradition, had not had the eyes or the hearts to recognize her noblest son.

The world-renowned “*Apologia pro Vita sua*” has made all readers familiar with the thoughts and aims of Newman during this time of retreat. He was, in the first place, forcing to a decision, however long might be the time before he attained to this point, the doubts and perplexities which had so long assailed him. Besides this, he was providing a shelter for younger men who themselves were perplexed and undecided as to their duty in religious matters. He used all his influence to hinder them from taking the serious step of submission to the Catholic Church, at least without long reflection sustained and directed by a life of discipline and devotion. If he could by any means have found a way to reconcile his conscience, the voice of history, the testimony of all Christian times and his position in the Anglican Church, with what unspeakable relief—with what triumphant joy, indeed—would he not have remained at his post and restrained by his effectual influence any movement on the part of his disciples!

Toward the end of the winter of 1844-5 (M. Thureau-Dangin’s phrase “*a la fin de l’hiver de 1845*” is somewhat misleading) Newman, ever loyal to his friends, began to tell them frankly that his reception into the Church could be only a matter of time. He was working hard at the “*Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*,” devoting many hours each day to its composition. The motto on the title page of this, his last Anglican (in a sense, his first Catholic) work is full of pathos and significance, not only in relation to this particular volume, but when applied to the whole religious character and career of the author, and in a special degree to these long months of anxious waiting and searching for the light: “*Oculi mei defecerunt in salutare Tuum.*” The essay was written, as he tells us, “not in the first instance to prove the divinity of the Catholic religion, though ultimately they furnish a positive argument in its behalf, but to explain certain difficulties in its history, felt before now by the author himself, and commonly insisted on by Protestants in controversy as serving to blunt the force of its *primâ facie* and general claims on our recognition.”<sup>10</sup> On October

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<sup>10</sup> Preface to the edition of 1878.

6 Newman penned the last lines of his essay, the composition of which had been the final means of bringing his last doubts and hesitations to an end. "As I advanced, my view so cleared that instead of speaking any more of 'the Roman Catholics,' I boldly called them Catholics. Before I got to the end I resolved to be received, and the book remains in the state in which it was then, unfinished."<sup>11</sup>

Two days later John Henry Newman was received into the Catholic Church. Many years before, in the great monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, on the Cœlian Hill, Fr. Dominic, one of the sons of S. Paul of the Cross, filled with the spirit of the Founder, in whose great heart England ever found so dear a place, was told (as he ever believed, and as his whole society bear witness) as he prayed before a venerable picture of Our Lady, that one day his work would lie in that northern land where heresy and schism seemed all triumphant. Long years passed, and at length the community found it possible to send a mission to England, but another father was chosen to be its head, and the monk to whom the promise was made was not even included in the chosen number. Almost on the eve of their setting out the appointed leader found himself, through ill health, unable to leave his monastery, and, utterly contrary to all expectation, the superior, sending for Fr. Dominic, named him as the head of the mission. How little the Passionist Father, as he found his dream thirty years fulfilled, knew that he was to be the chosen instrument of reconciling the foremost ecclesiastic of the Anglican Church to the Rock of Peter and the City of the Saints!

Dean Church—than whom none bears a more deservedly revered name in the records of Anglicanism—may well, writing of course from the Anglican standpoint, entitle the last chapter of his "Oxford Movement" (the best and fairest of all the many histories of the revival) "The Catastrophe." Gladstone may well have said that the reconciliation of Newman was the greatest victory the Church of Rome had gained since the (so-called) Reformation. With it ends the first chapter of the "Anglo-Catholic" revival and the first volume of M. Thureau-Dangin's book.

## II.

It seemed for a moment as if the movement was wrecked and as if the Liberalism, against which it was the protest, were to win all along the line. Certainly the Oxford of the next decade differed widely from the Oxford of the palmy days of the movement. The "Tractarians" were no longer the supreme religious force of the

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<sup>11</sup> "Apologia," p. 386.

university; for a while the growing Broad Church school was the most evident, and in a limited sense the most influential. During these years, also, a series of disasters came upon the Anglican Church which affected chiefly, but by no means solely, its High Church section. In 1846 an old trouble was revived. The absurd and offensive "Jerusalem Bishopric" scheme, which at its inception five years before had no small effect in opening Newman's eyes to the realities of Anglicanism, took a still more unhappy turn. According to the extraordinary arrangement of this ecclesiastical *bêtise*, the King of Prussia had the alternate nomination to this titular "see," and now designated a Mr. Gobat, formerly a Lutheran minister, now an Anglican deacon, as his choice. This gentleman had published a book suspected of heresy on the doctrine of Our Lord's Incarnation (whether in a Nestorian or Eutychian direction does not clearly appear), and in other respects was scarcely a likely person to represent Anglican interests in the Holy City satisfactorily. The most earnest protests were made by the Bishop of Exeter, Pusey, Church, Marriott and others, but all to no purpose, and Mr. Gobat went to Jerusalem. But his administration was the end of the arrangement; Anglican feeling was too strong, and the English and Prussian Governments cared too little about the scheme for another appointment. There is to-day an Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, but he is there under completely different conditions and represents no longer the Protestantism—the Anglican-Lutheran alliance—of sixty years ago, but the Anglican communion in its distinctly High Church aspect.

The second scandal, in the following year, was the nomination of Dr. Hampden, whose appointment to the regius professorship of divinity eleven years before had caused a storm of protest and denunciation on the part of both Tractarians and Evangelicals to the See of Hereford.

Lord John Russell, then Premier, was delighted to have this opportunity of at once hindering the revival of the Church of England, scandalizing her most loyal and fervent members and emphasizing her complete bondage to the State. It was an insult of a grave character, against which even a number of Broad Churchmen protested. Thirteen Bishops presented a joint remonstrance to the Minister; others wrote privately to express their disapprobation. The Dean of Hereford, with two of his chapter, refused to obey the "*congé d'élire*;" the protesting laymen at the "confirmation" in Bow Church, who appeared in answer to the invitation given to all to state any cause against an episcopal appointment, were told that they could not be heard. All was in vain. Hampden was consecrated on March 26, 1848, and thenceforth sunk into obscurity.

Lord John Russell went on his way triumphantly. Once more the rulers of Anglicanism had failed their people. The men who claimed to bear Christ's awful pastoral staff had bowed again to Cæsar.

Yet another blow was to shake in innumerable minds their confidence in Anglicanism. The notorious "Gorham case" began in 1847, when the Bishop of Exeter refused institution to the clergyman of that name on the ground of his rejection of the Catholic doctrine of holy baptism, on which, at least, the Anglican formularies are uncompromisingly orthodox. The Court of Arches sustained the Bishop's action, but on March 8, 1850, this decision was quashed by the judgment of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, to which Mr. Gorham had appealed. The excitement was tremendous throughout the country. The Bishop of Exeter, in his famous letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, avowed his intention of breaking off communion with any one pretending to give mission to Mr. Gorham in his diocese; the letter had reached its fourth edition by the evening of the day of its publication. Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), Gladstone, Pusey, Keble, all the best of clergy and laity in the Establishment, entered their protest in the strongest terms. Meetings were held, addresses presented, an attempt made to modify the jurisdiction of the Privy Council by a bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Bishop of London. Once more all was futile. The government were determined to force the supremacy of the Crown (or rather, as it had now become, the supremacy of Parliament) on the consciences of Englishmen, as had been so often done before. With regard to the fate of this bill, defeated by 84 against 51 votes, M. Thureau-Dangin excellently notes: "Détail significatif: quatre évêques seulement ont voté pour; les autres, y compris l'archevêque de Canterbury, se sont abstenus." And Mr. Gorham was instituted under a fiat of the Primate, in spite of the Bishop of Exeter's renewed and most solemn declaration that he would repudiate communion with the institutor. The smoke of the incense went up in clouds once more—before the idol of Cæsar. Poor England! these were the chains her tyrants forged for her children when they broke away from obedience to the Vicar of Christ. A hard exchange, truly.

It is characteristic of Anglicanism that when some great scandal occurs or some fresh wrong is perpetrated on the part of the civil power, intense excitement blazes for a while—meetings are held, petitions and declarations circulated and signed by thousands, eloquent speeches are made by the very flower of her clergy and laity, resistance *à l'outrance* is proclaimed—and then, one scarcely knows when or how, though the scandal is not removed nor the wrong

repaired, all is quiet again. New arguments have been found why the resistance should not be uncompromising, and so things settle down until the next strain upon those bonds which so often seem upon the point of breaking, and which most assuredly will break some day.

The Catholic Church was, inevitably, the haven to which many of the distressed sons and daughters of the Anglican body turned in those times of distress, 1847-50, to which we have referred. By this time the movement, which had seemed almost destroyed in 1845, had developed new energy and, under changed conditions, was stronger than before. Oxford was no longer its home or centre. It had spread throughout the country, and was every day permeating all that was most active and most devout in the Established Church. One of the most conspicuous figures in the revival was now Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester and rector of Lavington. An evangelical by training, during his early clerical years he was looked on as the rising hope of the Puritan section of Anglicanism, which was rapidly waning in numbers and influence. He gradually, however, came to embrace the wider and more historical theology of the Tractarian leaders, but never thoroughly attached himself to their school. He was, by temper and conviction, an administrator far more than a theologian; and he was persuaded that the interests of his Church demanded a moderate policy in all things. No ecclesiastic of his time was more popular in London society; and yet it would be a grievous wrong to Manning to imagine that, even as an Anglican dignitary, he belonged to the worldly type of parson then so prevalent. His piety was deep and intensely real, and his personal life simple to asceticism. For years his effort was to keep back from submission the many souls under his spiritual guidance who were distressed and shaken by the scandals and apparent helplessness of Anglicanism. In fact, his anti-Roman zeal made a serious division between him and Dr. Pusey and other leaders of the movement. This zeal manifested itself in his archidiaconal utterances, and most remarkably in a university sermon preached on "Gunpowder Plot" day—a feast appointed by the State and provided with an office bound up usually with the Anglican prayer books of those days. It is only just to add that the Anglican Church had never given authority to either the festival or the prescribed service. Both fell into desuetude and were abolished by an order in Council in 1859.

The Gorham judgment was to Manning and many others the last straw that broke their confidence in their ecclesiastical position; or, rather, the fact that the judgment was met by no effectual repudiation on the part of the Church. Others went before him, such as



his brother-in-law, Henry Wilberforce, Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Markell, Mr. Serjeant Bellasis and Mr. Allies. Manning, with his dear friend Hope-Scott, followed them after a long struggle. On Passion Sunday, April 6, 1851, he was received into the Church by Fr. Brownbill, S. J. The following Sunday, at St. George's Pro-Cathedral, Southwark, he received not only the Sacrament of Confirmation and Holy Communion at the hands of Cardinal Wiseman, but also the tonsure. The minor orders, sub-diaconate and diaconate, followed quickly, and on Trinity Sunday, June 15, he was ordained priest by the Cardinal. It was but ten weeks from his reception, and the Cardinal was subjected to a good deal of severe criticism in consequence; but Wiseman, "large-hearted and sympathetic," as Mr. Purcell well terms him,<sup>12</sup> knew his convert, and knew, too, the mind of Rome, and had obtained express sanction for his unusual action.

It is necessary to glance back a few months from Manning's conversion to an event of profound significance to the Catholic Church in England, and which roused the ignorant Puritanism of the country into a fever heat as ignominious as it was disgraceful. For some years the question of the reëstablishment of the hierarchy had been debated in Rome; the timidity of the hereditary Catholics had been alarmed, but the Holy See knew that the time was come, and on September 29, 1850, Pius IX. published the brief restoring the hierarchy in England and creating an archbishopric with twelve suffragan sees. In the consistory of the following day Wiseman, then in Rome, was created Cardinal. He had already been nominated Archbishop of Westminster and metropolitan. On October 7 the Cardinal-Archbishop announced the news in a pastoral letter dated "From without the Flaminian Gate," according to the well-known rule which prohibits Bishops, when in Rome, from addressing their dioceses as from *within* the city—a privilege which belongs alone to the Holy Father as Bishop of Rome. It is amusing, but humiliating to an Englishman, to read the story of the Protestant tempest that broke out. Lord John Russell had the stupid insolence, which only made the Minister ridiculous, to threaten to stop the Cardinal from landing on English shores! The *Times*, of course, outdid itself in ignorant declamation and foolish abuse that could hurt only the paper or its Puritan readers. The Premier's "Letter to the Bishop of Durham," too long to quote here, was an example of all that a responsible Minister of the Crown, or a man claiming the name and manners of a gentleman, should have been ashamed to write. The popular clamor, thus roused and encouraged, became deafening. Any society but the Church of God must have trembled under the

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<sup>12</sup> "Life of Manning," Vol. I., p. 628.

storm of calumny, lying and blasphemy. But the great Cardinal was unmoved, and his "Appeal to the English People," published a few days after his return to London on November 11, brought back to sanity all that was capable of such a return. The good feeling and the good sense of the country recognized and rendered homage to the loyalty both to the truth and to his country, the intellectual power, the logical reasoning and the unfailing courtesy of the Cardinal-Archbishop, who followed up this marvelous success with a course of lectures at St. George's Pro-Cathedral, to which men of all creeds, or of none, came in crowds.

The tide was turned. Mr. Disraeli, on the conservative side of politics, Mr. Roebuck on the liberal, raised their protest against the Prime Minister's infamous "Letter." Mr. Roebuck's words, which M. Thureau-Dangin gives in a translation which preserves the fire and clear eloquence of the original, were worthy of a man who was known throughout England as one who, without thought of his own interests, lived his political life simply for the liberty and the good of his countrymen. When the member of Sheffield died, many years afterwards, it was felt that a force that made continually for political purity and unselfishness had been lost to England.

The government, nevertheless, persuaded Parliament to pass the worse than absurd "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill," prohibiting under severe penalties the appropriation of any territorial designation by any Bishop but those of the Establishment. The measure was born dead, was never put in force, and twenty years later, Mr. Gladstone being Premier, was wiped off the statute book almost without notice. The episode, however, did not tend to enhance the dignity of the "Mother of Parliaments."

It might well have been expected that this anti-Papal outburst would have retarded the progress of the High Church revival in the Anglican communion. The "Durham Letter" had attacked the followers of the movement with even greater bitterness and more unmeasured abuse than had been showered on the Catholics themselves. The Anglican Bishops, too, were unrelenting in their antagonism, with but few exceptions. The foremost member of the episcopate was Samuel Wilberforce, who for some years had been Bishop of Oxford. A man of great administrative and oratorical gifts, of strong ambition and possessing a large measure of influence at court and among the leading social and political powers of the day, he was looked upon generally as the outstanding representative of Anglican principles of the "moderate High Church" school. He most undoubtedly helped the progress of the movement; his diocesan administration was, in its fairness to all, a happy contrast to the management of some other dioceses. He had a strong sense of the

rightful freedom and spiritual independence which are the Church's heritage, and he believed most intensely in the position and the prospects of Anglicanism. His life-long antagonist on the episcopal bench was, naturally, Archibald Campbell Tait, nominated Bishop of London in 1856 and translated to Canterbury in 1868. Tait was of Scottish and Presbyterian origin and had been brought up in the evangelical theology, of which, however, he was neither admirer nor defender. His sympathies were with the Broad Church party, but he was certainly no latitudinarian with regard to the fundamental articles of the faith. But what was above all characteristic of the man and his administration was the most intense, undisguised Erastianism. He had no conception of the Church as a spiritual society; he leant, for the well-being of Anglicanism, on the royal supremacy and the omnipotence of Parliament. At the same time his personal piety was unquestioned. Amid the troubled waters in which the Anglican then, as now, found herself tossing, Tait was scarcely the man to pilot her to safety; but in view of the origin of the Anglican schism and the history of its relation to the civil power, it would be hard to say that he had not most correctly gauged its spirit. Anglicanism is the child of the State; Erastianism is its official atmosphere, and only one act can deliver it from that evil possession. All history and the state of the world to-day tell us that the choice lies between that bondage and submission to the Chair of Peter.

Wilberforce undoubtedly brought a new spirit into the relations between an Anglican Bishop and his clergy, and gave his communion a new ideal of episcopal work and administration. But it would be an utter mistake to imagine that he had any real theological sympathy with the "Anglo-Catholic" section of the clergy and laity. He was dominated by an extraordinary hatred of all that savored of Rome, and many of his utterances, especially in his later life, rather suggest an irresponsible Protestant firebrand than the dignity of a great prelate. It was, besides, very difficult to know how far one could be sure of his action in any given matter. In the appointment, *e. g.*, of Dr. Hampden to Hereford, he at first was an ardent leader of the protesting High Churchmen and Evangelicals, but just when the real difficulty came he followed the will of the court and the government. In the diocesan theological college he founded at Cuddesdon, near Oxford, he encouraged the practice of sacramental confession, but his public utterances in an opposite sense were vehement and declamatory to a degree. It is not for us to judge any man, and Wilberforce on many counts will always deserve the gratitude of the Anglican communion. But we do not wonder that M. Thureau-Dangin, who finds matter for admiration in men of the

most opposite characters and opinions, well—does not include the Bishop among his heroes.

An excellent account is given of the troubles of St. Saviour's, Leeds, founded by Pusey; of the partly successful resuscitation of the two provincial convocations through the energy of Bishop Wilberforce, and of the trials of Archdeacon Denison and Bishop Alexander Forbes of Brechin on the charge of teaching Eucharistic doctrine contrary to the Anglican formularies. Nothing seemed to hinder the progress of the revival. One great cause, no doubt, of the utter failure of the Bishops to stay its course was the growing distrust in which their lordships were held by both clergy and laity. It was a terrible scandal to the religious feeling of England—and it is not forgotten yet—when in 1857 a number of the Bishops, including the Primate and Tait, voted for the iniquitous law that still disgraces the English statute book, which authorized divorce *and the religious "remarriage" of divorced persons*, and which compelled an Anglican clergyman, in spite of his convictions, to allow his church to be used for such sacrilege. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, and Wilberforce, in the Upper House, to their eternal honor, vindicated, though unsuccessfully, the unalterable claims of the Christian moral law. And yet the Bishops who voted with the majority were men who ventured to lay down what they conceived to be the "true doctrine of the Church of England," and to condemn for supposed lack of conformity thereto men such as Pusey, Keble, Denison and W. J. E. Bennett! Truly the City of Confusion is a sad dwelling place.

J. FABER-SCHOLFIELD.

## Book Reviews

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**THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.** An International Work of Reference on the Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, Ph. D., LL. D., Edward A. Pace, Ph. D., D. D., Conde B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., John J. Wynne, S. J., assisted by numerous collaborators. In fifteen volumes. Vol. I. Royal octavo, pp. 826, with maps and illustrations. New York: Robert Appleton Company.

The appearance of the first volume of the "Catholic Encyclopedia" marks an epoch in book making in this country. From the beginning the need of such a work was felt. As the Catholic Church grew and spread throughout the country, the need became more pressing and was not confined to Catholics only, because as the organization increased in number and importance it compelled the attention of the non-Catholic public in such a way as to create demands for knowledge concerning its history, doctrine, ceremonial and discipline. The increase of literature in general, and especially of non-Catholic church literature, emphasized the need. The publication of detached volumes on various questions of interest in the Catholic Church from time to time by no means supplied it. Such detached treatises lacked the unity and cohesiveness necessary for a comprehensive view of the whole subject. Only those who were best fitted for study and best disposed to seek information could cover the whole field and find an answer to the questions which were constantly arising. Thinking men in the Church, and out of it, too, agreed that a comprehensive work on Catholic subjects is imperatively necessary for the right understanding of the Church by Catholics themselves as well as by Protestants, Jews and non-believers. In making this statement we do not detract in the least from the faithfulness of churchmen in teaching their congregations. In Catholic countries with parishes rightly arranged and equipped and the discipline of the Church rigidly carried out, nothing more would be required than the spoken word, but taking into consideration all the conditions of modern times, especially in non-Catholic countries, we must admit that something more is needed.

With this thought in mind, the founders of the "Catholic Encyclopedia" banded themselves together and formed an organization which has done phenomenal work, considering all the difficulties in the way. It must be remembered that, for various reasons, Catholic literature in this country, or perhaps we might more truthfully say in the English tongue, has not made as rapid strides as we wish. We are stating the case mildly. An illustration of this truth is found in the fact that no English Catholic publisher in the world

has had the enterprise or the will or the means to get out a Catholic Encyclopedia. In striking contrast to this state of affairs is the action of a publishing house in the United States which brought out a "Jewish Encyclopedia" at an enormous expenditure without any outside aid, as far as is known. We repeat, then, that the editors of this work, who are not capitalists at all, and who had the courage to undertake so great a task in the face of the enormous difficulties which stood in their way, have placed the English-speaking world under an obligation to them which it will never discharge.

One of the most remarkable things about the first volume of the "Catholic Encyclopedia" is that it needs no apology. If it were only passably good, we should feel inclined to praise it unstintedly, but it is as nearly perfect as a work of the kind can be, and therefore without any violation of conscience whatever we congratulate the editors, the publishers, the collaborators, the stockholders and the advance subscribers for giving the first volume of this monumental work to the English-speaking world.

They made a promise in the beginning which was very difficult of fulfillment. They proposed to give "authoritative information on the entire cycle of Catholic interests, action and doctrine; what the Church teaches and has taught; what she is doing and has done for the highest welfare of mankind; her methods, past and present; her struggles, her triumphs, and the achievements of her members, not only for her own immediate benefit, but for the broadening and deepening of true science, literature and art." They announced that "the book would not be exclusively a Church encyclopedia, nor limited to the ecclesiastical science and the teaching of churchmen, but that it should be a record of all that Catholics have done, not only in behalf of charity and morals, but also for the intellectual and artistic development of mankind; that it should record what Catholic artists, educators, poets, scientists and men of action have achieved in their special provinces; that it should contain not only precise statements of what the Church has defined, but also an impartial record of the different views of acknowledged authority on all disputed questions; that the work should be entirely new and not a mere translation or compilation from other encyclopedic sources; that the contributors should be chosen for their special knowledge and skill for presenting the subject, and that they should represent Catholic scholarship in every part of the world. The first volume proves beyond a doubt that the editors have lived up to their promise, and the list of contributors to the first volume shows that the writers have been chosen without respect of location for their special fitness for the respective subjects assigned to them. Each contribution is the work of a scholar. Each is original. Even the

shortest shows the same care as the longest. A striking feature is the bibliography which follows each contribution.

The illustrations are unusually excellent. The whole book is printed on a paper that serves to bring forth the very best results in this regard. On the whole the "Catholic Encyclopedia" is a monumental work. Each volume has a distinct value because it begins to open up a field which is extremely rich and which broadens with the appearance of each successive volume.

We sincerely hope that the work will receive the encouragement which it deserves at once, and that the public will realize the wisdom of subscribing for it immediately. It should be in the library of every English-speaking priest, of every student, irrespective of creed, of every institution of learning, ecclesiastical or secular, of every State or community. It is simply indispensable.

GUILLAUME I. *Roi des Pays-Bas et l'Eglise Catholique en Belgique (1814-1830)*. Par *Ch. Terlinden, LL. D.* Tome I., *La lutte entre l'Eglise et l'Etat (1814-1826)*, pp. xxi.+526. Tome II., *Le Concordat (1826-1830)*, pp. 470. Bruxelles Librairie, A. Dewilt, 1906.

We have in these two royal octavos—royal no less for their historical merits than for their material construction—the most noteworthy attempt to tell the story of the events and the struggles that led up to the Revolution of 1830 and the severance of the Netherlands into the two independent kingdoms of Belgium and Holland. It is true M. de Gerlache's "Histoire des Pays-Bas" and the introductory materials of Juste, de Bavay, Nothomb, to say nothing of the more general works of Balan, Nuyens and perhaps a few others, and more especially the learned researches of Pouillet and Colembrander and most of all of Albers, S. J., have thrown much light on the period in question; but the work here presented is the first attempt to draw forth from the original sources a complete account of the history of Belgian independence. Indeed, a work of this kind has until lately been hardly possible, for it was only very recently that the bringing together in the general archives of the Dutch Government at the Hague of all the documents preserved in the various ministerial departments for the period from 1814 to 1830 has placed within the available control of the scholar the original materials for such a history. Besides these materials the present author had the exceptional advantage of drawing upon the hitherto secret archives of the Secretariat of State and those of the Congregation of Extraordinary Affairs at Rome, while the British Museum furnished him with a number of highly important documents pertaining to religious conditions in the Netherlands. Tributary to

these main channels of supply have been various other sources of more or less original materials, so that the author has been able to bring forward the primal witnesses to attest the deeds and the motives of his country's founders. We say *deeds* and *motives*; for while M. Terlinden's aim is before all else historical—to narrate *deeds*, events—and in the furtherance of this aim he sacrifices not a little of that literary grace to which popular works of history owe so much of their interest, nevertheless he is too thoroughly a historian to pass by the interpretative finality of such widely human events as lead to a revolution that brings about the political independence of a people. And so the motives that brought about that revolution are not left concealed in the chronicle of the events. Religion was one of the main if not quite the primary cause of the Belgian severance in 1830. It was the persecuting policy of William's government that impelled the Catholics of Belgium to ally their forces with the liberalistic party, themselves groaning under the oppressive exactions of the Orange King. Neither party could have secured independence without the other. Together they succeeded under the combining impulse of religion and political liberty. The fact and the urgency of this dual motive are convincingly established by M. Terlinden, though it must not be inferred from this that his work is a brief for a partisan cause. In no true sense can the work be called polemical. It is first and last a narrative of historical events—events which themselves bespeak the personal element, the struggles of a sturdy people for their natural rights—the claims of conscience and legitimate freedom from tyrannical oppression.

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DICTIONARY OF CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS. Edited by Rev. James Hastings, D. D. Volume I., royal 8vo., 950 pages, with map, etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.

"The purpose of this Dictionary is to give an account of everything that relates to Christ—His person, life, work and teaching. It is in a sense complementary to the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' in which, of course, Christ has a great place. But a dictionary of the Bible, being occupied mainly with things biographical, historical, geographical or antiquarian, does not give attention to the things of Christ sufficient for the needs of the preacher, to whom Christ is everything. This is, first of all, a preacher's dictionary. The authors of the articles have been carefully chosen from among those scholars who are, or have been, themselves preachers. And even when the articles have the same titles as articles in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' they are written by new men and from a new stand-



point. It is thus a work which is quite distinct from and altogether independent of the 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

"It is called a 'Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels' because it includes everything that the Gospels contain, whether directly related to Christ or not. Its range, however, is far greater than that of the Gospels. It seeks to cover all that relates to Christ throughout the Bible and in the life and literature of the world. It will be observed at once that a large number of the titles of the articles are new. Again, there are certain topics which are treated more fully here than in the 'Dictionary of the Bible,' because they have specially to do with Christ. All these articles, moreover, have a range which is greater than the corresponding articles in the 'Dictionary of the Bible' if they occur there. They describe some aspect of Christ's person or work, not only as it is presented in the Bible, but also as it has been brought out in the history of the Church and in Christian experience. The subject is inexhaustible. It has not been exhausted in this work. Perhaps the most that has been done is to show how great Christ is."

This description of the work shows at once that it is very important in conception and execution. Throughout it bears the marks of earnestness and accuracy. We must repeat what we said in reviewing the Bible Dictionary from the same house, and we do so in no fault-finding spirit, but for the sake of accuracy, this is not a Catholic book. As far as we know, and we have glanced over the list of contributors, there is no Catholic among them. We are sorry for this, and we think it is a mistake, but it is the publisher's business. We have Biblical scholars who are unexcelled and who could treat certain subjects as well or better than any one else. And then there is the Catholic interpretation of many texts which cannot be ignored. It is true that in the present work the writers sometimes refer to the Catholic view, and this is a decided advancement. But it is not done always, and it is generally done too briefly.

We repeat that we are not finding fault with the Dictionary, because it does not pretend to be what it is not, and we must take it for what it is. We have here a fund of information carefully collected, attractively and clearly set forth and printed in a manner to attract and hold even the less zealous student.

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THE CASUIST. A Collection of Cases in Moral and Pastoral Theology. 8vo., pp. 339. James F. Wagner, New York.

"The present volume, made up chiefly of cases that appeared in *The Homiletic Monthly*, is issued in answer to the request of some

of the subscribers to this magazine who have expressed their desire to possess these cases in such form as to be easily accessible when reference to them is necessitated by the exigencies of daily missionary life.

"The cases are plain and practical, such as come into the sphere of activity of the priest whose duty brings him into intimate relations with souls, either as confessor, or adviser, or friend.

"In fact, many of the cases presented are original, and were sent to the editor for solution by busy or perplexed missionaries. Others, taken from the various periodicals, have been chosen for their practical value, and to such cases the author's name is appended."

This book opens up the question again: Should works on moral theology be published in the vernacular? We think not, because Latin is still taught in our seminaries for good and sufficient reasons, and we presume that all theological students are able to read the language well enough to understand books of moral theology. The information contained in these books ought to be confined to priests or persons preparing for the priesthood. The laity should get their knowledge of moral theology in other ways. We must add, and do so with pleasure, that the book is of real practical value. The cases are well chosen. They fit right into our every-day needs. They answer questions that arise every day and that require special interpretation and application of the law. There is one serious drawback that should be remedied in a future edition: the name of the author is not on the title page. It will not do to say that authorities are quoted at every step. The name of a responsible author would induce us to accept these quotations as correct and would encourage us to follow his conclusions more readily.

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**MEDITATIONS FOR THE USE OF THE SECULAR CLERGY.** From the French of Father Chaignon, S. J. By *Right Rev. L. De Goesbriand, D. D.*, Bishop of Burlington. In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 695 and 512. New revised edition. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

When this book was first published the pious translator spoke of it as follows:

"A book in the English language containing a course of meditations for the use of the secular clergy is very much needed in the United States and elsewhere. The work of which we give a translation was not, however, written by a secular priest; it is the work of a reverend Jesuit Father, who died in 1883 at Angers. But the venerable father had received from God the vocation to devote himself to the sanctification of the secular clergy, with the details of whose life he was perfectly acquainted. Father Chaignon wrote

of himself: 'Through a merciful and providential disposition, for which we shall be forever thankful, God designed to make use of us in a great number of pastoral retreats, during more than thirty years, to remind His ministers of the glorious privileges and the grave obligations of the priest and the pastor.' It has also been written of Father Chaignon: 'Over three hundred retreats preached with admirable success in nearly every diocese of France are an evidence of his particular vocation.' The learned lecturer has reproduced the substance of his conferences in books which are known and admired by all priests. They constitute a remarkable monument of eloquence and piety, which secures to their author a conspicuous place amongst the most eminent masters of the spiritual life. The idea of the dignity and excellence of the priesthood had taken possession of the whole soul of Father Chaignon, and to communicate it strong and luminous to the minds of the clergy he applied all the resources of his talent and the wealth of his learning."

Since these words were written other excellent books of meditation for clergy and laity have appeared, and therefore the same need does not exist now. The excellence of this work has not, however, grown less, nor does it suffer by comparison.

After preliminary chapters on the necessity of meditation and on the different methods, the author treats in the first volume of the sanctification of the priest, and in the second he furnishes meditations for the Sundays and feasts of the year and for the feasts of some saints. Each meditation is arranged simply. First the subject is announced, then the points. After the points have been developed consecutively there is a resumé of them.

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AN INDEXED SYNOPSIS OF THE "GRAMMAR OF ASSENT." By *Rev. John J. Toohey, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 220 Longmans, Green & Co., 91 and 93 Fifth avenue, New York; London and Bombay.

"The philosophy of Cardinal Newman is arousing such widespread interest and is assuming such a prominence in the controversial and apologetic literature of the day that there seems to be a call for a work which shall bring the contents of that philosophy within easy reach of inquiring minds and make it possible to pursue with facility a systematic study of it. The present volume is an attempt in this direction as regards that portion of Newman's philosophy which is developed in the 'Grammar of Assent.' And whatever be the individual judgment upon Newman's philosophical system, it is hoped that this synopsis will commend itself to serious students generally as contributing in some way towards an adjustment of the claims of that philosophy upon our acceptance.

"This volume departs considerably from the ordinary plan of a synopsis; by being thrown into the form of an index, it is intended to serve at once as an analytical index to the 'Grammar of Assent,' as a dictionary of Newman's philosophy, as a catalogue of his doctrines and as a summary of his arguments. Moreover, this synopsis has not aimed at presenting a bare outline or skeleton of Newman's thought such as is commonly found in a synopsis or index; it goes much further. As far as is consistent with the scope of the book, Newman has been allowed to speak in his own words, without abridgment; for it was considered that those who should read this synopsis would be much better satisfied if Newman's thought was presented to them in his own language, and with a certain fullness, than if it was unduly compressed or interpreted for them by the words of another."

We imagine that no one will question what the author says about the excellence of Newman's philosophy and the desirability of making it more accessible. Nor will any one be likely to question the means which the author uses to that end. We can assure our readers that the plan of action has been faithfully followed and that the result is admirable.

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LA DOCTRINE DE LA PREDESTINATION. Dans l'Eglise Réformée des Pays-Bas depuis l'origine jusqu'au Synode National de Dordrecht en 1618 et 1619. Etude Historique par *Théodore Van Oppenraay*. Pp. xlv.+272. Lovanii: Joseph Van Leuthout, 1906.

The monographs written by the candidates for academic honors in the theological faculty of Louvain are magisterial not only in the sense that they worthily represent the dignity and sustain the splendid reputation of that university, but more literally in that they are books which truly *teach*, works that increase, widen and freshen the existing fund of information on their respective subjects. Looking over the long list of these publications—some three score in all and dating back as far as 1841—one is struck by the wide range and interest of the subjects which they cover. Theology—dogmatic and moral—Sacred Scripture, ecclesiastical history, canon law—all the departments of divinities are enriched by these researches. The latest accession to the list, the essay here presented, is obviously one that will not attract the general reader; but the student whose *Fach*—as the Germans call it—lies in the doctrinal history of the Reformation will find this monograph highly instructive and interesting. The author has limited himself to a relatively brief period of time, the first portion of which covers the second half of the sixteenth century, during which portion certain preachers of the new evangel endeavored to introduce the doctrine of condi-

tional predestination into the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. The second portion covers the first eighteen years of the seventeenth century, the period of the Arminian movement in behalf of the same teaching. In following the course of this doctrinal history the author's aim and spirit is in no sense polemical. His interest is exclusively historical and his material is drawn from the original sources—the dogmatic books used by the first and the successive Reformed communities. A glance over the extensive bibliography assures the reader of the painstaking research that has made the work possible and has placed within reach of the student of the characteristic tenets of Calvinism so thorough and reliable a medium of information.

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LES ORIGINES DU STYLE GOTHIQUE EN BRABANT. Par *Raymond Lemaire*, D. So., mor. et hist. Partie I., L'Architecture Romaine. Vromant et Cie, Bruxelles, 1906, pp. xi.+312. Fourth ed.

The origin and early development of the architectural glories of the thirteenth century are still but imperfectly known, notwithstanding the amount of research they have elicited and the extensive literature they have called forth. Nor will that knowledge become adequate until detailed studies of the individual localities wherein those monuments exist enmass the necessary data. A study of this kind is embodied in the above work. The author has confined his investigations to Brabant, a province whose numerous early and mediæval religious edifices offer abundant material. The field thus restricted would not at first sight seem likely to have more than a local or at the most a professional interest. However, the relation of historical development under which the author has conceived his subject gives to his book a much wider appeal. The universalizing relation here meant is the history of the Roman architecture in general and in Belgium—Brabant—in particular. To each of these introductory viewpoints M. Lemaire has devoted interesting though withal brief chapters. The larger bulk, however, of the present volume consists in the textual description—fully and richly illustrated by photographs, outlines and plans—of the relics of the Roman style existing in Brabant, especially in the neighborhood of Louvain, Brussels and Tirlemont. The foundation is thus laid in the Roman period of the Belgian temples for the subsequent transition to and development of the Gothic style—the style which is to form the main theme of the next installment of the author's work. The present volume, therefore, while wholly introductory to that theme, has its own completeness, due to the singleness of its subject matter—Roman architecture—and should as such have an interest not only

for the professional student of architecture, but likewise for the general reader, especially for one who is preparing to travel in the pertinent region. For the latter the author's luminous descriptions and illustrations will have a unique value.

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PROPOSED REPUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN ENGLAND, First Bishop of Charleston. Edited under the direction of the Most Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee, with Introduction, Notes and Index by Rev. J. T. McDermott, D. D.

From the Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, we receive the announcement that they will, in case sufficient orders are promptly received, republish the collected works of Bishop England. This is an undertaking of vital interest to American Catholics and affords them a rare opportunity to do a service to the cause of Catholic literature and education.

Bishop England's works have a permanent value not only as literature, but as an important and almost the only source for the early history of Catholicism in America. In the present age of criticism and controversy these rare volumes are being sought on account of their inestimable value as a repository of argument and illustration of the important tenets of the Catholic faith, couched in language so apt and expressive as to be valuable for all time both to clergyman and layman. Scholars are just now beginning to appreciate Bishop England as a man of letters.

He possessed one of the most vigorous and versatile intellects that the Church in this country has produced. His writings are veritable storehouses of information on subjects literary, historical and ecclesiastical. As a champion of the faith in the early days he engaged in many notable controversies, and his addresses and arguments in every field of polemics have almost the character of a standard reference work on the subject. The clergy and laity will therefore welcome this work, and it is indeed surprising that it has been allowed to remain inaccessible for so long a time.

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MEDULLA FUNDAMENTALIS THEOLOGIAE MORALIS, quam Seminaristis et Presbyteris Paravit *Guilielmus Stang*, Episcopus Riverormensis, S. Theologiae Doctor, Ejusque Lovanii Quondam Professor. Editio Altera et Aucta. Neo-Eboraci, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

The appearance of a second edition of Bishop Stang's book emphasizes the loss which the Church in this country has suffered in his death. He had a rare combination of talents, and he made every one bring forth fruit a hundredfold. In this little book,

already well known, we have a synopsis which he formerly made for his pupils at Lorain. His motto was briefness and clearness, and he has lived up to it. He was not mistaken when he resolved to make the work accessible to a larger number by publishing it in book form. It will do all that he expected it to do. It will bring the principles of moral theology back to the mind quickly, and it can be kept at hand and carried about much more easily than fuller and larger volumes. It is not necessary to say a word about the manner in which the work is done. Bishop Stang's name is a guarantee of excellence.

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**BENEDICENDA; or, Rites and Ceremonies of Some of the Principal Functions of the Roman Pontifical and Roman Ritual.** By *Rev. A. J. Schulte*. 8vo., cloth, net, \$1.50.

A companion volume to Father Schulte's excellent book called "Consecranda." The work of the same skillful hand, guided by the same clear, well-informed, experienced mind, and possessing the same value, not only for Bishops, priests and such clerics as take part in the ceremonies, but also for students in ecclesiastical seminaries who can gain from it at once that clear, intelligent and comprehensive understanding of the blessings of the Church, which comes to most priests only after years of labor and study, and perhaps blundering, and sometimes doesn't come at all. Any one who has used Father Schulte's books in practice knows their true value. We have had that happy experience, and therefore we can recommend them unreservedly.

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**STUDIES IN IRISH HISTORY. 1603-1649.** Being a course of lectures delivered before the Irish Literary Society of London. Edited by R. Barry O'Brien. Second series. 12mo., pp. 324. Brown & Nolan, Ltd., Dublin, Belfast and Cork.

The subjects of the lectures are: "The Plantation of Ulster," by Rev. S. A. Cox, M. A.; "Strafford"—Part I, "The Graces;" Part II, "The Eve of 1641"—by Philip Wilson, M. A.; "1641," by Arthur Houston, K. C., LL. D., and "The Confederation of Kilkenney," by Dr. Donelan, M. Ch., M. B.

The subjects have strong historic interest and are treated at length by gentlemen of national reputation in an able and interesting manner. The value of the lectures is much enhanced by notes and bibliographies.

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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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VOL. XXXII.—JULY, 1907—No. 127

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## A FRENCH VIEW OF ENGLISH CATHOLICITY,

FROM the "Anglo-Catholic" current our author turns to the Catholic Revival, properly so called. The chapter entitled "*Les Progrès du Catholicisme*" is devoted chiefly to Newman, confessedly the greatest of all the converts the Church had gained through the Oxford Movement. It is in some respects a sad history. There existed, among a certain section of English Catholics, a distrust of Newman's methods, and even a suspicion that he was tainted with that form of "Liberalism" which had attacked some continental Catholics, and which issued in the deplorable and now rapidly dying "Old Catholic" schism. Manning himself imagined that Newman's desire was to create a sort of Oxford flavored, Anglican Catholicism, while his own conviction was that what the Church and the Christian faith needed then was insistence on the authority and infallibility of the Church's central and sovereign power—the Supreme Pontiff. The fact was that Manning, above all things a man of action, failed to appreciate the peculiar width and subtlety of Newman's grasp of any question, which enabled him to see and weigh both sides of a problem in a way that few are able to do. This wonderful capacity was remarkably manifested in Newman's line with regard to the *Rambler*, a review published under the auspices of some Catholics of "liberal" tendencies, and with regard to which he was asked to intervene by the Bishops. The moderation of his action caused him to incur the vehement opposition of certain members of the so-called

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Ultramontane school, notably W. G. Ward, in the *Dublin Review*. The whole controversy can merely be alluded to here, but the lack of confidence in the great Oratorian on the part of a section of English Catholics hindered the work he might have done in various public undertakings and cast a shadow over the next twenty years of his life—a shadow only wholly removed when our Holy Father Leo XIII. raised him to the Sacred College in 1879. The intense sympathies of Newman's nature and his extraordinary sensitiveness of heart had a twofold result: they often caused him, simply because he tried to look at every question with sympathy for another's point of view, to be wholly misunderstood and his motives entirely misconstrued, and at the same time they brought to himself deep suffering of mind and heart which a shallower or less complex nature could not have experienced. But anything more opposite to the facts than the suspicion that Newman belonged to the liberalizing school, or was touched with the "Cis-alpine" heresy, could not be conceived. Never had Rome a more devoted son; never did the Vicar of Christ raise to the sacred purple a more faithful servant of the Church.

In view of this there is a pathetic note in a letter written by him to the Rev. Fr. Whitty on March 19, 1865, in which the following passages occur:

"I think, and with some comfort, that I have ever tried to act as others told me, and, if I have not done more, it has been because I have not been put to do more, or have been stopped when I attempted more.

"The Cardinal brought me from Littlemore to Oscott, he sent me to Rome, he stationed and left me in Birmingham. When the Holy Father wished me to begin the Dublin Catholic University, I did so at once. When the Synod of Oscott gave me to do the new translation of Scripture, I began it without a word. When the Cardinal asked me to interfere in the matter of the *Rambler*, I took on myself, to my sore disgust, a great trouble and trial. Lastly, when my Bishop, proprio motu, asked me to undertake the mission of Oxford, I at once committed myself to a very expensive purchase of land and began, as he wished me, to collect money for a church. In all these matters I think (in spite of many incidental mistakes) I should, on the whole, have done a work had I been allowed or aided to go on with them; but it has been our God's Blessed Will that I should have been stopped.

"If I could get out of my mind the notion that I could do something and am not doing it, nothing could be happier, more peaceful or more to my taste than the life I lead."

With regard to the action of our second great Cardinal-Arch-

bishop in his relations with Newman, we can scarcely do better than refer to the admirable remarks of M. Thureau-Dangin ("Seconde partie," pp. 331-333), who quotes, as applicable to these two Princes of the Church, Newman's own vivid sketch of the contrast between the characters of S. Gregory of Nazianzum and S. Basil, in his "Arians of the Fourth Century." The Catholic Church in England and the English people could have spared neither their Gregory nor their Basil.

Long before his elevation to the Cardinalate Newman had won the regard and reverence of all his countrymen, of whatever creed, whose regard was worth having, and who were capable of reverence for what was great, and noble, and saintly. The attack made on him, charging him and his brethren in the priesthood with possessing no love for truth, and, in fact, with placing dexterous lying among the virtues of a Christian character, by Mr. C. Kingsley, then a well-known clergyman of the "Broad Church" school, was the occasion of Newman's writing his immortal "Apologia." It was deplorable that a man, in many respects worthy of admiration, as Mr. Kingsley was, should have sunk to such controversial depths. The first edition of Newman's reply—now by no means easy to procure—contains his rejoinder to Kingsley's personal attacks and misstatements, taken *seriatim*, under the title of "Blot No. 1," "No. 2," and so on. It is delightful reading, sparkling with the writer's finest irony. He withdrew it, however, in later editions as possessing a temporary rather than a permanent interest, and as not affecting the main thesis of the book.

Mr. Kingsley's is to-day an almost unknown name among the majority of Anglicans; his calumnies have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten scandals, but the "Apologia" of Cardinal Newman will live and win from countless readers admiration and love for its saintly author so long as our English tongue shall last. From the day of its publication the English nation—all of it that was willing to be and capable of being enlightened, and this in spite of our proverbial prejudices, is surely the vast majority—recognized the honesty and the greatness of Newman, trusted and admired him and was proud to think that he was "English of the English." The result to the Church was necessarily of the happiest kind. "Quelque chose de son prestige, de sa popularité reconquise, rejaillissait sur tous les catholiques. De cette date, le nom de 'converti' a cessé d'être décrié" (p. 362).

Another event, shortly following, served to show the altered feeling of the country. Cardinal Wiseman, who had been for many years winning his way in the public life of England, died on February 15, 1865, after a life of magnificent service for God, the Church and

the English people he loved so deeply. His funeral wore all the signs of a national mourning. London had seen nothing like it, as the *Times* itself affirmed, since the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. It was difficult to think that this was the country that, with many honorable exceptions, had shrieked itself into hysterics fifteen years before at the restoration of the hierarchy.

The last chapter of M. Thureau-Dangin's second volume returns to the affairs of the Anglican Church. It deals first with the "Broad Church" section, with Stanley, now Dean of Westminster; Jowett, master of Balliol and regius professor of Greek at Oxford; with F. D. Maurice, Anthony Hort and Frederic Robertson. The author shows a fine and accurate judgment in his treatment of the teaching and influence of these various leaders. He recognizes that, from the point of a believer in the Christian Revelation, it would be rank injustice to associate the two first of these with the other three. The two groups represent a perfectly different "Broad Churchism." In fact, by Stanley's own avowals, and still more by Jowett's, we cannot class their opinions as belonging to "churchism" of any sort. Both believed conscientiously that they were justified in retaining their position in the Anglican communion, though dogmatic Christianity was a matter of indifference to both, and Jowett scarcely professed to retain any belief in it. They have their followers to-day, though of less celebrity than themselves, and the possibility of such phenomena throws an illuminating light on the life, the supposed witness to the faith and the discipline of Anglicanism. The "Essays and Reviews" controversy, in which writings synodically condemned by convocation were declared by the judicial committee of the Privy Council to be not repugnant to the doctrines of the Anglican Church, is a further illustration of them. So is the Colenso case, in which the Bishop of Natal, condemned and deprived by ecclesiastical authority, was supported by the same civil power in the temporalities of his see. Both these controversies were a terrible scandal to the best Anglican clergy and laity. M. Thureau-Dangin gives a fair and lucid account of them. And he has some wise words as to the undue haste with which, apropos of these deplorable affairs, Biblical criticism *as a whole* was decried and condemned. Many statements, critical and historical, now accepted generally, have been at first treated as heresies against the faith. It is good to compare the lack of proportion and the hasty conclusions of certain individual theologians with the wise patience of our Mother the Catholic Church. The Biblical Commission, appointed by the Holy Father, is just now turning the eyes of Catholics to this subject, and they know that the conclusions reached at Rome, whatever they may be, will assign to theological, historical and natural science their rightful place.

M. Thureau-Dangin's third and concluding volume is, as he tells us in his short foreword, composed of two distinct parts. The necessity, in the preceding volume "de dédoubler, en quelque sort, mon sujet, pour suivre séparément les deux courants issus du Mouvement d'Oxford, d'une part le courant proprement catholique, de l'autre le courant 'anglo-catholique,' qui tendait à catholiciser plus ou moins l'anglicanisme," he finds still more imperative as he proceeds in his work. "Plus on s'éloigne du mouvement originaire, plus cette séparation devient manifeste, et, plus, par suite, elle s'impose à l'historien." The first five chapters, therefore, treat of the history of the Church in England from the death of Cardinal Wiseman to that of Cardinal Manning, and this history, as the author remarks, develops itself around the two great leading figures of Newman and the second Archbishop of Westminster.

The question of Cardinal Wiseman's successor in the metropolitan see of England raised much discussion and some contention. The Chapter of Westminster, meeting a month after the Cardinal's decease, sent to Rome a *terna*, the first name on which was that of Mgr. Errington, followed by those of Dr. Clifford, Bishop of Clifton, and Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark. Mgr. Errington had been Wiseman's coadjutor, *cum jure successionis*, but owing to the difficulties that arose between the Cardinal and himself (difficulties that had their source in temperament, upbringing and a difference of ideal as to the right course for the Church in England to pursue in order to win back her rightful place), the Holy Father had revoked the appointment. It was understood that, while the Cardinal represented the policy of the Vatican, Mgr. Errington stood for the representative of the old hereditary Catholics of England. However regrettable may have been the difficulties between them, no blame whatever can be attached to the Cardinal, while Mgr. Errington's line of action—his modesty and ready self-effacement—won for him the added respect and affection of those who knew his real piety and worth.

His nomination by the Westminster Chapter seemed, however, like a declaration against the splendid administration that had just closed; and we can scarcely wonder that Pius IX. characterized it as *un insulto al Papa*. The other two Bishops nominated were viewed with favor by Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda, Dr. Grant being known as a *persona grata* to the English sovereign and government, and Dr. Clifford as the same to the English Catholic aristocracy. If the matter had been left with Propaganda, one of these would in all likelihood have succeeded to the Archbishopric. But, following a rare precedent, Pius IX. took the matter into his own hands, and putting aside the three candidates of the chapter—

all Bishops and Catholics by birth—named Henry Edward Manning, a convert and a simple priest, Archbishop of Westminster and head of the Church in England.

Nothing could redound more to his honor than every step he took on this almost unparalleled elevation—his simplicity, his earnest devotion, his self-distrust, his universal kindliness and geniality. Nothing could redound more to the honor of the Chapter of Westminster than the whole-hearted welcome they gave to their new Archbishop.

Manning's administration carried on and developed that of his illustrious predecessor. M. Thureau-Dangin (pp. 9 et seqq.) gives an appreciation, at once admiring and discriminating, of the character and work of the Archbishop. He was a born ruler and held the reins of power inflexibly in his own hands. His capacity for work, his influence over men of all grades and all kinds, his intense love and pity for the poor, for all suffering and oppressed, his unfailing sympathy with his clergy—these were some of the outstanding notes of the twenty-seven years during which he ruled England's primatial see. His zeal for education was immense; the Westminster Diocesan Education Fund, which he founded in 1866, enabled him to double the number of children in the Catholic schools of the archdiocese, raising them from 11,245 to 22,580. There was scarcely a great social or philanthropic enterprise in London which did not seek the support of the Archbishop. A "Mansion House Fund Committee" would have seemed strange if his name had not appeared amongst its members. We remember, the Sunday after his death, hearing a celebrated Anglican clergyman declare that he had been, more than any other man, instrumental in restoring Catholics to their place in the respect and confidence of their fellow-countrymen. We should demur to the exclusiveness of this statement, but if we associate Wiseman and Newman with their brother Cardinal it is undoubtedly a simple statement of a fact that cannot be challenged.

There is one feature in Manning's character which, in view of the uncompromising nature of his line in religious and ecclesiastical matters, might easily be lost sight of—a feature which appears most emphatically in his later journals. We mean the tenderness he felt for those outside the Church, his sympathy with their difficulties, his wide toleration (in the true sense of the word) for those in error. It was another side of that sensitive generosity of heart that went out so unrestrainedly to all in suffering. In presenting the faith to his countrymen he never lost sight of their limitations, their prejudices, or those inherent instincts (so often overlaid by ignorance and distorted by inherited tradition) of fair play and justice which mark the Anglo-Saxon character.

M. Thureau-Dangin treats at length two interesting events which brought the Church into definite relations with Anglicanism and which, though in neither case could Catholic authority approve, yet were no doubt of service in developing, for many minds, the progress of "Anglo-Catholicism" towards the fullness of the faith. The first of these was the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, founded on September 8, 1857, by Ambrose Phillips de Lisle, a convert since 1825, and George Frederick Lee, vicar of All Saints', Lambeth. De Lisle was known as one of the most admirable of Catholic laymen; he was, in a measure quite unshared by other English Catholics, enthusiastically hopeful of the return of the Anglican Church to Catholic communion, and in this sense he wrote at length, some months before the A. P. U. C. came into being, to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. His motive was beyond praise, but his miscalculation of the extent of the movement towards reunion among Anglicans, and of the real temper of even most High Churchmen, was both pathetic and extraordinary. Among those looking towards reunion and submission to the Apostolic See he reckoned ten Bishops, and among these he included the violently anti-Roman Samuel Wilberforce! The association at first numbered many Catholics as well as Anglicans; the prayer "Domine Jesu Christe, Qui dixisti apostolis Tuis," which immediately follows the "Agnus Dei" in the Mass, was chosen for the daily recitation of the associates, and a periodical called the *Union Review* was established, in which articles from both Catholics and Anglicans were published, some—and those not entirely from the Anglican side—of a description that ecclesiastical authority could not allow to pass unnoticed. However admirable the intentions of the founders, we cannot wonder that, in April, 1864, the English episcopate addressed a memorandum to Rome against the participation of Catholics in the association, and that this was condemned in the following September by a rescript from the Holy Office. Since then the association has consisted of Anglicans only. From it, however, sprung, in 1877, the "Order of Corporate Reunion," which had in view the special object of clearing away the initial obstacles to reunion which lay in the (at least) insecurity of the sacraments—of the episcopate and priesthood—of the Anglican Church. In the following year three members of the O. C. R. were secretly baptized, confirmed, ordained priests and then consecrated Bishops by—it is currently believed—one or more of the schismatic Jansenist Bishops of Holland. To avoid questions of jurisdiction, the consecration is said to have taken place on the high seas. Dr. Lee, one of the originators of both the A. P. U. C. and the O. C. R., was one of these Bishops thus consecrated; Dr. Thomas Mossman, rector of Torrington, Lin-



colnshire, was another. It is matter of great thankfulness to know that both died in the bosom of the Church. Who the third was is a question still shrouded in mystery. A number of Anglican clergymen were conditionally reordained, it is said, by them. The number has been put as high as 800, but probably this is a gross exaggeration. We heard it computed by a convert in Rome two years ago as about 200, but the facts will perhaps never be really known. It is not believed that any successors were consecrated to the episcopate.

The other event to which we have alluded was the publication of Dr. Pusey's famous "Eirenicon," which took the form of a letter to Mr. Keble, and which saw the light in September, 1865. It was, in fact, a development of the thesis of Tract XC. Pusey saw nothing in the *authoritative* teaching of the Catholic Church with which the Anglican formularies could not be reconciled, but he laid stress on what he termed the *excrescences* of Catholic popular teaching and practice. The Council of Trent formed, in his eyes, no difficulty to reunion. In pursuance of this conviction he paid a visit, in the month following the appearance of the "Eirenicon," to several French Bishops, among them Mgr. Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, afterwards martyred at the barricades in the Commune of 1871. He believed himself to have received so much encouragement that he returned to France during the following winter and, among other prelates, visited the celebrated Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans. Unfortunately, the biographies both of Mgr. Darboy and of Mgr. Dupanloup are silent on the subject, and the possessors of the private papers of those illustrious prelates have not been able to furnish M. Thureau-Dangin with any information. In England, both among Catholics and Anglicans, there was a sharp divergence of estimate as to the line taken by the "Eirenicon." Probably it is never read nowadays; but it remains a witness to Pusey's good faith and pious hopes, and it was the means of producing in a letter to the author a magnificent defense of the homage paid by Catholics to the Mother of God on the part of Dr. Newman—a homage which, strangely enough, Dr. Pusey had vehemently attacked while delivering what he desired to be his earnest plea for peace and union.

Another remarkable publication of this period was a commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles by Bishop Alex. P. Forbes, Anglican Bishop of Brechin, a man of wide culture, real scholarship and deep piety. He had been some years previously censured by his fellow-Bishops in Scotland for the strongly Catholic character of his teaching on the Blessed Eucharist. The censure had, of course, been, like other Anglican sentences, wholly inoperative, and the Bishop's present publication emphasized more strongly than ever the ad-

vanced nature of his convictions. In great part this commentary on the Articles was a manual, so far as it went, of Catholic theology. Like Sancti Clara's book in the seventeenth century and Tract XC. in 1841, the Bishop demonstrated the ease with which the equivocal statements of the Articles could be interpreted with little violence to Catholic truth. We have heard an Anglican Bishop in Scotland describe the work as "special pleading." The charge may be true, but *every* interpretation of the extraordinary document so much prized by Protestant-minded Anglicans is no less special pleading. It is almost impossible to believe in the good faith of the original framers of the Articles, but they were certainly past masters in the art of concealing their real purpose and in saving themselves, by some dexterous *tour de force*, from a conclusion to which their previous statements seemed expressly designed to lead up. It has always been a puzzle to us why a section of Anglicans are so attached to the Articles, when at almost every point you may drive a coach-and-six through this supposed bulwark of Protestant orthodoxy.

A long chapter is, inevitably, devoted to the Œcumenical Council which was opened at the Vatican in December, 1869. M. Thureau-Dangin gives a clear and impartial account of the state of feeling, in England especially, on the subject of the definition of Papal infallibility which, it was clearly understood, would be brought before the Council. The attitude of both the Opportunists and Inopportunists is fairly described, though it is clear that the author's sympathies are with Newman rather than with Ward and others who represented what was regarded by some as an extreme of "Ultramontanism." Even to trace the outlines of the great Council and its work would be impossible here, but there are two points in connection with that work which are too often lost sight of and which we may briefly refer to. There is a widespread notion that the Council met simply for the definition of the infallibility, and that its other proceedings were unimportant. In reality, the Council dealt with a long list of subjects, all of capital importance to religion, the Church and human society; and but for the invasion of the city by Victor Emmanuel's troops in September, 1870, would no doubt on its reassembling have dealt with many more. The infallibility of the Supreme Pontiff, when speaking *ex cathedra* as supreme pastor and doctor he defines any point in faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, was only one of these subjects. Again, the definition is commonly looked upon as the victory of the extreme Ultramontanists in the Council. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Divine guidance of the Church was never more clearly manifested. The Council had but expressed, in terms

of guarded moderation, what the whole Church believed. M. Thureau-Dangin's thoughtful words deserve to be quoted. After speaking of the misunderstanding of the real scope of the definition on the part of Dr. Pusey and others, he continues:

"Plus tard, quand on a pu juger les choses avec plus de sang-froid et qu'on a mieux connu les délibérations du concile, on s'est rendu compte qu'en dépit de certaines apparences, loin d'avoir consacré la victoire d'un parti, la haute assemblée s'est élevée dans une région supérieure à celle des rivalités de personnes et des querelles d'écoles, qu'elle a écarté les idées excessives que certains prétendaient lui imposer, que, si elle a donné tort à la minorité sur l'opportunité de la définition, elle a tenu un large compte de ses observations, en écartant les formules trop absolues, d'abord proposées, en précisant et en limitant les cas très exceptionnels où s'exerce l'infailibilité, si bien que le dogme ainsi défini diffère notablement des thèses soutenues par les plus véhéments des controversistes infailibilistes d'avant le concile, et que cette définition est moins un succès pour eux qu'une garantie contre leurs exagérations. Ainsi, en dépit des passions des hommes, s'est réalisée la divine promesse de l'assistance de l'Esprit Saint." (Pp. 144, 145.)

And if anything were wanted to show to the world the splendid unity of the Church, that want was supplied in the not merely submissive, but willing and joyful acceptance of the definition by Opportunists and Inopportunists alike. Not one Bishop in the whole Catholic Church hesitated for one moment as to his adhesion. The pitiful "Old Catholic" schism, now rapidly nearing its final extinction, scarcely availed to make, even for an hour, a false note in the harmony of the kingdom of Christ.

Among non-Catholics the failure to understand the drift of the definition of infallibility was extraordinary. Bismarck made the result of the Council the pretext for the "May Laws" and the Kulturkampf that followed his anti-Catholic legislation—proceedings that were made the subject of enthusiastic acclamation in a large meeting held in London of so-called Liberals, men who did not understand how liberty of conscience is the foundation of all true liberty in human society. Lord John Russell, who was to have presided at this meeting, but was hindered by ill health, published a letter, the tone of which recalled only too accurately that of his notorious "Durham Letter," more than twenty years before. This "Liberal" statesman secured by his action the thanks of the German Chancellor and of his imperial master—truly a strange political alliance!

What was far more astonishing, however, and far more deplorable was the line taken by Mr. Gladstone, who in November, 1874, published a pamphlet under the title "The Vatican Decrees in Their

Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation." The burden of this publication was that the Church, in consequence of her recent action, had changed her character, with results that no civil government could view without suspicion and alarm. The renown of the author caused, within a few weeks, the sale of no less than 120,000 copies. The Protestant section of the community was, of course, overjoyed to find an ally so illustrious and so unexpected, and the extraordinary strength and even violence of the language of the pamphlet stirred up all that was most unworthy in English prejudice. Manning replied to the great statesman in a powerful letter to the *Times*, and a few weeks later in a more elaborate and extended refutation. But what brought back the mind of the country to sanity was the famous "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," which, before Manning's second protest, appeared on December 27, 1874, from the pen of John Henry Newman. The venerable Oratorian showed how the Syllabus, published in 1864, which had shared Gladstone's vehement denunciations, was simply a list of errors condemned in recent Pontifical pronouncements; how the definition of infallibility had simply declared the possession by the Pope of an authority which had not only been constantly acknowledged, but continually put in practice. The allusion made to the unhappy schism of the "Old Catholics" was at once pathetic and uncompromising. The whole tone of the "Letter," its splendid English, its firmness, joined to its tender sympathy, produced a wonderful effect. As M. Thureau-Dangin writes:

"Les protestants de bonne foi sont ébranlés, touchés par cette argumentation sincère, forte, oraiment libérale, écrite en une langue qu'ils comprennent, qu'ils admirent, et où rien ne les blesse. Gladstone a rencontré le contradicteur qui est le mieux en mesure de contenir et de désarmer les passions qu'il a soulevées. Les catholiques, en général, sont fiers de leur champion et reconnaissants du secours qu'il leur apporte dans cette crise périlleuse" (p. 182). There were a few, indeed, who affected to see in this act of noble service to our holy religion the work of a "minimizer;" but Rome did not see the matter in their light. Newman had stood forth as the champion and defender of the rights of the Holy See. Pius IX. recognized the good the "Letter" had accomplished, and a few years later the saintly recluse of Oscott took his place—his merit and the grandeur of his work no longer doubted, or obscured, or mistrusted—among the Princes of the Church. Rome and Christendom rejoiced in the long-merited and long-deferred honor when our Holy Father Leo XIII. crowned that splendid career with the dignity of the sacred purple.

The chapter following that which treats of the Council has for its title "Les Deux Cardinaux," and relates the creation of both the

illustrious English ecclesiastics to the Sacred College. It was significant of how times were altered to note the universal satisfaction when the Archbishop of Westminster, in 1875, was thus promoted, and still more when, four years later, the great Oratorian received the same dignity. We say "universal," for all Protestants of good will were conscious that two of the foremost Englishmen of the day had received a recognition which reflected honor, not on the recipients alone, but on their country. The last years of both Cardinals were spent amidst the veneration and deep appreciation of their fellow-countrymen, and each passed away surrounded on every side by the grateful homage of the land they had loved and served so devotedly. Henceforward no sane person could imagine that good citizenship and devoted Catholicity were incompatible terms.

The later years of the Cardinal-Archbishop were full of manifold activities, not only spiritual and ecclesiastical, but scientific, social and philanthropic. His enthusiasm for the cause of temperance is well known and won him a profound influence among the London poor. Still more striking was his work in connection with the great strike of the "dockers" in 1889. It was to him far more than to any other man that the suffering and danger of that long period of trouble was finally brought to an end; and it was in simple recognition of this that the agreement at last effected was known by London and by the country generally as "The Cardinal's Peace." The Anglican Bishop of London, who had been associated in the efforts to bring the strike to an end, had retired in despair from a task, the difficulties of which he felt to be insurmountable; the aged Catholic prelate had been able to achieve a complete triumph for the social peace of East London. No wonder that, when he lay in state at the Archbishop's house, in January, 1892, among the many thousands who flocked to pay him a last homage were countless workmen, their wives and families, whom his efforts had rescued from dire distress. The very fact that he was a Prince of the Church seemed forgotten in the sense that between those tall burning candles lay the unwearied, invincible friend of London's poor and suffering millions.

Nothing could be a greater contrast to this life, full of outward activities, than the quiet obscurity of S. Philip's house at Oscott. Yet Newman was none the less in intimate touch with all that was best in the life and thought of his country. M. Thureau-Dangin's account of those last years—their calm and intense serenity after the storm and stress of the long life—is eloquently touching and worthy of his subject. The famous Archbishop he admires and venerates in fullest measure; but the illustrious son of S. Philip is to the last his hero, on whom he lavishes all the homage of a loving reverence. We cannot refrain from quoting a few sentences:

"Le temps, loin d'avoir effacé la gloire de Newman, l'a consacrée. Plus que jamais, l'Angleterre entière reconnaît en lui un de ses plus grands hommes, admirant son génie, honorant sa vertu et subissant encore, par-delà le tombeau, le charme singulier que, vivant, il exerçait sur ceux que l'approchaient. Ce qui vaut mieux que la confirmation de cette gloire, c'est la persistance de l'action bienfaisante qu'il exerce sur les âmes. Aujourd'hui encore, nulle conversion d'anglicans au Catholicisme où l'on ne discerne son influence. Ses ouvrages, sans cesse réédités, sont lus avidement par chaque génération nouvelle. Il n'est pas de nom qui ait, aux yeux des catholiques anglais, un tel prestige et dont ils se parent avec autant d'orgueil" (p. 290).

The world has seen few writers so many-sided in their genius. The preacher who could give to the world the "Parochial and Plain Sermons" before and the "Sermons to Mixed Congregations" after his submission to the Church; the scholar and historian who could write the "Arians of the Fourth Century" and the "Historical Sketches;" the theologian who could produce the "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine" and the various theological tracts; the Christian controversialist whose keenest shaft was winged with charity, who has given us the "Difficulties of Anglicanism" and the inimitable "Present Position of Catholics in England;" the poet who could leave behind him such a chef-d'œuvre as the "Dream of Gerontius," and, lastly, the writer who could pen such stories as "Callista" and "Loss and Gain," must indeed be reckoned as in the very front rank of the immortals. Of the "Apologia" we have already spoken at some length.

With the departure of the two great Cardinals the history of the Church in England necessarily entered on a new epoch. Two generations of heroic effort had lifted her from the obscurity and depression of the penal laws; she was once more an evident power in the land that once was all her own. The years that have passed since 1892 are too recent to be weighed as yet in the balance of history, but M. Thureau-Dangin's estimate of the present period of English Catholic life is no doubt a true one: "On dirait un instant de répit après un effort violent, une pose en terrain plat après une laborieuse et heureuse ascension. Personne toutefois n'a le sentiment que cette situation soit durable et définitive, et que l'évolution commencée, il y a soixante ans, doive s'arrêter là. Si peu qu'il en paraisse maintenant au dehors, le ferment catholique qui a été déposé dans la conscience anglaise, n'est pas mort; il y continue, dans l'ombre et le silence, son mystérieux travail" (p. 309).

The last four chapters of this long and exhaustive study of the religious side of English history during the last century are occu-

pied with an interesting and sympathetic account of the Anglican Church, especially in her more Catholic aspect, in the period following the "Tractarian" epoch. The movement had taken, to a large extent, a new form. It was no longer essentially the work of learned university men, whose names as scholars and writers were well known to the public ear; it had become, primarily, the inspiration of a new ideal of parochial life, marked by intense activity and true devotion. Also, while the older school, while grasping with invincible firmness certain Catholic principles and doctrines, had shrunk from any remarkable outward manifestation of these, their later followers were persuaded that Catholic convictions must issue in Catholic worship ceremonially expressed; that men must be taught by the eye as well as by the ear. The "Ritualists," as this younger school of High Churchmen came to be called (it was a singular misnomer, as very few of them were authorities on the Roman or any other rite!), were far from receiving the entire sympathy of the older "Anglo-Catholics;" but they have succeeded in causing such a revolution in Anglican worship and the ornaments of Anglican churches as would have been deemed impossible even half a century ago. The triumphant "Moderate High Churchism" of to-day, in its ceremonial aspect, would have been in those days branded as unblushing Popery. The kind of function now beloved by Bishops and the fashionable Anglican world is immeasurably more "advanced" than what in many parishes caused riot and uproar in our fathers' days. It is another question whether this wide acceptance of ceremonial at all connotes acceptance of such Catholic doctrine and discipline as were the very life of the Oxford leaders of 1833 and afterwards—men whose outward expression of their earnest faith would be considered nowadays bold, inadequate and even grotesque.

In the earlier days of "Ritualism" this was not so. Men like Charles Lowder, Alexander Mackonochie and Arthur Henry Stanton cared nothing for vestments, lights and incense, *in themselves*. There was no æsthetic self-gratification in the worship at S. Peter's, London Docks, or S. Alban's, Holborn. But such men, like thousands of the best of Anglican clergymen and laymen to-day, were convinced that this ceremonial was part of their heritage as belonging to "a branch of the Catholic Church," and was, also, expressly ordained by the "Ornaments Rubric" in the Book of Common Prayer; moreover, they knew by their own experience the effect that it produced in impressing the truth they held and in drawing their people to a fuller faith and a devouter worship.

There were two great objects that the "Ritualists" of forty and fifty years ago and their successors to-day set before themselves—

to restore the homage due to our Divine Lord in the Holy Eucharist, and by means of the Sacrament of Penance to bring souls out of the bondage of sin to a new and loyal Christian life. And these were the men whom Bishops charged against and persecuted, and whom wretches like the paid spies of the "Church Association" were allowed to bear witness against in civil courts—these men whose whole lives were spent in the service of the poorest, and whose one aim was the restoration of the fallen and the guiding of the faithful. The story of the "Victorian Persecution," as it used to be called, is a story of true heroism displayed in the face of overwhelming odds; of quiet, unassuming sacrifice, and of suffering borne unflinchingly and uncomplainingly; and, on the other hand, of meanness, cruelty and persistent malice, that makes an Englishman blush that such things could be in a country that prated of tolerance and religious freedom.

Beginning with the troubles, more than half a century ago, at S. Barnabas', Pimlico, M. Thureau-Dangin traces the history of the "Anglo-Catholic" movement through the riots at St. George's-in-the-East, the futile Royal Commission, the prosecutions of Mr. Mackonochie, Mr. Bennett (who secured for his teaching on the Eucharist a favorable judgment from the judicial committee of the Privy Council) and Mr. Punhas, the controversy on the Athanasian Creed, the storm which attended the petition addressed to convocation of 483 clergymen desiring the proper instruction and due license of those who were to act as confessors in the Anglican Church, and the disgraceful and wholly abortive Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. The implacable Protestant section of Anglicanism, after trying with very indifferent success to obtain anything more than words from the Bishops, turned to Parliament, and there the Primate, Dr. Tait, introduced a bill, which the government of the day supported, with the avowed design of "putting down Ritualism." Looking at the whole question from without, it was at any rate obvious that the Ritualists had, to say the least of it, as much standing ground within the wide limits of Anglicanism as their persecutors. The position is not logical, nor is it possible to a Church that really pretends to authority in teaching; but, given the conditions that prevail in that society, it is inevitable. From every point of view, therefore, the action of the Protestant section was intolerable. To a dweller in the United States, where religious freedom is really understood, such action must seem an impossible anachronism; yet it took place in England towards the end of the nineteenth century! The result at the moment was an immense majority in both Houses of Parliament in favor of the policy of persecution. Nineteen Bishops voted in favor of the bill, two abstained from voting, only



one (Dr. Moberley, of Salisbury—let his memory be had in honor for his solitary stand for justice and equity) against the measure. The eventual result, after several prosecutions and the imprisonment of a number of hard-working, devoted clergy, was absolute failure—"un coup manqué," as M. Thureau-Dangin terms the act.

The "Persecution Company, Limited," however, was hard to quell, and the fatuous bitterness of its relentless persecution of Mr. Mackonochie is a dark episode in English religious history. Utterly discredited as it was, it still had power to vex and harass and eventually to shatter, both in body and mind, one of the best, bravest and most self-sacrificing of the Anglican clergy. The well-known story of the exchange between him and Mr. Suckling, vicar of St. Peter's, London Docks, at the suggestion of the dying Archbishop Tait, of Mr. Mackonochie's continued persecution and deprivation, and of his pathetic death amid the snows of the Mamore Forst, in the Western Highlands, is told with much sympathy. After a short lull in the strife Mr. Bell Cox, of St. Margaret's, Liverpool, was added to the ranks of the clergy imprisoned for conscience sake. Then followed the St. Paul's "reredos case," in which the veto pronounced against the prosecution of the Dean and Chapter by Temple, Bishop of London, was sustained by the House of Lords. This was a severe blow to the persecutors, and the result of the trial of the venerated Bishop of Lincoln before the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson), confirmed as it was by that very judicial committee which in times past had shown itself as intolerant of the introduction of "Ritualistic practices," was a still more crushing one. The later campaign of ruffianism and sacrilegious disturbance of church services carried on by John Kensit, a London bookseller in a small way, and his bands of "Wickliff preachers" are shortly mentioned. They were exhibitions that disgusted all religious-minded and fair-minded people of whatever creed, and the best cause in the world could scarcely have sustained the assistance of such defenders. No general recrudescence of persecution was to be feared from the grotesque and blasphemous performances of these latest champions of so-called Protestantism.

In fact, the Ritualists have, to a great extent, triumphed all along the line. But there is one underlying fact which hopelessly vitiates the comparatively favorable decisions of later years. Archbishop Benson would not even hold his court as metropolitan (or in virtue of the old rights which belonged to the successor of St. Augustine as *ex officio* Papal Legate, which, according to one opinion, he was attempting to exercise!) until he had secured the recognition of his jurisdiction from the Privy Council. And from his judgment an appeal lay to the judicial committee and was actually carried there,

as to the Supreme Court in ecclesiastical cases. These facts reduce the apparent victory to something very like an accident, for who can foretell what the next decision of the committee may be? Unless the Anglican Church succeeds in ridding herself of this temporal supremacy in spiritual matters, all other questions, however decided for the moment, must appear as mere side issues. And, in spite of the brave and noble stand against Erastianism made by such clergy as the leaders of the "Ritualists" and such laymen as Lord Halifax (*nomen semper laudabile!*), we cannot but ask, looking at the origin of the Anglican position, how is it to be expected but that the State will, so long as any bonds of establishment connect it with the Anglican body, suffer any supremacy but its own? The very *raison d'être* of the schism under Henry VIII. was the substitution of the royal supremacy for that of the Vicar of Christ, and the royal supremacy is now represented by the Ministers and Parliament of the day. No doubt the time will come when the State itself will sever the connection, with little regret on the part of many Anglican churchmen. And then the disintegrating forces that are now merely kept in check through the accidental pressure of establishment will have full play, with what eventual results it is easy to speculate, but impossible to foresee. Of one thing we may be tolerably confident—that Anglicanism, as it is at present, will be profoundly influenced in *some* direction by the severance of the Anglican Church from all secular control, but in what direction? This present generation will, it is not unlikely, read the answer to the query.

In the meantime the "advanced" section continues more and more to gather into itself all that is best, most devoted and most hopeful for the future in the Anglican body. There have been—there are to-day—the most extraordinary *bizarrerries* of both teaching and practice in the ranks of this section; and it is obvious that by their entire lack of any *living* authority to which they acknowledge deference and obedience to be due, they are, in fact, resting on the very root-principle of the Protestantism which they so exuberantly (and honestly) denounce. But through their ranks there is another spirit at work, which has already brought thousands, and must bring thousands more, by the path of advanced Anglicanism to the gate of the Catholic Church. What for England, Scotland and the empire of "Greater Britain" is to be the final outcome of the revival of seventy years ago? Those who have embraced—illogically, no doubt, but with intense reality—so much of Catholic truth, can they indefinitely endure to be a merely tolerated section of a communion which admits as equally true (or equally indifferent) teaching in direct denial of what they know to be vital points of the Christian

faith? Our own experience coincides entirely with M. Thureau-Dangin's judgment as to the growing tendency towards separation of the conflicting elements: "L'extrême gravité des conséquences peut faire hésiter les plus convaincus et les plus hardis. Toutefois, *il est évident que l'idée marche.*"\* The recent report of the Royal Commission on the "Disorders in the Church" may have a far-reaching effect in this direction if its recommendations are attempted to be carried out with any consistency.

And if the break-up of Anglicanism comes, what then? Let the closing sentences of M. Thureau-Dangin's last volume answer the question:

"Le Rev. Walworth, prêtre américain, était un jour en visite, chez le Cardinal Newman, avec un prêtre étranger, à cause de ce dernier, la conversation avait lieu en latin; comme il était demandé si les anglicans, déjà portés si loin de leur point de départ par un courant mystérieux, ne le suivraient pas jusqu'au bout et ne finiraient pas par atteindre le plein catholicisme, Newman se borna à répondre ces deux mots: '*Spero fore.*' C'est aussi par ces mots que je veux conclure: *Spero fore.*"

J. FABER-SCHOLFIELD.

#### THE CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW IN PHILOSOPHY.

POPULAR works on Catholic Apologetics have so familiarized us with the discussion of the attitude of the Church towards the social, political and scientific problems with which she has been confronted in the course of her historical career, that the educated Catholic of to-day is expected to be able to take up the defense of the Church and to explain how she stands towards the study of history, sociology or natural science. Philosophy, however, seems to interest only the technical student, and it is safe to say that few even among our best educated are prepared to give an intelligent account of the Church's attitude towards the study of philosophy. The little fellow who defined a philosopher as "a man who rides a philosophede" unconsciously voiced the sentiment of the majority of people, who are inclined to regard the philosopher as one who rides an especially objectionable hobby. And it is not difficult to account for this sentiment of indifference, not to say hostility. The problems with which philosophy busies itself most lie outside the boundary of our commoner interests. The science

\* P. 581. The italics are mine.

of philosophy, too, is hampered by peculiar difficulties of expression. It has a language of its own, which is just technical enough to confuse the untrained student, yet not so technical as to command the respect which high-sounding Greek and Latin words exact from the uninitiated in physiology or paleontology. In philosophy the untrained reader understands just enough to enable him to misunderstand. Moreover, philosophy, in its effort to encompass all truth, has often wandered from the path of truth, and its aberrations do not always invite attention and interest. Yet there is a phase of philosophical inquiry which appeals to all who have at heart the highest interests of human life; philosophy in its relation to conduct, to literature, to education, to religion, appeals not merely to the student of psychology and metaphysics, but to every man who is desirous of rounding out his education.

A brief consideration of some of the technical definitions of philosophy will reveal this wider aspect of the science and lead to a discussion of the Catholic attitude towards the study of philosophical problems. The definition most commonly quoted in our text-books is that given by Cicero: Philosophy is the science of things human and divine—a definition sufficiently comprehensive of the various relations of the science to other forms of intellectual activity. Equally comprehensive is the definition given by the Pythagoreans: Philosophy is the love of wisdom; or that ascribed to Aristotle: Philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences. Next comes a group of definitions which, like Plato's, single out the ethical aspect of philosophy and define it as the medicine of the soul, the meditation on death; or Kant's, which defines philosophy as the attempt to answer the three questions: What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope for? The answers to the last two are, according to Kant, the constructive part of philosophy. In more recent times it has become the fashion to define philosophy in terms of its ultimateness as the search after ultimate causes, or the systematization of the concepts furnished by science, or, more simply, completely unified knowledge. Now, these various definitions are mentioned here merely in order to point out that, whether we consider the comprehensive claim of philosophy to be a science of all things human and divine, or consider it as a science that is concerned in a special manner with the problems of human conduct, or as a science which aims at carrying human knowledge to the highest point of unification and systematization, such a science must have essential and inevitable relation to the wider field of life—literature, education and religion; it must have its word to say about those things—conduct, destiny and the value of life—which are, and always will be, of deepest concern to thinking

men. In its effort to comprehend the nature and reason of all things, to discover the rational rule of life and unlock the secret of human destiny, it falls within the sphere of interest of each and every one of us. We may still be unable to sympathize with the labors of the technical metaphysician, we may endorse the verdict of him who pronounced metaphysics to be "looking in a dark room for a black hat that isn't there;" but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that there is a non-technical aspect of philosophy; for, as some one else has said, "metaphysics is merely an unusually obstinate effort to think accurately." In this sense we are all philosophers; for we must all, at one time or another, look around among our mental impressions and convictions and try to set them in order, arranging them under metaphysical concepts of some sort. We have no choice in this matter, or, at most, we have a choice merely between good philosophy and bad philosophy; for, as Aristotle said, "if you are a philosopher you must philosophize, and if you are not a philosopher you must still philosophize," if only to show reason why you are not a philosopher.

The science of philosophy is, then, peculiar in this—that its relations to life and the manifold interests of life are deeper and more abiding than those of any other science. This truth was recognized long ages ago by the first speculative thinkers in Hindustan. For them philosophy was never a matter of knowledge merely; it was something to be lived as well as known, a way of life, or, more specifically, a means of deliverance from the bondage of the flesh. For the Chinese it was preëminently a way. Even in Greece, where the theoretical mind learned to value knowledge for its own sake, there took place, about the middle of the sixth century B. C., a deep stirring of the religious sense—marked by the beginning of the mysteries, the foundation of the brotherhood of the Pythagoreans—which led in literature to the substitution of problems of conduct in tragedy and comedy for the old-time buoyant optimism of the Homeric poems. Henceforth for Socrates, Plato and especially for the Stoics, philosophy becomes a matter of living as well as of thinking.

And, as philosophy remained in closer touch with life in general, it naturally maintained its relation to literature. Indeed, without going very deep into the subject of the nature of literature, we may take for granted that, since literature is a presentation of life—not every presentation, but a certain kind of presentation—and since philosophy is concerned with life in its highest interests, the relation between philosophy and literature is essential and vital. The ancients were altogether right when they refused to draw a line of demarcation between the two, when they placed, as Plato did, the

most finished literary art at the service of philosophy, or when they sought, as Dante did, the inspiration of a great poem in a living system of philosophy. If others have refused to follow where they have led, both literature and philosophy have been the losers.

On the relation between philosophy and education it is needless to dwell at length. The history of education furnishes ample proof of the mutual dependence of these two. We are told by psychologists that every mental state tends to find expression in action, and we need but glance at the succession of educational systems to realize that a change in philosophical theory leads sooner or later to a change in pedagogical practice. And, of course, education reacts on philosophy. We have here a typical instance of the reciprocity of which Hegel speaks when he says that cause becomes effect and effect, in turn, becomes cause.

If philosophy stands in close relation to life and literature and education, it stands to religion in relations still closer, still more vital and, therefore, more abiding. Philosophy, said Aristotle, begins in wonder, and Plato is reported to have said it ends in astonishment. A modern writer says, somewhat paradoxically, the chief attraction of philosophy is that it is an inexact science. It leaves so many questions unsolved. When Plato, who more than any other philosopher devoted himself to the task of solving the problem of man's destiny, has brought forward his strongest argument for the immortality of the soul, he represents the Socratic group as yielding their ready assent and protesting that they now have no doubt, "except such as arises from the greatness of the subject and the feebleness of the human mind." A remarkable admission. In these words of Plato we have the supreme lesson of philosophy—the necessity of reverential awe in the presence of the problems which, even in the face of the most rigorous proof, continue to trouble the mind on account of the magnitude of the interests at stake. And from this reverential awe to religion there is but a step. Thus does philosophy lead up to religion. There is, however, another and a more important relation between religion and philosophy. Philosophy, by its natural birthright, claims to solve certain problems, which it is entirely competent to solve, but which are so vital to religion that the latter cannot afford to be indifferent to the treatment of them in philosophy. Should philosophy, for example, deny the existence of God, the freedom of the will or the immortality of the soul, it is evident at once that the rational foundation of religion is assailed.

All this is obviously true of any and every religion that undertakes seriously the functions of religion. It was true in Greece whenever the Greeks took sufficient interest in religion to care about

the matter at all. It is still more obviously true of Christianity, which claims to be a religion divinely instituted to lead men to God, not merely by the performance of ceremonies and the practice of piety and devotion, but also by faith, that is, by assent to supernatural truth. Like philosophy itself, the Christian religion, by virtue of the revelation of which it is the guardian, is all-comprehensive in its interests; with the highest concerns of humanity it deals in a manner peremptory, that is, with a decisiveness to which no merely human system can lay claim.

There is, then, a Christian philosophy, and, more specifically, a Catholic philosophy. This combination of words has often been criticized as unwarrantable. Why, we are asked, should we speak of a Catholic philosophy at all? We never hear of Methodist mathematics, or Presbyterian physics, or Calvinistic chemistry. It is true, we do not speak of Calvinistic chemistry; neither do we speak of German chemistry, or French chemistry, or Italian chemistry. But we do speak of German, French and Italian philosophy, just as we speak of German, French and Italian poetry, because philosophy, like literature, is closely related to the language and life of a nation. Similarly, we are warranted in speaking of Catholic philosophy because of the intimate association of philosophic doctrines with the dogmatic system of the Church. It is not because philosophy is a science that we so speak of it, but because it is a science *sui generis*, a science, and yet more than a science, because it is a matter of life and destiny and conduct and happiness.

What, then, is Catholic philosophy? What is the distinctive characteristic of the Catholic point of view in philosophy? Here it is necessary to remove at once a possible source of misapprehension. The Church which Christ founded is not a school of philosophy. Christ Himself spoke the simple language of the people among whom He lived. Discarding all formal definition and formal proof, He addressed His hearers in natural, direct exhortation, using the most common things in life to illustrate His meaning and convey His message. Yet His teaching not only reformed the ideals of human conduct, but also revolutionized the world of speculation and set up a new point of view for the contemplation of the problems of human life and human destiny. The Church which He founded speaks with His authority. By virtue of its divine commission, "Going, teach ye all nations," it rises above the contentions of the schools and proclaims the Gospel, not as a mere philosophical conclusion, but as a truth divinely revealed and divinely proposed for our belief. But, although the Church is not a school of philosophy, it is a vital organization which grows with the progress of the ages; and, although it cannot add to the revelation it has received, it unfolds

that revelation and develops it according as the opportunity for dogmatic definition affords itself. Nicæa, Chalcedon, Lyons, Florence, Trent and the Vatican do not mark additions to the Church's dogmatic system, but merely new formulations of her doctrine in accordance with the needs of the times. In this task of formulating her doctrines she makes use of the terminology of the philosophers—thus, in our catechism we learned to formulate our beliefs in terms of person, nature, substance and appearance. And, besides, since Christ's teaching reformed the world of speculation, His Church claims that from the time of His coming there has always been the religious aspect of questions which the ancient world discussed without any reference to authority other than that of reason. The Christian philosopher is he who accepts the authority of revelation as supreme, and the rationalizing philosopher is he who tries all truth, even that of revelation, at the tribunal of reason without allowing the right of appeal to a higher court.

The concrete situation, as it presented itself to the early Church, was one of exceptional difficulty. By the end of the first century of our era Christianity had entered into the unequal contest with pagan culture, and for four centuries that contest continued. First came the great apologists, Justin, Irenæus and Tertullian; then came the constructive Christian thinkers of the school of Alexandria, namely, Clement and Origen, and finally the typical Christian Platonists, of whom the chief is St. Augustine. In the beginning there was, of course, no Christian philosophy; there was not even a Christian literature, for the books of the New Testament could not bear comparison with the pagan classics as models of correct style and elegant expression. What was to be the Church's attitude? Some, like the stern Tertullian, placed a ban on all pagan literature and condemned both Plato and Aristotle as teachers of vain and perverse subtlety. For them the Gospel was enough without any of the word-chopping of the philosophers and the rhetoricians. Others, on the contrary, like Justin, Clement, Origen and St. Augustine, took the larger view. They believed that the civilization and philosophy of pagan times were to be regarded as a *præparatio evangelica*, a preparation for the Gospel of Christ. They turned, therefore, to the pagan philosophers for inspiration; they turned especially to Plato, in whom they found a preëminent power to lift us from the sordid cares and mere ephemeral interests of things terrestrial and to raise us to the contemplation of the things that are above us. In this way the first Christian philosophers regarded it as providential that Plato (whom they believed to have been inspired by the Word) lived before Christ came and prepared men's minds for His message. They did not hesitate to make use of



Plato's philosophy for the upbuilding of the Christian system of thought. "I call him truly learned," writes Clement, "who brings everything to bear on the truth so that, from geometry and music and grammar and philosophy itself culling what is useful, he guard the faith against assault."<sup>1</sup> And St. Augustine is still more emphatic. "Let every good and true Christian," he says, "know that truth is the truth of his Lord and Master, wheresoever it is found."<sup>2</sup> Their knowledge of the errors into which Plato had fallen did not deter these men from welcoming the sublime truths which he taught or from blending them with Christian revelation. They were fully persuaded that all truth, from whatever source it is immediately derived, comes ultimately from God, and is therefore capable of adjustment with the truth of Christianity.

Christian philosophy, then, during the first stages of its career, was Platonic in spirit and method. Discarding those doctrines of Platonism which were found to be inconsistent with revelation, the first Christian philosophers appropriated as part of their speculative system whatever they considered to be common to Platonism and Christianity. To this extent they "baptized" Plato. But the age of Platonism passed away with Augustine. Soon after his time came the invasions of the barbarians, which for three centuries continued to inundate the Roman Empire and finally submerged in an era of almost complete illiteracy the last vestiges of the culture and philosophy of Greece and Rome. With the Carolingian revival came the reconstruction of Europe and the beginning of the Middle Ages. A new element was now working its way to various forms of expression in the life of the nations in the first crude literary and artistic achievements of the converted barbarians. To the Greek and Latin spirit a new spirit had been added, the spirit of the Celt and the Teuton, which was to attain, before the end of the Middle Ages, its fullest expression in Romance literature, in Gothic architecture and in scholastic philosophy. Plato, the heavenly-minded, the mystically inclined, the philosopher whose scendent importance of the unseen world, best suited the age which witnessed the decay and dissolution of all that the Roman Empire represented. But when the Celtic-Teutonic spirit—the spirit of freedom and individuality and self-reliance and love of nature—began to make itself felt a change came over the trend of philosophical enquiry, and the philosophy which had satisfied the decadent Latin Europe of the fifth century failed to satisfy the aspiration of the Neo-Latin Europe of the twelfth. Christian philosophy, there-

<sup>1</sup> Strom. Lib. I., cap. 9; Migne, Patr. Gr., VIII., 739.

<sup>2</sup> "De Doctr. Christ.," Lib. II., cap. 18; Migne, Patr. Lat., XXXIV., 49.

fore, turned from Plato to his great rival, Aristotle, who, though he had been denounced in unmeasured terms by writers of the Patristic age, was now appreciated as a student of nature, and came in the end to be recognized as the "master of those who know." Above Plato, the idealist, the mediæval thinkers placed Aristotle, the investigator of nature, the master of exact method, the practical student of political institutions. It was natural that one age should choose Plato and the other Aristotle. For it is with epochs as it is with individuals. Schlegel says very truly that we are all born either Platonists or Aristotelians; to some the dreamer appeals, to others the scientist; some love the genial warmth of the philosopher-poet, others prefer the clear, cold light which the philosopher-scientist turns on the facts of our every-day experience. The Christian age that chose Plato chose well; the Christian age that chose Aristotle chose well also. Each chose him who best suited its temperament and responded to its needs. *his formal deviation*

With the beginning of the adoption of Aristotelianism by Christian philosophers the history of the relation of the Church to the study of philosophy enters into a new phase. The Church is now a powerful institution, complex in its hierarchical and educational system and keenly alive to its responsibilities as the majestic guardian of Christian truth in the midst of a vigorous and venturesome young race of mingled Celtic, Teuton and Latin stock. When she speaks now it is with all the pomp of her most impressive ceremonial or with all the terrors of her official censures. Her policy is complicated by many extraneous circumstances. Her success is impaired by heresy, disaffection and the encroachments of princes. In her dealings with the first Aristotelian philosophers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries she was confronted with conditions of a special kind, the chief of which was the inaccuracy of the current translations of the text of Aristotle's works. For this reason the career of Aristotle in the Christian schools of the Middle Ages is a checkered one. First condemned, then corrected and finally adopted almost without reserve, Aristotle emerges at the close of the Middle Ages as a kind of Christianized pagan, holding precisely the same place which Plato held at the close of the Patristic age.

But while these two great systems, Platonism and Aristotelianism, have held the most protracted domination over the minds of Christian philosophers, Catholic philosophy is by no means identical with Platonism and Aristotelianism. For not only are St. Augustine, the greatest of the Christian Platonists, and St. Thomas, the greatest of the Christian Aristotelians, to be regarded as representatives of Catholic philosophy, but also such men as Boscovich, the Newtonian;

De Bonald, the Traditionalist; Pascal, the Fideist; Gerdil, the Ontologist, and Balmes, the Eclectic, all of whom recognized the authority of revelation as expounded by the Catholic Church, and are, therefore, to be ranked among Catholic philosophers. It is not as if the Church were to take a certain system of philosophy and to say to us: "Here is the only true philosophy; adopt it or reject it at the peril of your immortal souls"—something which the Church has never done. One need not be an Aristotelian, nor a Platonist, nor an Idealist, nor a Transcendentalist, in order to be a Catholic philosopher. One may be any or several of these and still be a Catholic philosopher. The relation of philosophy to national life once more affords an illustration. There are German Platonists, German Aristotelians, German Idealists and German Transcendentalists, and yet one may be a German philosopher without belonging to any of these schools. The term "Catholic," then, when applied to a system of philosophy, does not imply adherence to any one of the recognized typical systems of philosophy; it is a determinant similar to the qualifications "German," "French" or "English," which may be added to any of several systems.

What, then, is this distinctive quality of Catholic philosophy which differentiates it from non-Catholic philosophy? The answer most commonly given is that Catholic philosophy is subservient to ecclesiastical authority, while non-Catholic philosophy recognizes no such restraint. The description is correct in so far as it represents non-Catholic philosophy. Philosophy outside the Church does not acknowledge the right of any tribunal, lay or ecclesiastical, to decide or influence its conclusions, to direct or dictate its method of investigation. Catholic philosophy, on the contrary, recognizes that its conclusions are amenable to the authority which decides questions of faith and morals, but this recognition is far from implying subservience in the sense in which the word is used by unsympathetic critics.

Let us be philosophers for the moment and go to the root of the question. Christ's teaching, we have said, reformed the theoretical world of ideas as well as the practical world of ideals. We are all, non-Catholics as well as Catholics, agreed as to the latter. Christ set up an ideal of conduct for all Christians to strive to attain. He is our great exemplar in all that pertains to right living and to nobility of sentiment. We are all agreed on this. But we are not agreed as to the importance of His theoretical teaching. Catholics hold that when Christ sent forth His Apostles with the command, "Going, teach ye all nations," He gave to His Church divine authority to teach and develop a body of dogmatic truth which has essential relation to our ideas, just as Christ's own precept and example have

essential relation to our ideals. Catholics believe that the religion which the Apostles preached was, indeed, a religion of conduct which appealed to the consciences of men; but they believe also that the Apostles preached a religion of faith which appealed to the intellectual assent of their converts. Catholics maintain that the successors of the Apostles preserved and developed a system of dogmatic truth, which is outside the domain of philosophy, in so far as it rests not on reason, but on revelation, but which, nevertheless, is in essential relation with philosophy, in so far as both have truth for their object. And what, in general terms, is the message of revelation as contained in the simple teachings of the Gospel and developed in the dogmatic system of the Church? All students of philosophy have felt the attraction of the "intelligible world" of which Plato speaks—the world of Ideas—that sphere invisible which moves in shrouded majesty above the sordid world around us; that home of true beauty, of true greatness, of all that is good and loveable and inspiring. How the eye and the heart of the weary wayfarer among the dim shadows of earthly existence turn to that other world, where all is light and life and love! Now, Christian revelation opens up to us just such a world, which differs from the Platonic world of Ideas chiefly in this—that it is not a thing of fancy, but a reality, the existence of which is believed on the authority of God Himself. It is the world of the supernatural, of the overnature, if one prefers so to style it, the world of Divine Life and Divine Truth and Divine Grace. Of Divine Life we get a glimpse in the mystery of the Trinity; of Divine Truth we gain a faint realization whenever we bow our reason to the truth of the things that are above us; of Divine Grace we attain a faint participation in the struggles of our own hearts towards peace and charity. The supernatural world opened up to us by the mysteries of faith is not only real to us, but really beautiful. Unlike the Platonic world of Ideas, its reality grows on us as our spiritual experience increases with the years; but, like the Platonic world of Ideas, it attracts us by its contrast with the material world around us. To accept this over-world as real is not a task imposed on us by authority; it is a sweetly persuasive vision that appeals to all that is good and aspiring in our natures. The saints and the mystics are they who fully realize its nearness and feel the deepest longing to leave an imperfect world for a world of infinite truth and goodness and beauty. In Tennyson's "Ancient Sage" knowledge, which sees only the world of physical being, is contrasted with faith, which sees the world invisible:

Knowledge is the swallow on the lake  
That sees and stirs the surface-shadow there,  
But never yet hath dipt into the abysm.

and to the youthful representative of knowledge these words are addressed:

Thou canst not prove the Nameless, O my son;  
 Nor canst thou prove the world thou movest in;  
 Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone,  
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone,  
 Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one:  
 Thou canst not prove thou art immortal, no.  
 Nor yet that thou art mortal—nay, my son,  
 Thou canst not prove that I, who speak with thee,  
 Am not thyself in converse with thyself.  
 For nothing worthy proving can be proven,  
 Nor yet disproven: wherefore, be thou wise;  
 Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,  
 And cling to faith beyond the forms of faith!  
 She reels not at the storm of warring words;  
 She brightens at the clash of "Yes" and "No;"  
 She sees the best that glimmers through the worst;  
 She feels the sun is hid but for the night;  
 She spies the summer through the winter bud;  
 She tastes the fruit before the blossom falls;  
 She hears the lark within the songless egg;  
 She finds the fountain where they wailed "Mirage!"

These lines seem to illustrate admirably the point on which we have been insisting—namely, the faith which is superior to knowledge recommends itself naturally and, so to speak, by the persuasiveness of its spiritual beauty. They illustrate also the next point in our description of the Catholic position. When the poet says that "Nothing worthy proving can be proven" he is not to be taken literally; for then there would be an end of all rational investigation, and, therefore, of all philosophy. One may, however, without incurring the imputation of skepticism, venture so far as to assert that, after all its efforts, the human mind unaided has really accomplished little that is of undoubted certainty concerning God, the universe and the destiny of man. To-day the clash of "yes" and "no" goes on just as merrily as in the days of the Greek skeptic who gave up the contest in disgust, declaring that "Nothing exists; even if it existed, it could not be known; and even if it could be known, we could not express our knowledge of it in words." We need not go so far as to accept this disheartening verdict, yet we are forced to admit that on all the most vital problems of philosophy there are still the "yes" and the "no" and the more modern "I know not." The human mind has its limitations that hem it in and hedge it closely around. We dwell in "a twilight of truth and error, of reality and false appearance," and when such questions as the nature of God, the destiny of the human soul, the meaning and value of life are discussed, we are, to use Aristotle's comparison, like the owl that blinks in the sunlight because of the excessive brightness of the day. In the presence of the most momentous problems of philosophy we feel the inadequateness of our own mental powers and turn confidently to the authority of Him from whom all truth comes.

The Catholic position, so far as it has been described above, may be resumed in two principles: 1. There is an order of truth, the supernatural order, which we cannot understand, but which we accept on the authority of revelation. 2. When by faith we assent to truths of the supernatural order we perform an act which, far from being an unreasonable submission to arbitrary authority, is, considering the weakness of our reason, entirely justifiable. We may now pass to a third principle—namely, that in dignity and authority the supernatural, quite as a matter of course, takes precedence of the merely natural. When there is a clash between the conclusion of the individual mind and the truth clearly set forth in Divine Revelation, who can hesitate to say that reason must be wrong and that revelation must be right?

A Catholic philosophy, therefore, is one which, no matter what its tenets as a philosophy, be it Platonism, or Aristotelianism, or Cartesianism, or Kantism, or Hegelianism, acknowledges the ultimate supremacy of faith in the dogmatic system of the Church. Non-Catholic philosophy makes no such acknowledgment. Herein lies the most fundamental difference between the two—a difference which is intrinsic, basic and, some think, fatal to anything like a mutual understanding between the two. The non-Catholic philosopher seldom understands our position, although (if one may be pardoned for saying what seems so ungracious) we understand his position very well. De Maistre says: "Truth understands error, but error does not understand truth." This, like most of the sayings of the great ultramontanist, sounds harsh to modern ears. If we admit that it is true, we hasten to acknowledge that truth has been unfortunate in its defenders, and that they who view the question from the outside may be pardoned if they fail to distinguish what is essential in the Catholic position from what is merely a matter of personal conviction in the Catholic philosopher. We understand the point of view of the non-Catholic philosopher in so far as he rejects the authority of the teaching Church, and we believe that we are right when we trace this rejection back to the influences of Descartes, who divorced philosophy from theology and implicitly proclaimed the doctrine of the twofold truth, according to which what is true in theology may be false in philosophy, and vice versa. This way of looking at the relation of natural to supernatural truth is well expressed in the question so often asked us: *Why can you not keep your theology out of your philosophy?* The question shows a complete misunderstanding of our position. We do keep our theology out of our philosophy. Theology we define as a science which draws its arguments and its definitions from the Scriptures, from the decrees of the Councils, from the authoritative declarations

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but on other side is different.

of the Roman Pontiffs. Philosophy we regard as a science which derives its definitions and its arguments from reason alone. In philosophy the argument from divine authority is rigorously ruled out. We *do* keep the two sciences apart; what we refuse to do is to admit that there can exist a contradiction between them. Theology investigates supernatural truth; philosophy is concerned with truth of the natural order. But all truth is the truth of God. When He speaks to us in nature and in history His voice is the voice of truth as well as when He speaks to us in the sacred text of the Bible or in the infallible decisions of the Church. He is our teacher in all things. By revelation He unfolds to us the mysteries that are above our understanding; by science and literature and philosophy He teaches us truths which the human mind can grasp. Whether He teaches us by revelation or by reason, His teaching is, and must be, consistent. In this sense all truth, as has been well said, is orthodox. Cardinal Newman was echoing a profound thought of St. Augustine when he wrote: "It is the highest wisdom to accept truth of whatever kind wherever it is clearly ascertained to be such, though there be difficulty in adjusting it with other known truth."<sup>3</sup> This is what the great Catholic thinkers have considered to be the distinguishing mark of Catholic philosophy. Non-Catholics, many of them at least, hold the same doctrines as we do concerning the Trinity, the Incarnation, creation, providence and redemption; but they keep their theology *entirely* apart from their philosophy. This we cannot consent to do. For while we hold that each science has its own proper sphere of activity, we hold at the same time that both deal with truth, and that all truth, from whatever source derived, must be capable of harmonious adjustment.

This is the central point in the Catholic position. There is a supernatural order of truth, a world above us which cannot understand; theology deals with this truth and relies on the authority of Scripture and the Church as its source. There is a natural order of truth, a world within and around us; philosophy deals with this truth and relies on the evidence furnished by our reasoning faculty. Now, one may confound the two sciences by obliterating the distinction of sources; one may try to prove the mysteries of faith from reason alone, or one may invoke the authority of Scripture when dealing with problems that belong exclusively to philosophy. There have been men of this type among Catholics; there was one particularly, who with the best possible motive outstepped the bounds of orthodoxy in this matter—the Spaniard Raymond Lully (1234-1315). On the other hand, one may keep the two sciences entirely separate; one may assign supernatural truth to the faculty of faith

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<sup>3</sup> "Idea of a University," p. 462.

and natural truth to the faculty of reason and refuse to admit that they are (to use a colloquial phrase) on speaking terms. This attitude always calls to mind the well-known Arabian legend which tells of a certain sage whose head, severed from the body, continued to expound the maxims of his cult, the brain acting automatically, as it were, out of all relation to the heart and general nervous system. There is the third alternative—to distinguish the two sciences, to assign to each its proper sphere, to allot to each its own special domain and yet to hold that they live, like good Christian neighbors, in perfect accord with each other. And this is the Catholic position.

Here an illustration is afforded by philosophy itself. Greek philosophy in the earliest stages of its development was materialistic in its concept of the human soul. The Atomists, who represent the latest development of the Ionian school of philosophy, taught that the soul is of the same nature as the body. It is one of Socrates' chief merits that he resisted the Atomists as strenuously as he did the Sophists. After Socrates came Plato, who not only distinguished between soul and body, but went to the opposite extreme and advocated the ultra-spiritualistic idea of a soul dwelling in the body as in a prison. After Plato came Aristotle, who, while he distinguished the soul, which is immaterial, from the body, which is, of course, matter, refused to separate them, but taught that both together form one substance, man; that as the body without the soul is dead, so the soul without the body is an incomplete being (if, indeed, the soul without the body has, according to Aristotle, any being at all). This seems to us to be the highest achievement of Greek philosophy in its speculation concerning the nature of man. The materialists were wrong in confounding body and soul; Plato was wrong when he ascribed to each a separate existence in man; Aristotle was right when he distinguished without separating. Now the relation of reason to faith, of philosophy to theology, is similar to that which exists between soul and body in man. What the Greeks accomplished in their discussion of the nature of man the mediæval Christian philosophers, working in the Greek spirit of wholesomeness and completeness, established in their discussion of ultimate truth. There is this wholesomeness, this sense of totality in Greek art and literature, where it taught instinctively the golden mean between realism and idealism, and in Greek philosophy, where it taught just as instinctively the happy compromise between materialism and transcendentalism. So there is a similar spirit of wholesomeness in the mediæval philosophers who, while they refused to confound reason with faith, refused also to admit that reason and faith can contradict each other.

Reason and faith should work, and do work, for the advantage



of both. Reason aids faith by showing forth in many ways the reasonableness of the truths which God has revealed; by the refutation of error; by supplying analogies to help our unbelief; by showing how powerful, how beneficent, how all-seeing and all-providing is the God whose authority is our warrant for believing the things we do not understand. And faith aids reason; for on many of the most vital problems of philosophy—on the questions which concern the meaning and value of life, the nature and destiny of man, the foundation of the responsibility of conduct—there is, as has been said, a lack of clearness and ultimateness in the message which philosophy has brought us. When we realize this partial failure of philosophy, when we realize especially that for the vast multitude in whom belief in God and freedom and immortality is an absolute necessity if they are to live and act as human beings, when we realize how few among them can appreciate the reasonings of philosophy or can understand its message, we perceive at once the necessity of faith; we perceive how wise are they who lean not on the broken reeds of human wisdom, but on the word of God, whose care it is to bring all men to a knowledge of the truth. Maine de Biran, who was not in any strict sense a Catholic philosopher, recognized this when he wrote: "Religion alone solves the problems of philosophy;" and in this sense religious faith is truly the metaphysics of the multitude. And this recognition of the ultimate supremacy of faith has not been detrimental to philosophy. If we study its workings in the minds of men like St. Augustine and St. Thomas, we see that, far from making them *subservient* to authority, it left them free to employ their splendid gifts in the investigation of natural as well as supernatural truth. They were free with the freedom of the sons of God. Faith merely enlarged their horizon and gave them new fields to explore; it placed them on a vantage ground, from which they surveyed new realms of thought.

If, then, there is, as we maintain there is, an order of supernatural truth; if we realize, as all reasonable men realize, that the powers of the human mind are limited to the order of natural truth, and if, as all the greatest of human thinkers admit, the problems of philosophy often lead up to a point at which reason confesses its inability to go a step farther, it is entirely natural and reasonable that at such a point the supernatural should be given precedence over the natural and faith should supply the defects of reason. This, I say, is natural and reasonable; the authority of faith is neither arbitrary nor tyrannical. As the vine sends out its tendrils in this direction and in that, seeking support in tree or trellis or even in the crevices of the rock; as the offshoot from the seed struggles through the soil and seeks the surface of the earth, where it finds light and heat, which are

essential for its growth, so the mind of man spontaneously and naturally seeks the light of evidence, and where evidence fails turns quite as spontaneously and naturally to the light and warmth of divine faith which it finds in the authority of revelation. In obeying this impulse we are not dwarfing our growth, but living the higher law of our natures, and far from blighting philosophy, such a method fosters and cherishes its growth and brings it to its fairest flowering, to its richest fruitage.

It remains to study the application of this method to those problems of philosophy which are concerned with our knowledge of God, of the soul and of human destiny. These are problems the solution of which have engaged the minds of the world's greatest thinkers, and, though the conclusions at which these minds arrived have been varied, there has been one effect which the discussion of such questions has always produced—that of reverential awe. Speaking of philosophy in general, Aristotle said that it is not a human possession—that is, it is not a natural birthright of man, but something borrowed from the gods. To know the world around us in its spatial grandeur, to study the myriad forms of life with which it teems, to trace the history and development of human institutions, to study our own nature in its manifestations of thought, emotion and volition—this is the proper study of mankind, the task which the mind of man may propose to itself without presumption. But to lift the veil of Isis, to penetrate in thought behind the material world, to try to know Him whose thoughts are but dimly shadowed forth in nature, to try to know ourselves in our spiritual being and essence, to dip into the future and read the secrets of the life beyond the tomb—this, indeed, seems to belong to the gods rather than to men; to be an infringement on the prerogatives of the divinity, an act of daring worthy of the fate of Prometheus, who stole the divine fire. And so all who approach these problems of God, the soul and immortality with any profit to themselves and others must approach them in the spirit of reverence and feel that here, indeed, is where angels fear to tread.

The philosophical discussion of the idea of God comprises two questions: (1) The existence of God and (2) the nature and attributes of God. The first of these questions need not detain us very long, because atheism is so opposed to the spirit and methods of Catholic philosophy that it would be a waste of time to discuss the points of contrast between them. There are, as far as our present purpose is concerned, four ways of contemplating the world around us: 1. That the universe is sufficient unto itself; that it is its own explanation; that it calls for no cause outside itself; that it contains in itself no underlying principle of unity and order; in a

word, that it is a chaos in which, indeed, we imagine a certain illusory harmony or accord, while in reality natural phenomena drift and eddy around in a perfectly irrational manner, and once in a whole cycle of æons produce by chance an apparently rational effect. This is atheism. 2. We may imagine that underlying the phenomena or events in the universe there is some rational principle of their being, a force whose all-pervading energy sustains and permeates and directs all things, but is utterly unknown and unknowable. This is agnosticism. 3. We may look upon the world as the embodiment, the corporeal realization of an eternal, omnipresent impersonal force, not only indwelling in the universe, but animating it, a force which is to the universe what the soul is to the body. This is pantheism, according to which God is all and all is God. Finally (4). We may look upon the world as the work of God, a work which shows forth His power and wisdom and goodness; in which, indeed, He dwells, but without being identified with it, for He is a person, not a force, and though He is in all and through all, He is above all and beyond all His works. This is theism.

The relation of Catholic philosophy to atheism, it would, as has been said, be profitless to discuss. With agnosticism, too, we need not deal at any great length. Catholic philosophy, as represented by St. Augustine and St. Thomas and as taught in our Catholic schools to-day, has always admitted and admits the element of truth that there is in agnosticism: We cannot comprehend or adequately understand the nature of God. The agnostic is fond of repeating that a God whom we could know is no God at all; Catholic philosophy emphatically insists that if we adequately know God, either He is finite or we are infinite. The agnostic proclaims the inadequacy of all human concepts to represent God and of all human speech to utter our thoughts of Him. In almost identical terms St. Augustine exclaims: "*Verius Deus cogitatur quam est, et verius cogitatur quam dicitur.*" We say that God is power, but before we apply the term we must rob it of all trace of imperfection; we speak of Him as goodness, but we must first empty the term goodness of all imperfection, for we are good only at the cost of struggle against evil, and He is good by nature and essence. Again, when we speak of His justice and mercy and wisdom, we are using terms which we know to be inadequate, just as when by metaphor we say that Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father. Catholic philosophy, then, agrees with agnosticism when it proclaims our inability to comprehend God or to speak of Him in adequate language. But it differs radically from agnosticism when it says that we have an imperfect knowledge of God, so far as from the things that we see we can

argue to things invisible, from the works of the Creator to the Creator Himself. Catholic philosophy teaches that this imperfect knowledge is not misleading so long as we know it to be imperfect, and finally it teaches that where our imperfect knowledge ends faith begins. And this is all important. For we cannot worship the unknown, we cannot pray to an abstraction. A worthless legend ascribes to Aristotle the prayer, "Cause of Causes, have mercy on me." No reasonable man could give expression to a petition so utterly absurd. But if we cannot worship the unknown, we can worship the imperfectly known; we can pray that we may grow by faith in knowledge of Him, until faith becomes lost in the higher contemplation of the beatific vision.

Now let it be clearly understood in what sense this remedy against agnosticism is said to be peculiar to Catholic philosophy. We know many non-Catholic philosophers whose religious belief is as quick as ours and who find in faith the inspiration which we find in it. But they do not bring it to bear on their philosophy. They keep their theology *entirely* apart from their philosophy, and the effect (so at least it seems to us) is detrimental to both.

With regard to pantheism, which identifies God with the universe, describing Him as an absolute, a force, an indwelling world-soul, a power, but not a person, the advantages of the philosophy which acknowledges faith as a supplement of reason are still more apparent than in the case of agnosticism. It might be said without exaggeration that all purely rational philosophy as well as all reflective poetry tends towards the pantheistic view of the universe. Philosophy began with the pantheism of the first Hindu speculators, and ever since that time, in Greece, in the Arabian Empire, in mediæval Europe and in the modern world the gravitation of the most serious philosophic thought has been towards pantheism. There have been critical ages, epochs of unrest and intellectual fermentation in which Atheism for the moment obtained full sway; but sooner or later (generally very soon) the pendulum swung surely back to pantheism. All mysticism tends that way, all mystic poetry is swayed by the vague pantheistic realization of the divinity in nature, and all the half-articulate yearnings of the artistic temperament (as soon as it once begins to interpret nature symbolically) are towards the view that nature is but the divinity hidden from the eye of the body, yet visible to the æsthetic sense.

Now the corrective of this erroneous view of the nature of God (for that it is an erroneous view we shall not stop to prove) lies in the thought that God is not merely a power, but a person; that, while He is immanent in the world around us, He is also transcendent; that while He is in all, He is above all and distinct from all

His works. It was the Christian school of Alexandria, especially Clement and Origen and Athanasius, that first clearly defined the notion of personality, which even the greatest of the Greek thinkers had failed to precise, and the immediate occasion of the discussion of this problem was the question of the Trinity. This is one clear and incontrovertible case in which theology aided philosophy. And, what is most noteworthy in this connection, the thoughts of these Christian teachers became part of the formulæ of faith; they found their way into the manual of Christian doctrine; by means of symbols and ceremonies they were kept before the minds of the most ignorant and simple of the faithful, so that they, too, who are debarred from the philosophical discussion of the nature of God are made to feel and think in accordance with truth.

It is, as is well known, a famous question among theologians as to whether the faith of the educated man is more meritorious than that of the ignorant person, whether the Academician who can give a learned defense of his faith is as pleasing to God as the coal-heaver who believes as he has been taught, but can give no learned reasons for his belief. There is no question as to which can do more good in the modern world, where every Christian is in duty bound to defend and explain his convictions and give a reason for the faith that is in him. On the other hand, it is the great merit of Christian teaching that it has reached the minds of the least cultured and by symbols and ceremonies given them a grasp on the world that is above them. Christianity brings thoughts to the thoughtful, but to those that are incapable of thought it brings concrete images of the truths which are essential to human life, if it is to be human and not brutal. Christian philosophy has always conceived God as a personal being, and Christian piety and the practices of devotion have developed this concept, preserved it against the natural tendency towards pantheism and disseminated it so that it is implanted in the minds of all, simple and gentle, uncultured as well as cultured, unlettered as well as learned. Indeed, it might be said without exaggeration that the God of pre-Christian philosophy was impersonal; the God of Christian philosophy is necessarily a person. Who then can blame Catholic philosophers if on this point they refuse to keep their theology out of their philosophy? The course they have pursued is the reasonable one; they have acknowledged the debt they owe to revelation and have ever and always contended that the errors and vagaries of reason in its attempt to realize the nature of God must be supplemented and, if necessary, corrected by an appeal to the message of revelation.

There is one other point on which it is necessary to touch before leaving the question of theism, and that is the problem of evil in its

bearing on the question of God's existence. The realization of pain as one of the ills of life is, of course, as old as life itself. Men needed no Buddha to teach them that suffering is one of the stern realities which we cannot think away as men have thought away matter and motion and change and all the physical world around us. The latest doctrine that suffering is all imaginary does not help us much, for the man who thinks he suffers really suffers. But what is modern is the knowledge that has come to us of the universality of suffering. Men always knew that there are pain and suffering around us, but it is only in recent years that it dawned upon us how essential to the plan of life is suffering, not only widespread, but universal. "Nature red in tooth and claw" is a modern conception of the physical universe. Nature is full of cruelty and has put a premium on cruelty when she ordained that the stronger shall survive at the expense of the weaker. The "struggle for existence" implies this. Now how can a nature inherently cruel be the work of a God absolutely omnipotent and supremely benevolent? Philosophy answers that pain is everywhere prophylactic; that it warns us against sickness; that it is the alarm which heralds danger to health and life. Philosophy, again (as represented by the Cartesians), suggests that much of the apparent pain of animals is only apparent; that their cries are, to some extent, mere automatic reactions; that their contortions are merely mechanical contractions of the muscles. Again, philosophy warns us that much sympathy is irrelevantly injected into the discussion; that we let our hearts run away with our heads, and so on. But when all is said philosophy somehow has made a poor case of it. There is suffering, and the innocent suffer as well as, perhaps more than, the guilty. How reconcile this with the goodness of God? Here faith takes up the question. Its first lesson is that we see only in part; that we see that portion of God's great plan which makes the largest demands on our sympathy; that there are larger views which we cannot attain, for our ways are not like His ways nor our thoughts like His thoughts, but as the heavens are exalted above the earth, so are His ways above our ways and His thoughts above our thoughts. There are tiny creatures dwelling in the sand of our seashores who in the wisdom of their experience or their instinct never build their homes outside the line of the full tide. They forage and roam through the dry sands everywhere, but never build where the incoming tide will flood and destroy their little homes. But when a spring tide comes whole cities of these diminutive dwellings are destroyed, for the tiny builder, who allowed for the diurnal variation of the sea level, knows nothing apparently of the larger cycle of changes extending over a period which is for him what a thousand years is for us. Now, when we judge the

ways of God we are no more sensible than they, for we see in part, and the cycle of all human experience is small, indeed, in the plans of Him to whom a thousand years are as a single day. When the existence of evil baffles our reason, faith teaches us that here is a mystery, the deepest and most perplexing of all mysteries.

Leaving now the problems connected with the existence and nature of God, we come to the questions of the nature and destiny of the human soul. Here reason speaks to us, and our own consciences plainly tell us that mind is more than matter; that to the universal law of death and dissolution the human soul forms an exception. Philosophy from the beginning recognized the superior dignity of man and his claim to a hereafter of some kind. The Hindus were so profoundly convinced of this that they never condescended to *prove* the soul's immortality. For them it was a datum of reason, a self-evident truth. And Greek philosophy at a very early date—from the beginning, perhaps—accepted this truth, though it was long in attaining a full consciousness of it. But with the progress of human knowledge, the advance of physical science rendered it necessary in each succeeding age to adjust our ideas of the soul and its destiny to our conceptions of the laws of nature. At times the material conception of the world as made up of merely physical elements and forces and ruled by inexorable natural laws seemed to crowd out freedom and the spiritual soul and immortality. And then, again, even when the spiritual concept of the soul seemed to dominate, there was always a vagueness, a lack of decisiveness, a consequent hesitation on the part of reason when it tried to bring home to itself the reality of the life beyond the grave. It will be remembered how Plato himself dismissed the problem of immortality by declaring that there are now no grounds for hesitating except such as are due to the sublimity of the problem and the weakness of the human mind. Some say that reason is inadequate to solve the problem of man's destiny; others, on the contrary, maintain that reason is quite adequate to the task. But even those who maintain the adequacy of reason to unravel this riddle of existence must confess that the question is beset with difficulties, and that few are capable of appreciating the arguments which to the philosophic mind are most convincing. The multitude looks for tangible facts, not for abstruse reasons. To the majority of men literature and science are unattainable owing to circumstances, the need of daily toil, the pursuit of the necessities of life. To all but to the few philosophy is a sealed volume. And yet to each and every one it is a matter of vital importance to grasp once and for all the reality of the future life, to know and be convinced that we are made for something more than material existence, to realize that we are not children of

time, but pilgrims of eternity; that we must live and act and plan, not for an existence that is reckoned in days and years, but for an eternal and immortal existence in the world beyond the grave.

Now the fact to which Christian thought appeals is the resurrection of Christ, which to any mind, however undeveloped or however highly cultivated, is an argument incontrovertible for the existence of a future life. While reason can reach a state of probability, a hope reasonable indeed, but yet merely a hope, this fact puts the matter beyond the region of doubt and exhibits it as a certainty. In this sense it is the Gospel that has brought life and immortality to light. We do not, to be sure, maintain the inadequacy of reason alone to prove that the soul is immortal, but we contend that while the argument of the philosopher appeals to the few, the Gospel narrative appeals to all alike. In the second place, it is necessary to remark that in a strictly technical discussion of immortality, in a philosophical treatise, it would be false method to introduce as an argument the facts narrated in the Gospel. That would be to confound the science of theology and philosophy. But while we may not confound the two sciences, here, it seems to us, is a striking instance of the advantage which the one science can gain from the other. If, when reason hesitates, faith speaks authoritatively and in tones of decision, does not common sense approve the policy of bringing faith to the aid of reason?

And if we have touched on these points—the existence and nature of God, the dignity and destiny of the soul—it is in order to show the reasonableness of the method of Catholic philosophy. We do not claim to believe more than other Christians do about God, the soul and immortality; these are the common inheritance of all Christians. What we claim is that Catholic philosophy methodically makes use of this inheritance. And who will say that it has suffered by adopting this method? It suffers, we are told, by its subservience to authority. This is the bugbear of the agnostic and the rationalist, and it must be confessed it is the one objection which sticks in the minds of many excellent men who, far from being atheists or agnostics or rationalists, share with us the common inheritance of Christian faith, yet are unwilling to bring their Christian belief to bear on the conclusions of philosophy. To such men we can make no answer except to ask them to consider our position somewhat more sympathetically. We will tell them at once that we are as keen as they are for the maintenance of the prerogatives of reason, and we ask them to believe us. They will surely agree with us that reason may err and has often erred. When, then, there is open and unmistakable conflict between reason and revelation; when reason thinks that there is no God; when it denies



spirituality, immortality and freedom, while faith teaches these things to be real, we claim that we are entirely reasonable when we say that as revelation *must* be right reason *must* be wrong. When there is no open contradiction, but reason simply confesses its inadequacy, we think we are right when we welcome the light which revelation throws on the problem. And when in the theological discussion of the mysteries of faith we go beyond the domain of natural truth we contend that we are not slaying reason on the altar of faith. The same God who stayed the hand of Abraham when he would sacrifice his son because He was satisfied with the willingness of the patriarch to offer up his first born is satisfied with us when we bow down before the truths which are above our comprehension. When we show ourselves willing to sacrifice our reason, which we love as dearly as Abraham loved Isaac, He is pleased to stay our hands and never makes it necessary for us to make the actual sacrifice.

Philosophy has to do with thought; it also has to do with life. Christianity has to do with life; it also has to do with thought. It is a legitimate boast of Catholic philosophy that it attempts to bring these different phases of philosophy and Christianity into an organic synthesis. The genius of the Cathedral builders, the great Latin-Teuton spirit that knew how to construct, is the genius of the greatest of our Catholic philosophers—Thomas of Aquin, who in his day was the most daring innovator, who certainly gave to God the things that are God's and who also gave to reason the things that are reason's. The conviction which inspired his constructive effort was this: Revelation is reasonable and reason is divine. This is the conviction which gives to Catholic philosophy its *ethos*, its peculiarity among systems of philosophy, and by this is it distinguished from non-Catholic philosophy. There is a Catholic philosophy, not merely in the sense that there are philosophers who are Catholics, but also in the sense that there is a philosophy possessing a character of its own on account of its intimate connection with the Catholic faith.

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## BRIGITTINE MONASTERIES.

THERE are at the present time only four Brigittine monasteries in existence, exclusive of the five Spanish houses of the Brigittines of the Recollection. Each of these four monasteries, the surviving daughter of the once great and powerful mother house of Vadstena, has its own history, scarcely less interesting than that of Vadstena itself, for whose restoration all the children of St. Bridget constantly pray. Vadstena was founded by St. Bridget, to whom, as she believed, our Lord Himself revealed the rule of her order, whose proper title is the Order of St. Saviour and whose members are popularly known as the Brigittines, so called after their holy mother and foundress, St. Brigit, or Birgit, of Sweden, born at Finstad in 1303 and married in 1316 to Ulf, Prince of Nericia, with whom she led a most saintly life and by whom she had eight children.

It was after the death of Ulf, who had embraced the religious life in a Cistercian monastery shortly before he died, that St. Brigit laid the foundations of Vadstena and drew up the constitutions of her order. It was on her own estate of Vadstena, near Linköping, that the monastery was built, which was at one time the centre of Catholicity in Sweden and played a most important part in the history of the country. Diets and synods were held there; Queens chose it as a place of refuge in troublous times, and as a place of retreat from the pomps and vanities of the world in prosperity, and it was sometimes used as a royal house of detention.

It was the scene of processions and of various magnificent ecclesiastical functions; it provided Linköping with Bishops, and the Cathedral chapter of that city furnished Vadstena with learned monks, for it must be stated that it was a double monastery, one wing being set apart for the monks and the other for the nuns; the church, common to both, separated the convents, and only the confessor of the nuns among the monks had access to their part. This was the original model of all Brigittine monasteries, though in course of time this arrangement had to be modified owing to the Reformation and various other causes, and, needless to say, at the present day these double monasteries no longer exist.

The number of monks appointed for each monastery by the rule was twenty-five, of which thirteen were to be priests, four deacons and the remaining eight lay Brothers. There were to be sixty choir nuns and four lay Sisters, and the abbess, who had the title of lady-abbess, was supreme and was called the sovereign. But though she governed both monks and nuns, she had no authority

in spiritual matters over those of the monks who were priests, and one of the monks, called the confessor general, directed the nuns in spiritual things.

King Magnus II. helped St. Bridget to build Vadstena, which the saint did not live to see finished, and the superioress of some Augustinian nuns trained the first members of the order, while St. Bridget was making a pilgrimage to Rome, where she lived for some years, and to Jerusalem. On St. Bridget's death her daughter Catherine, also a widow, after having labored in Rome for her mother's canonization for some years, went to Vadstena, where she was chosen as the first abbess, the nuns considering the years she had lived with her mother at Rome, during which she became imbued with her spirit, as a sufficient novitiate. Catherine was very beautiful and also very holy, but the process of canonization of her mother was stopped, like so many others, by the Reformation. After her installation as abbess she went to Rome again, and during her visit there the great schism of the West broke out, when Clement II. was proclaimed anti-Pope to Urban VI.; but ultimately Urban wrote Bridget's name in the Golden Book of the saints, and when Catherine returned to her monastery in 1380 the process of canonization only wanted the Papal approbation. She died soon after her return, before the great event for which she had labored so zealously actually took place, in 1391.

Catherine was succeeded as abbess by her niece Ingebord, who in the words of St. Bridget's biographer, the Countess of Flavigny, "brought more dowry than virtues" to the monastery, and having certainly broken her vow of poverty and having been accused of breaking other vows, was compelled to resign and was succeeded by one Gerdica, a simple bourgeoisie. The influence of the order under Ingebord, who was very rich and of noble birth, had been very great and wide. A foundation was made in Italy near the gates of Florence, afterwards known as the Monastery of Paradiso. She also maintained excellent relations with the Holy See, and it was through her influence that Queen Philippa, wife of Eric XIII., came to Vadstena and indirectly through her that the Brigidines came to England.

The fourth abbess of Vadstena was Benedicta Gunnari, who reigned from 1422 to 1447. Her brother Birger was prior at the same time. Great storms raged inside and outside the monastery during Benedicta's reign, and in 1430 Queen Philippa, who was now the patroness both of Vadstena and of the order, died in the monastery a few weeks after her arrival and was buried there in the crypt of the royal chapel which she had erected. King Eric gave large sums of money for Masses for her soul to Vadstena, and

Philippa herself left them her jewelry, but Christian, who succeeded Eric, carried off a great deal of the money. In the stormy times which followed several synods were held at Vadstena, and a revolution took place, during which exciting scenes were enacted there. The church was broken into and an assault made upon the convent in 1439, when Eric was deposed and Christopher the Bavarian proclaimed King in his stead. In 1442 he visited Vadstena with much ceremony, and again in 1446 with his bride. He died in 1448 and was succeeded by Charles Bondé, who in his turn visited Vadstena in 1448, and while there received a threatening letter from King Christian of Denmark, who ultimately invaded Sweden and became King. His daughter Richildis took the veil here. He bought the crowns and jewels which had belonged to Eric, and added to the church and endowed the convent with a revenue.

In 1458 Christopher visited Vadstena; when his aunt, the abbess, on his demand delivered to him the money which Eric had left the monastery to found a college of twelve canons on certain conditions, which the King never fulfilled. Wars and plots followed between the two Kings, during which the daughter of Charles, Richildis, and his niece, Marguèrite, were living as nuns in the monastery peacefully under the rule of Christopher's aunt, the abbess.

From the time of Stan Steere, who was administrator of the kingdom after King Charles' death, the political importance of Vadstena declined and is rarely mentioned in the Vadstena diary, which fell into the hands of the Protestants and was mutilated. Steere's only daughter was a nun at Vadstena for over fifty years, and before she died, in 1536, saw the downfall of the convent under Gustavus Vasa.

On August 1, 1489, Stan Steere was present at a tremendous function which took place on the occasion of the exaltation of the bones of St. Catherine. Four Bishops and over a hundred clergy all went in procession to meet the Archbishop of Upsal, and the next day there was a solemn procession of the relics, the Brigittine Fathers leading and Stan Steere bearing the skull of St. Catherine.

Gustavus Vasa spared no pains to try and pervert the learned monks of Vadstena, and, sad to say, some yielded to the temptation and left the faith and one nun also apostatized, while Gustavus' own sister remained true to the faith, and so did all his nearest relations. In 1568 a brief period of prosperity recurred at Vadstena under John III., who allowed the community to have a Catholic priest to say Mass and permitted them to receive new members and restored the building. In 1580 the King, who had been reconciled to the Catholic Church, held a diet at Vadstena, at which the celebrated Nuncio, Possevin, was present.

John's descendants obtained the throne of Poland on account of

their faith, and when Sigismund, his son, succeeded to the throne he resigned the crown of Sweden and went to Poland, and the Vadstena nuns went with him to the convent of Mary Triumphant, the chief Brigittine house in Poland, situated at Lublin. And thus ends the history of the once great and powerful mother house of the Brigittines.

One of the most interesting of the daughter houses is that of Altomünster, in the Archdiocese of Munich Freising. Altomünster itself is a small unpaved town of about 10,000 inhabitants. The monastery was founded by St. Alto, a hermit of royal descent, in the eighth century. He was living the eremitical life in the primeval forest when King Pepin gave him a large territory, on which he built a church and monastery. Some Benedictine monks from Ammergau joined him and he became the abbot. In 1047 some Benedictine nuns at Altdorf exchanged their residence with the fathers at Altomünster. They abandoned it in the fifteenth century, and Duke George of Bavaria gave it to the Brigittines, who built a church dividing the two convents, with a high wall surrounding it. The community continued to flourish until the Thirty Years' War. In 1632, as Gustavus Adolphus and his army entered Altomünster, the nuns fled to Munich, where they were taken in by the Poor Clares. The fathers had a house at Méran, and they fled there, and only a few old nuns and Brothers remained at Altomünster. Two of these monks were shot and one died from the savagery of the soldiers. Three old nuns were found starved—all over eighty years of age. Part of the convent was destroyed by fire, part was spared because the soldiers found that St. Bridget was a Swedish Princess. The community returned to the monastery as soon as it was considered safe to do so, but in 1646 they had again to flee, this time before the Swedes and French. After the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, the monks and nuns returned and the relics and treasures were brought back from Munich.

In 1703 all had once more to flee to Freising and then to Munich. In the following year the enemy burnt both houses. In 1714 peace was again declared and the community all returned once more. In 1723 a new monastery for men was built, and in 1745 the present church. The monastery now flourished. The nuns, many of whom were of noble birth, by their sanctity and their strict observance of the rule, won respect from all. They were also noted for the beautiful lace they made.

In the revolution of 1803 the convent was suppressed; the library and art treasures were carried off and many valuable things lost. The religious received small pensions from the government, and the nuns lingered on in their part of the house till, in 1844, they

were released by Papal dispensation from any connection with the monks, and Ludwig of Bavaria, at their request, restored the order, and since that date a community of Brigittine nuns has been established there and carries on the work.

During the tenancy of the abbey by the Benedictine nuns abuses crept in, for only postulants of high rank were admitted, and only twelve of these were entitled to vote for the abbess. After the community had been dissolved and Duke George and his wife Hedwig, who knew the Order of St. Saviour well, had given the convent to the Brigittines, having rebuilt it, they added some land to the property and fifteen nuns and eight monks were chosen from the Brigittine monastery of Mary Mayingen, in Oetting Wallerstein, to make a foundation, and they acquired great fame for their learning.

At the Reformation no less than ten members of the community—four priests, five lay Brothers and one nun—apostatized and embraced Lutherism, but after this terrible defection the numbers increased and the buildings were enlarged, and the monks maintained a high reputation for learning and the nuns for their artistic work, especially lace making and miniature painting. A beautiful little legend is told of a nun in this connection. She tore herself away from a vision of the Holy Child Jesus in her cell to obey the call of the bell and fetch some firewood, and on her return she found Our Lord waiting for her in her cell as a grown Man, to show her the growth in saintliness she had made by her prompt obedience.

When the community returned to their beloved monastery in 1842 there were among them six venerable mothers who had made their vows fifty years ago and ten postulants were clothed. They found the monastery very dilapidated, and an eye-witness reports a touching sight seen in the garden, where these six venerable nuns, bowed down with age, were walking, and pausing every now and then and bowing profoundly to north, south, east and west, they said a "Gloria Patri" for all those who neglect to worship God. Five of these six nuns died before 1845, but Mother Rosa lived till 1848, by which time she had trained the ten novices and taught them to sing the office, and besides training them in the religious life had taught them various kinds of work, for which the convent was celebrated. Among these was lace making, as we have said, also mounting relics, making wax candles for use in the choir and making quince preserve. This good work is still carried on by the descendants of those trained by Mother Rosa.

Holland possesses two Brigittine monasteries at the present day—one at Weert and the other at Uden. The Brigittine monastery at Weert is a plain whitewashed building in the middle of the little

quiet market town of Weert, in the province of Limberg. The chapel has Gothic windows covered like those of the convent with blinds, which are always drawn down. The nuns' choir is above the entrance and vestry and part of the church. This arrangement is similar to the old double monasteries where the nuns' choir was always over that of the monks. A visitor to Weert now would be shown into a spotlessly clean parlor with a grille, at which some of the nuns in the habit of their order sit to interview strangers. The peculiarity of the Brigittine habit is the white linen crown with five little crosses made of red cloth to represent the five wounds of Our Lord worn over the veil. The habit is gray.

The history of Weert is briefly this: In 1840 William II. of Orange gave permission to all convents to receive novices, and the lady-abbess of Uden, who had been long praying to open another house, in 1843 was able to buy an old disused convent in Weert, and here four nuns from Uden took up their residence. Others soon followed. For the first few years they suffered much from poverty, but as other subjects joined they were able to rebuild the house to suit their requirements. At the request of the dean of Weert the nuns in 1844 undertook the infant schools, and in 1846 they opened a school for girls, and in the next year a poor school. The dean died in 1863. He had been for twenty years their patron and confessor, and his death was a great loss to the community, but his successor, his former secretary, was equally good to them. Then came the Kulturkampf in Germany, which drove many educational orders to Holland, where they gained their living by teaching. Some of these orders relieved the Brigittines of these schools, and they were able to give themselves up to an enclosed contemplative life, for which they were intended and to which they are now devoting themselves.

Uden, the mother house of Weert, was founded from the celebrated convent of Maria Wasser, which had a marvelous beginning. According to the pious belief of the order, a certain farmer at Rosmelin, in the Netherlands, one night heard a great commotion among his beehives, so he got up and went to see what was the matter. On reaching the hives he heard heavenly music coming from them, and on opening one he saw a model in white wax of a church, and on each side of the church was a convent with bees keeping guard. He was so impressed that as soon as it was light he fetched the priest and some other people, who also beheld this wonderful sight, the news of which ultimately reached a rich widow named Mila von Kamfen, who went to Rosmelin and bought the farm from this Peter Gorter, the farmer, and with the sanction of Pope Eugenius in 1434, she built a double convent for the Brigittines

and a church, with the high altar over the place where the beehive had stood.

The dean and chapter of Herzogenbusch at first opposed it, but finally the dean himself became one of the monks and afterwards prior of the monastery. The first abbess and three nuns came from Maria Thron, in Stralsund; one monk came from the convent of Paradiso, in Florence, and two others from Mariboo, in Denmark. The pious foundress of this convent herself took the veil, and ultimately became the abbess and died there in 1453, aged sixty-six. Many persons of noble birth entered the community, which grew in sanctity and importance until the Reformation, when, between 1566 and 1572, the inmates had to abandon it; but they afterwards returned, though the date of their return is not known.

When the monks were expelled from Holland, in 1629, a few were allowed to remain here as secular priests. The property of the monastery was all confiscated, the nuns received a small pension and a few lingered on in the convent till in 1711, when the last one having died, the monastery was sold and passed into secular hands. Before the last nuns died they had trained several young girls who had a vocation in the rule of the order, and these formed the nucleus of Uden, where they took refuge when the last nun of Herzogenbusch died in 1711, as it belonged to the Elector of Pfalz, who was, happily, a Catholic. The superior bought a ruinous building here which had formerly belonged to the Knight Templars, and later built the stately pile now occupied by the present community. The style of architecture chosen is what is known in England as Queen Anne's, introduced into England by William of Orange from Holland. The nuns at first opened a boarding school, which lasted till 1794, when they were obliged to flee on account of the French Revolution; but they were able to return the next year, when they found their church had been robbed of its ornaments, the beautiful trees cut down and the furniture all destroyed. The buildings, however, were left standing. Again in 1812, when Napoleon ordered the dissolution of the monasteries, the nuns were driven out and took refuge in a small house in Uden till 1814, when under William of Orange they were enabled to return; but they were not allowed to receive any postulants for many years, until in 1840 an act was passed permitting them to do so, and Uden now began to flourish until in 1850 it had fifty nuns besides having, as we have seen, founded the house at Weert. The confessor of the nuns is now a secular priest with the title of rector, and he lives in the outer buildings of the monastery. Uden possesses some precious relics of St. Bridget, including a skull cap of red velvet, now faded to a fawn color. Here, too, the choir of the nuns is above. The church, which is very fine, was built in 1739. It was struck



by lightning in 1879, when the tower ceiling fell and would have crushed the nuns, but an alarm of fire caused them to leave before.

The house of St. Bridget in Rome, where the saint lived during her residence there, was not a monastery, though from time to time some of the monks lived there. This house originally belonged to a Roman lady and was in the Campum Florum. St. Bridget went to it after Ulf's death and also after all her pilgrimages. She died there in 1373. There, too, she wrote her revelations, the most popular work in Swedish literature after the writings of Linnæus. Here St. Catherine of Vadstena, her daughter, stayed for five years when after her mother's death she came to Rome to work for her canonization. The formal transmission of this property did not take place till two years after the death of the first Abbess Catherine, when the original owner, Francesca Papazi, transferred it to the former chaplain of Bridget, Magnus Petre, then staying in Rome for the canonization of the saint. It was at first quite a white elephant to the Vadstena community, and it seems always to have been a source of trouble and anxiety, owing to its remoteness in days when communication between the countries was slow and difficult. The Vadstena nuns proposed to the Bishops to use it for a hostel or hospice for Swedes visiting the Eternal City. Later on they appointed two monks of the order to govern the house, which arrangement lasted with some interruptions until 1554, when the tie between the two houses was snapped and all connection between Sweden and the hostel came to an end. A century later two monks from Altmünster were put in to take charge of the hospice in 1692, and the usufruct of the property was granted forever to the Brigittine Order. At the present time the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament inhabit the house and use the church, which was built over St. Bridget's chamber and her chapel.

The fourth Brigittine monastery is that of Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, Devon. This community returned to England in 1861, after having been in exile since 1539, when their original home in England, Syon House, founded by Royal Charter on the 3d of March, 1415, was suppressed by Henry VIII., although Cardinal Pole reported of it in one of his visitations that "it was in a high state of fervour and regular observance."

Syon House, situated on the Thames, was founded from Vadstena, which monastery sent four fathers and four nuns to begin the foundation. In 1420 the first English professions took place in the presence of the King, Henry V., the founder and patron, who endowed the monastery for sixty religious and twelve priests. At this first profession twenty-seven nuns, five priests, two deacons and four lay Brothers took their vows.

The first stone of the church was not laid till six years later, and the buildings of the monastery were not finished till 1468. The community flourished for one hundred and fifty years, and the monastery received additional endowments from Henry VII., "in honour of the Resurrection of Our Lord."

At the suppression in 1539 there were twelve fathers, five lay Brothers, fifty-two choir nuns and four lay Sisters. These all received a small pension and were sent to their homes. The father general had been executed in 1535, on May 7, with the Carthusian monks, for resistance to the supreme will of the King, Henry VIII. Syon House was then turned into an ordinary dwelling house and was the scene of some strange historical events. The catalogue of the large and valuable library of 14,000 volumes is still preserved among the MSS. of Archbishop Parker at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Here Catherine Howard, one of Henry VIII.'s wives, was imprisoned in 1541, and in the following year she was led forth from here to execution. Five years later Henry's own body rested here on its way to Windsor to be buried, and the coffin burst at Syon House, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Friar Peto, who had said fourteen years before: "Dogs shall lick up thy blood, O King." The place belonged to the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, until his execution, and from here Lady Jane Grey was taken to the Tower to be executed. In 1553 the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Dudley, took possession of it, and that very same year he was beheaded for treason, and then Syon House became crown property again. Thus it seemed as if no blessing rested on any of the inmates of the monastery after its rightful owners had been expelled. While all this was happening in the once peaceful monastery the expelled nuns, with Katherine Palmer as their superior, went to one of their houses in Holland, at Dermonde or Dendermonde, founded from the Dutch monastery of Maria Koudewater, where they were received with great kindness. They returned to Syon House on the accession of Queen Mary, but only to be driven out again when Elizabeth came to the throne. The Duke of Feria, Ambassador to the King of Spain, obtained the Queen's permission for them to embark for Flanders, and he also furnished them with a vessel, in which they sailed for Flanders and again took refuge at Dermond, where they lived on alms sent them from their friends in England in a separate wing of the monastery, and they received many subjects from England, and here they remained till 1563, when they moved first to Zurich Zee, where they did not stay long, then to Meshagen, near Antwerp, from whence they had to flee to Mechlin, where they remained for seven years, where Sir Francis Englefield secured a house for them. Here the Abbess Katherine Palmer died, to the

great grief of the community, and as they were now deprived of their annuity, some of the nuns resolved to come to England to ask for alms to support themselves, but they were arrested by Elizabeth's myrmidons and cast into prison, where by their patience they edified all who saw them. Meanwhile their sisters in Mechlin were not faring much better, for they were persecuted by the Lutheran soldiery, who insulted them, and if it had not been for some English Protestant officers who protected them they would have been in as bad or worse condition than those in England. Eventually, with the assistance of their own countrymen, they escaped to Rouen, where they remained fourteen years, and then finally settled at Lisbon under the protection of the King of Spain.

While they were at Rouen they twice endured the horrors of a siege, and they were constantly subject to persecution from the Huguenots, and at last when Henry of Navarre came to the throne and the English Ambassador of Elizabeth, his great Protestant ally, arrived at Rouen it was imperative to move the Brigittines out of France, or at any rate out of Rouen.

They had at this time for their confessor general Father Foster, who had taken the Brigittine habit in 1584 and devoted himself to the spiritual care of these nuns, who had suffered so much for their holy religion. He proposed to them either to return to Flanders or to migrate to Spain. After a good deal of deliberation and many prayers for guidance, they chose the latter alternative, and with Father Foster the community of monks and nuns set sail on Good Friday, 1594, from Rouen to Havre. Here they were detained for twenty-four days and subjected to much annoyance, but eventually, after many difficulties, Father Foster succeeded, on May 5, in obtaining a passage for them in a Flemish vessel from Havre to Lisbon. After an eventful voyage, in which they experienced many dangers, they arrived safely at Lisbon on May 20. Here they were kindly received and at first took refuge with the nuns of the Esperanza, but the Queen gave them some land at Sitio de Mocambo, where they built a church and monastery, and Philip of Spain settled an annuity upon them, and here at last they found a home for upwards of two centuries, until they returned to England in 1861. Their convent was destroyed by the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1775, but no member of the community was injured. The monastery was soon rebuilt and the nuns continued to reside there for another fifty years. An attempt to return to England was made in 1809, but it did not succeed.

On their arrival in England they first went to Spettisbury, where they had bought a house of some Augustinian nuns, and here they settled after an exile of nearly three hundred years. There were

then eleven nuns. Neither the climate nor the situation of their new home in Spettisbury suited them, but their poverty prevented them from moving for twenty-six years, though they never seem to have looked upon Spettisbury as more than a temporary residence. At length a very suitable site was given them by an English Catholic gentleman near Chudleigh, in Devon, and the present abbey and church were built, and thither the nuns moved in 1887.

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

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## THE THOUGHT-VALUE OF PROOF: AN EIRENICON.

IF IT can be truly said that all men are naturally desirous of acquiring knowledge, the great majority can be said also to be desirous of possessing some sort of proof substantiating it. It is not only in a carping or critical spirit that man asks for a demonstration of what is put forward, or of what he himself advances as truth. The mathematician certainly does not undertake to explore untrodden paths in his pure science with any desire to find flaws in his own work; nor does the pioneer in a science that is striving to make itself "exact" put forward an hypothesis in the expectation of finding it false. Yet both require proof in their respective sciences, and rightly so. The mathematician has certain fixed principles which he has undertaken to observe. He has certain definite lines to work upon prescribed for him by the very nature of his subject. The man of science welcomes any criticism of his hypothesis as best tending, in the long run, to secure that very result for which he labors. A clear sequence from its principles is the triumph of mathematics. The hypothesis that comes out of a storm of criticism unscathed has gone very far towards establishing itself upon a firm basis. For truth is great and will in the end prevail.

Proof, in matters where proof is possible, will always be demanded by the reasonable man. He is anxious to see clearly and distinctly just how far his knowledge holds together; and proof, he is confident, will show the links that bind it into a unity with its first principles. For he has certain fixed principles of thought that he cannot dispute, and he naturally wishes to have all the conclusions that he adopts properly related to them. Therefore he asks for proof.

Even in those matters of which he is certain, about which no doubt lingers in his mind, he desires to have further corroborative evidence, to see clearly the foundations of his certitude. Many men go further

than this. They are not satisfied until they have actually seen the chain of evidence welded and have personally tested every link of it. Even then they examine it again and again, lest some flaw in the workmanship should have escaped them and the proof be not so valid as they thought. And when they have got their valid proof they do not always stop. They go behind it and ask for the justifications upon which the demonstration rests. They question the first principles themselves and demand a satisfactory theory of human knowledge. Even when they have done all in their power to satisfy their craving for knowledge and certainty, there are some who do not rest content, but go on, over and over again, probing and testing and verifying what has been done. For the skeptical habit of mind often makes its own conditions as to just how far it will go in accepting evidence of any particular sort.

The desire for proof, in the first instance, is not necessarily a sign of doubt. The mind is held perfectly free to accept whatever comes to it, provided it comes clearly and distinctly. The search for further evidence of truth already possessed has its root in a desire to know clearly and distinctly the mental process by which it was attained. We ask for demonstrations of things because we desire to perceive them for ourselves. And, recognizing that the demonstration, if it is to be of any real value, must be our own, in asking for proof we are doing no more than attempting to project our own consciousness outside ourselves, as it were, in order that we may examine its nature, its sources and its processes. Proof, then, is principally a setting forth of the method by which our reason has already reached its conclusions. It has no place in the fixing of axioms or first principles, since these cannot be said to be methodical. If the mind assents to first principles, it is for no other reason than that it is of the nature of the mind to do so. But, strictly speaking, no proposition that is untrue can be proved. No falsehood can really be demonstrated. For once consciousness is projected in the form of propositions, the mental processes by which they were reached can be reviewed and tested. They are themselves the proof of the truth or falsehood of the projected propositions. Thus everything that is a natural object of contemplation on the part of the mind can be proved, or else can be shown to occupy the position of a first principle, for it can be projected as an origin or as a conclusion with its process.

If knowledge in general is a possession of mind, it follows that the mind is in a sense identified with the truth it possesses. There

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\* It is hardly necessary to point out that "projection" is used here in a sense excluding in the strict sense any participation of the Divine nature on the part of creation.

is no natural truth outside mind that is capable of entering into knowledge. Even the truth of beings (or ontological truth) is only true in so far as it is for mind. Our concepts—to go at once to the raw material from which the whole intellectual fabric is built—are true only in so far as they are accurate mental representations of those things of which they are the concepts. They are true because in the mental representation there is a conformity between intellect and thing. And the things, to a conformity to which the truth of our concepts is due, are true in so far as they express imitable modes of the Divine Mind. The projection of the Divine consciousness in creation is the world of actuality, the realities with which we are surrounded; and that world is true in itself (ontologically) in so far as it conforms to the imitable modes of the Divine consciousness. For us it seems to be true primarily in itself, since the truth in our human consciousness is first of all perceived as in conformity with it. But in reality it is only true because of its relationship to God. Thus, while we have a primary likeness to God in ourselves (since we, too, are parts of external nature and thus conform to imitable modes of the Divine consciousness), we acquire another likeness also when our concepts conform to those realities that express, each in its own fashion, the consciousness of God.

But when we go on to formulate truth as judgments, when we affirm or deny, we leave the early stages in the subjective genesis of knowledge. We compose and divide, we analyze and synthesize, until the stately fabric of knowledge rises in its greater or less completeness as a mental counterpart of the world of realities. It is not so difficult to realize that such a growth of consciousness can be a faithful counterpart of that real world when we remember that the real world itself is a counterpart of consciousness.

But all natural human knowledge must of its nature be limited and fragmentary, for it is thus seen to be made up of many items of truth derived from created beings. The ontological truth of any creature, as has just been pointed out, exists by reason of the infinite intelligence. It exists as true for God. But it is an expression of truth limited by the nature of that particular created being to which it belongs. And, consequently, the truth that we possess of any sensible being is a limited truth. Moreover, it is also limited by the finite nature of our own minds; so that, even were an infinite truth before us, we should be unable to include it as such in our knowledge. The only absolutely unlimited truth is God's own knowledge of Himself. For He is infinite. His understanding is infinite. And the truth of God's knowledge is God. Because of the limited and fragmentary nature of the truth we possess, it is not always an easy matter to project consciousness in the form of valid propositions;

and for many kinds of proof the partial contributions of several consciousnesses are required to make its validity apparent.

It may be asked, What is the force of proof if this is what it means? How can proof be said to convince? First principles, as has been noted, need no proof. They are evident. But the manner in which assent is given to them illustrates to a certain extent the way in which proof may produce its effect. If an intelligence reflects upon its contents, or, in other words, upon itself, it perceives a certain number of truths that it is unable to break up into any more primary ones. It can refer them to no other truths from which it has derived them. Similarly, when a real first principle of knowledge, using the term in its broad sense, is formulated and presented to an intelligence, its truth is immediately perceived. The human mind recognizes a certain number of truths naturally. They are clearly seen and they are evidently true. In other words, they are congenial to the nature of the intelligence, and that is their best title to the claim of full assent that they make upon it.

There are other principles less broadly applied, as a rule, and generally belonging rather to departments of knowledge than to knowledge as a whole. They are limited to a definite subject-matter. For this reason it follows that when such axiomatic principles are offered for consideration their truth is not always seen at once. When the intelligence first evolves them it does not give its full assent to them with the same freedom and spontaneity as characterize its acceptance of the first principles of a broader application. In such cases a certain amount of mature reflection is necessary. The terms in which the axiomatic principles are announced, the ideas in the relation of which they are found, must be carefully and exactly determined by a deep and searching meditation. Their full importance must first be realized. And the result of such a process, which is not reasoning, but scrutiny, is the development of their lights and shadows. They rise into consciousness with greater clearness and evidence. Their truth is perceived.

The two cases in which these principles are seen by the intelligence can be compared by a rough simile to physical vision. It needs but to open the eyes to see certain objects. To see others an accommodation of focus may be necessary. In the one case we see easily and without any effort. In the other we stare, we look again and again.

The dispute raised by some philosophers as to first principles does not affect materially the statements just advanced, for it relates not so much to first principles in general as to the order of precedence which first principles should have among themselves. And there may be a confusion of thought involved in any attempt to place one before another in the same order. The principle of contradiction

undoubtedly expresses a truth, but for us it is true because it is evident. The principle of evidence also expresses a truth to which we are obliged to assent by our very nature. Yet if the principle of contradiction were conceivably false, the principle of evidence would not necessarily be true. May not both, and others as well, be classed together as first principles of different orders? May not the principle of contradiction be the first ideal truth—that is to say, a principle presupposed by every truth whatever, and that of evidence the declaration of a primitive necessity of our nature, as the first accepted fact upon which all our intellectual activity is based? All real first principles are seen to be naturally congenial to the mind in which alone they can have their place as truths. No proof is asked for and none is legitimately desirable in their regard, for they are the fundamental conditions of knowledge in the intelligence of man.

Besides the truth expressed by the first principles of all knowledge and the axiomatic principles, there is the great bulk of truths which are not so easily perceived. These are the truths that are not seen with a sufficient degree of clearness and evidence to produce their immediate recognition. This fact doubtless follows from the natural limitation of the mind. It is conceivable that a created intelligence should exist which would be capable of recognizing all finite truths immediately. And, as a matter of fact, it has been said that there are certain individuals for whom what for the majority of men are conclusions reached by processes of reasoning are so plain and evident in themselves that they do not need any demonstration. The propositions of Euclid over which many of us spent our youthful hours in labor and tears did not present the same difficulties to the mind of Isaac Newton or René Descartes. It is difficult to be certain that it is not the result of the process of thought by which the truth was once reached, but there are those to whose minds the *Pons Asinorum*, say, does not appear to stand in need of proof. Are not the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle evidently equal? And might not truths such as this be evident in other cases as well? The difficulty of speaking positively upon such a point arises from the fact that a mental process has *de facto* been gone through; and it may be precisely because of that mental process that the conclusion now seems to be as evident as its own principles. However this may be, it is certain that conclusions can rise in consciousness with a strength and evidence similar to that of principles; and where they do not so rise, but remain as conclusions, they can be shown to be connected with an evolution and construction that takes place in the mind itself.

By the method of induction, by reflection upon principles, by the evolution of their contents and by the gradual unfolding of their implications, the non-intuitional truths are reached. The mind has



the power of acting upon and transforming unique sensible experiences that can only be united, related and combined in the spiritual simplicity of a perceiving subject, into factors of truth. There is no truth but for and in a mind. Why, then, are proofs ever advanced? Why do we seek to demonstrate in forms of words those conclusions of whose certainty we are persuaded? There are at least two possible answers to be given. If we are consciously certain of our conclusions we are, by implication, certain also of the process, whatever it may be, by which they were obtained. And if that process can be communicated to others, we shall have succeeded in adding to the common store of knowledge by helping their minds to unfold the truth for themselves. Moreover, even if we think we are consciously certain of both conclusion and process, we know by experience that not all conclusions have been true for us in the past, nor all processes legitimate. In either case, therefore, we advance what we call our proofs as lines of thought projected without ourselves, as objectivized processes, by which our conclusions have been evolved within our consciousness. If those lines of thought or processes really are legitimate, if they represent the normal and natural workings of the mind, they will, when expressed in words as proof, appeal at once with a convincing force to any one who has, consciously or not, developed intellectually along the same lines. In the case of him who has never directed his attention to the subject-matter in which the proof is the natural expression of the mind's activity, they will act inductively in producing or setting up similar evolutions and trains of thought.

In any case, when the subjective process is objectivized and set out in order, it can be followed and tested—that is, proved—step by step, as it can never be while it remains *in globo*, part and parcel of the living intelligence. This is really the principal function and office of proof; for it is the expression of the method and growth of truth within the intellectual subject. There is no truth in it, for truth is only in mind, in the actual and vital nexus of ideas; and proof consists of words spoken or of written or printed symbols. Only can it be compared to ontological truth—the truth of beings as expressions of the imitable modes of God's consciousness. For proof can be likened to this truth, in that it is the expression of the consciousness of man; and the consciousness of man, being itself a real effect and likeness of the Divine consciousness, its projection should be in harmony, according to its nature, with world of realities.

Etymologically, "to prove" signifies to test, to try, to verify. In this sense I conceive proof to have its true thought-value. It does not prove in the sense popularly supposed. By it the thought-processes, the working of the intellect, the mental development of

themes, is approved. Even a valid proof cannot force certainty. It can at most only induce a process similar to that of which it is a projection. In most cases it does not even do that much, but merely serves as an objectivized process for another intelligence considering it.

Naturally the human mind is set like a compass towards all natural truth. Like a compass, it is deflected from its object by various causes and for various reasons. Truth is its life-blood, and in so far as it is deflected from truth it becomes withered and decrepit. Ignorance and error are the sicknesses of the intelligence. Now, natural truth is reached both naturally and spontaneously, provided the mind is not deflected from its object. Only when it is called in question, or when man wishes to know precisely how he has obtained it, are the hidden processes of the intelligence by which it came into being reviewed. And in their projection and examination an antidote is found for the false or erroneous processes worked in the unhealthy mind. Conclusions and processes can be checked when they are expressed formally, baldly, categorically, in words—precisely as proof.

But proof thus advanced by one has no effect upon a second intelligence considering it unless it does in truth correspond to the similar processes of that second intelligence. It fails to convince. It carries little or no weight. In that case, if in consequence of a careful examination of and a profound meditation upon it, a similar line of mental activity is inductively set up, the proof approaches more closely to that which is meant in the ordinary use of the word.

It is thus that in conversation—even with those with whom few ideas may be shared in common—such valuable thought-processes are so often set up. The fact will be patent to the reader. The process of the one mind induces processes in the other; and, from the interchanging play of heightening inductions, the subject of conversation rises with a vivid exactness of definition and a newly perceived evidential value.

Another factor, however, enters here of which it may be well to take notice in passing. The objectivized or projected processes of the one, by reason of his personal modifications, idiosyncrasies and bias, tend to modify, counteract and neutralize what may be the result of personal modifications, idiosyncrasies and bias in the other. And as the heightening of induction continues and the extraneous matter is stripped off from both conclusion and process, what may at first have been blurred and indistinct outlines come out sharp and clear with an evidence that is the measure of their truth.

It has been said—and for this very reason probably—that conversation is like the forming of a model in clay. We are able to

round off the curves and cut the angles sharply while the model is yet plastic. If there is truth in this statement, it is precisely because of the intelligence acting inductively the one upon the other and correcting what in either may be abnormal or purely personal.

## II.

Up to this point the nature and force of proof has been considered only in subject-matters which nature has made the potential common property of the human mind, and the considerations advanced make no claim to be exhaustive, though by them the conclusion seems to be well established. Proof is the objectivized expression or projection of those mental processes which express the natural life of the soul in its faculty of reason as distinct from will.

But, more than this, the human mind is capable of an elevation to supernatural truth, just as the human soul is capable of an elevation to supernatural life. And as the natural life of the intelligence consists in those vital processes that develop natural truth within it and spiritually identify it with the things that it understands, so its supernatural life, we must suppose, consists of parallel but higher vital processes developing supernatural truth and conforming the faculty, in a sense similar to *intentional identification*, with the beings or truths supernatural which are the objects of its higher understanding. In its identification with this higher truth the soul leads a new life—or, rather, its life is at the same time more complete and more intense. It is furnished with new motives for action, not so much considered as ends without, but as real motive springs within itself. And this new life is normally lived with all its consequences. The implications of the supernatural life of truth in the intellect are unfolded and developed, not in that faculty alone, but in the will as well. There is not only a faith; there is also a love. And in the manifestations of either, as well as in the mutual play and interchange of influence between them, is to be discerned the full spiritual life of the human soul raised above nature by the grace of a living faith. For faith is not a mere supplement of reason. The supernatural life is not a mere appendix to the natural. In the order of truth, as in the order of goodness, it is the fulfilling, the completion, the plenitude. It is not a radical change that is wrought. It is not an addition as brick is added to brick in a building. It is an elevation of the natural individual to a supernatural order, an identification of his intelligence with supernatural truth, a strengthening and perfecting of his will by supernatural love.

To narrow the question once more to its intellectual aspect, the soul holds or is identified with supernatural truth in virtue of its

elevation to the supernatural life. But what criterion has it of the validity of that truth? Can it be proved to be true? Such questions differ very little from those relating to purely natural truth. The nature of the faculty is not destroyed by grace. Its elevation to the supernatural order does not supplant reason. It perfects and transcends it. In its newer life it may still perceive its old principles unchanged in substance, but taking on a newer and a fuller meaning. It may be prepared to find new principles as an evidence of its larger horizon and of its more certain power. To it they are clear and evident. It does not dispute them. It cannot doubt them. They are as fixed and as immutable as the principles of natural knowledge; even more fixed and immutable, since they add their own peculiar guarantee to the clearness and the evidence of the latter. So also the conclusions in this supernatural order are evident and clear in the light of the principles. They are part and parcel of the elevated intelligence with which they are identified as truths, just as the natural conclusions are part and parcel of the purely natural mind in so far as they are identified with it. But if a merely negative doubt should arise, or if an individual wishes to render an account of the possession of such truths, he inquires, as before, as to their origin. He projects them and the processes connected with them, as it were, outside his consciousness. He renders them objective. Then he examines the processes. He tests. He approves. The same desire to see the chain that binds all, conclusions and principles, together welded and tested link by link obtains again. Again he is certain of his truths and, by implication, of the processes of consciousness also. He is as anxious to have a complete, related statement of his supernatural faith as of the natural certainties occupying the place of principles and conclusions in his knowledge. Thus he labors to project and objectivize the certain principles of what may here at once be called revelation, as well as its certain conclusions. He projects the processes, either of the natural or of the supernatural life of the intelligence, by which both principles and conclusions are identified with his consciousness. And this objectivized form of consciousness is for him the proof not only of the supernatural life and its truth, but also of the validity of the processes. In other words, he uses proof suitable to the subject-matter with which he is occupied. He projects his supernatural consciousness not to criticize, but to approve. He objectivizes that which is identified with his elevated consciousness to test it for himself, to see that it is normally in accord with that of others, to induce similar processes and their conclusions from similar premises—in short, to prove.

It may seem that a hard and fast line is here drawn between the

natural and the supernatural; that in laying down a distinction between the two the thought-value of the former is minimized and that of the latter thrown into an altogether undue and mystical prominence. I do not think that this can be urged precisely as an objection to the doctrine. It is not, surely, as an objection, but simply as a statement of fact, that a certain mystical value can and ought to be attributed to the principles, conclusions and processes of a consciousness that is really elevated and expanded to a fuller and a supernatural life. The principles are not repugnant to those of the same consciousness taken upon a lower plane. The conclusions are not incompatible with the results in a more restricted order. The processes are not diametrically opposed to the processes obtaining in the purely natural intelligence. At least we should be led to expect as much in a comparison of the projection of both. And we do find it so; for they are not really two distinct and separate consciousnesses, but one and the same. The fact that it is supernaturalized does not alter its nature. Even when we abstract the one from the other we observe a sameness of nature and method in our abstractions. In the one case of proof the condition of approval is the naturalness of the method by which the intelligence is seen to have been working. In the other, to this condition is added the consideration that the natural intelligence is strengthened, filled out, perfected. In the first case the compatibility of the various items of certain truth is perceived in their cohesion, when projected, to the fixed and fundamental truths that justify themselves by their own evidence. A conclusion is said to be evident in its principles. The justification of a conclusion, then, is the naturalness of the intellectual process by which it grew out of its principles and came to be identified with the intelligence as truth.

In the other case, the same method holds. The compatibility of the various items of certain truth is perceived in their projected cohesion to the principles of revelation. These principles are justified by their own evidence. They are identified with the supernatural life of the intelligence. The justification of the conclusions, here again, is the evidence that they are one part of legitimate thought-processes of which another part is the principles. As truths, they also are identified with the intelligence and thus are neither approved nor disapproved. They simply convince. And it is noteworthy that here, as in the natural consciousness, false principles carelessly adopted and erroneous conclusions depending upon non-normal processes also simply convince. Thus he who acts according to his mistaken conscience and, not having any doubt as to the validity of the processes of his consciousness, adopts its principles and conclusions, is said to act erroneously, indeed, but not sinfully. He is

morally bound to examine when there is a prudent doubt, not before. So the religious consciousness is projected or objectivized in order that it may be approved. Thus proof is seen here again not to be proof in the popular meaning of the word, but a mere setting out objectively of the truth with its thought-process. Argumentative demonstration can never convince directly, for conviction is a state of mind in which it perceives the truth as part of itself. It presupposes experience.

It may be asked, Does not such a view take away all vestiges of reality from the truths of revelation? Is it not an extreme and hopeless subjectivism, in the last scrutiny of the purest individualistic type? I think it can be shown not to be so. In our natural knowledge, if we search among its fixed and certain principles, we shall find one in virtue of which we are obliged to concede an objective reality to things. We are not, as a matter of fact, able to rest in a pure subjectivism. The truth of such a principle as that of causality, in so far as it is a truth and thus identified with the mind, must be subjective. But we refer, and by the constitution of our nature we are obliged to refer, it to realities external to ourselves. We point to external things as evident. We cannot but realize the objective value of the principle, and that realization, itself also a truth and identified with intelligence, takes us very far back along the essential lines of our nature. We grope here at the very roots of intelligence. Like Pyrrho, we find it hard—impossible—to throw off human nature. No matter what detailed account we are prepared to give of the origin of our knowledge, it can never be a purely subjective one in the face of this principle. While truth lies within only, reality is recognized as being without the mind.

And so for the subjectivism of revelation. We objectivize it in order to appreciate it and approve it as consciousness and as valid processes of consciousness. In that sense, objectively, it contains no truth. Our words and formulæ can only be considered as true in a sense analogous to the truth of beings. They are true in so far as they faithfully represent and embody our consciousness. But we should be unable to rest in such an appreciation were there no more than this. As we are obliged, naturally, to refer the truth of natural consciousness, expressed by the principle of causality, to realities without the mind, so are we obliged to refer these truths of the higher supernatural consciousness to realities without itself. And as we can point to fact external to ourselves in the one case as evident; so, in the case of supernatural truth, we can point to external historic fact as evident. In the one case we can adduce the evidence of our senses here and now. In the other we can appeal to the evidence of history. And it is necessary that we should do so.

Our consciousness, even in its spiritualized and supernatural plane, must get into touch somewhere with reality. In the manifestation of the Christ—to take the concrete case—the two planes coincide. Our consciousness of Christ, our experience here and now, the facts of revelation and the grace of intellectual strengthening are referred to and derive from the historic Christ. If, then, the supernatural consciousness is necessarily subjective and out of touch with objective reality, so is the natural. As a matter of fact, neither the one nor the other is so.

What we know as the laws of nature are only generalized expressions of external facts, the extreme generalization of which is the law, or principle, of causality. But precisely as they are generalized expressions they can only have their place in consciousness. Nevertheless, the facts of which they are the mental expression are exterior to and exist independently of ourselves. Just so, the dogmas of revealed theology can only be found in the intellectual consciousness; but they have their ontological truth in real and exterior facts. To point to the one and to appeal to the other is to follow the permanent and necessary working of consciousness towards the real objects of which it has knowledge, with which it is identified in truth. To project the whole subjective aspect of truth, to objectivize the entire consciousness, is to put forward a proof.

Proof, then, would of its nature seem to be quite secondary. It does not, and it is not intended to convince. It only registers the process of conviction. Moreover, it only registers the results of reflex action. It objectivizes what the mind finds in contemplating itself, and the processes and the convictions are often there before any such contemplation is begun. This is true for him, at least, who advances proof.

Among the natural functions of all proof, the following might be noted as summarizing the results already obtained:

I. It is a function of proof, considered as objectivized and projected consciousness, to show the natural identification between the pure—or the elevated—intellect and the things understood; to account for principles, processes and conclusions by presenting them in an orderly and related manner for inspection.

II. It is a function of proof to appear to demonstrate conclusions to those who recognize it as a projected statement of their own consciousness. To such it at once appeals as identical, in a sense, with themselves. It also has the function of inductively setting up similar processes and evolutions of consciousness in other minds. In this function it most closely approximates to the common idea of proof.

III. It has the function of providing a basis for the weeding out and minimizing of error arising from extraneous factors entering

into the mental processes, personal peculiarities, unequally balanced attention to the various parts and details of the process, lack of attention.

IV. Lastly, it has the function of satisfying the purely intellectual craving for knowledge by exhibiting the bare essentials in which it consists stripped of and removed from all unnecessary matter. It shows how those bare essentials are really involved in the process by which consciousness identifies itself with truth, and that they are necessitated by the very nature of the human intelligence. And it does this by bringing that consciousness and intelligence reflexly into a state in which its own evidence is apparent to itself.

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### III.

It may be interesting, by way of illustration, to consider how the foregoing theory of proof works out in concrete examples. Certainty is a condition, a subjective attitude, of consciousness. Truth is the conformity of consciousness to the realities known. The implicit trust in the worth of our intellectual faculty—or, better perhaps, for we need not build all on “belief,” the nature of our minds impels us to invest all certainty with the character of truth. The only possible test of the value of our consciousness is evidence; and evidence, as we have seen, is to be sought in the principles and processes of thought.

It was at one time commonly held that the sun moved round the earth. This was to many, at the time, a certainty and held as true; but it was not a truth. A fuller knowledge of facts and of the quasi-axiomatic principles connected with them was sufficient to dispel the error. The principles, but not necessarily the processes, were at fault. The conclusion was valueless because its process lacked true foundations. The old conclusion and process were not to be welded to the new principles. So the conclusion went by the board as a certainty of consciousness, not because it was not a part of a valid and natural process, but because the process, when separated from its principles, was incomplete. A process nowhere coming into touch with reality is barren. Thus A is B, B is C; therefore A is C is fruitless and worthless (except as a generalized formula). And how could these principles be mistaken? Because they were not first principles, but secondary ones. Because they were not axiomatic in the sense of the mathematical axioms, but as inductions. They were, in fact, false conclusions of another and a prior process of consciousness, the result of hasty and incomplete generalization. And so, just here, where the planes of reality and thought ought to have crossed, there is no contact between them;



and, this point once perceived, the certainty of the conclusion had to be abandoned as having no real contact with facts.

A form of the atomic theory that is sometimes advanced is a good example of the way in which an apparently legitimate mental process may be seen, when projected, not to be congenial to the nature of consciousness. Granted here that the observations which are generalized are true and that the guiding thought-principles are valid, when the process bearing with it as a conclusion this form of the atomic theory is objectivized it is seen to exceed the normal lines of mental activity. There is a break in the continuity of what ought to be one continuous process, where the mind apparently leaves the thought-forms of chemistry to plunge abruptly into the middle of another process having to do with the ultimate constitution of substance. The evidence of the original facts and principles induced is clear. To a point, also, the process is evident. Then comes a gap. The new process, were there evident principles to justify it, would itself be evidently natural. But the first set of principles and their dependent process will not stand the strain of the second process and its conclusion. The evidence is seen to be lacking in a scrutiny of the complete objectivized consciousness, for the second process and its conclusion has nowhere a contact with reality and fact.

A further example may be borrowed from the pages of theology. An intellectual being *confirmed in grace* is incapable of sinning. Radically, of course, since the nature of the being is unchanged by grace, the power of choice of evil or of good remains intact. The free will is not destroyed. But to that power of choice is presented a *something* which, as a matter of fact, secures the constant actual choice of good. The free choice of the will is irrevocably set towards good. Now, since the will follows the intelligence—since *nihil volitum nisi præcognitum*—we are free to suppose that *something* to be in the latter faculty. In the light of the theory advanced, it will be that certainty of principle, process and conclusion which is identified with the consciousness and which is perceived reflexly to be indeed congenial to its nature. The “confirmation in grace” of theology obtains in the supernatural order; and the principles of that order come from without consciousness in some form of revelation. They are not evolved by the mind or generalized from observations. The consciousness with which they are identified lives its life, strengthened, perfected, heightened by grace. Its processes are, if it may be so expressed, supernaturally natural. Its conclusions are adequately seen. And its reflex vision of its own being and contents is so clearly evident that there is no possibility of its mistaking. It is certain of its identification with truth. The will follows it in a complete adhesion to good.

Although the number of examples could be prolonged indefinitely, a last one can be found in an account of mysticism. It is difficult to find a precise and distinct definition of the subject. I here take it to express that attitude of mind towards things spiritual which cannot be accounted for by any identification with purely natural principles, processes and conclusions. Mysticism is, apparently, non-natural and exotic. In the intellect it is denoted by new and fuller conceptions; in the will by a stronger adhesion to its object; in the senses by a downward play of the higher nature which sharpens and intensifies; in the whole individual by a heightened life. This is clear from the lives and writings of such mystics as St. Teresa or St. John of the Cross. Interpreting these characteristics in the light of the theory of proof advanced, it would seem that either the conclusions of the natural consciousness rise as evident principles of the supernatural or new supernatural principles become self-evident. In any case the natural consciousness would be quickened beyond its normal intensity and scope and the mental processes would close in certain conclusions. For their truth the evidence of the principles and processes are the guarantee. All the implications of such supernatural certainty, as of the natural, work out in the other faculties. The constancy of the mystic in adverse circumstances, his—to the ordinary man—curious estimate of the facts and realities in the natural order, his domination of the lower plane of consciousness and of his sensitive nature, find an explanation. He is living the supernatural life. His mind is raised to a higher plane and is more closely identified with truth. His will follows in its closer adhesion to the good. His natural imagination is subdued and responds to the higher quickening.

But to certify to all this reflex scrutiny is necessary. To perceive the certainty as also truth an objectivization of consciousness is required. Thus it is possible to understand the existence of false mystics. The projected consciousness is tested, first as consistent with the thought-principles of the supernatural life, then as a real filling out of the natural. And where it is inconsistent with itself, where the principles, in the last resort, are not evident in fact or in revelation, or the processes congenial to the strengthened faculty, or the "certain" conclusions related as parts of the processes, the thought-value of the whole is nil; the mysticism is false. And as a further test there is the comparison of the supernatural with the natural consciousness that can be made by means of a mental abstraction of the one from the other. Since the latter is not destroyed by the former, its principles, processes and conclusions must remain intact. But though no contradiction must exist between the two under penalty of false mysticism, the discovery of an entire shifting

of principles and conclusions need not surprise us. That the principles are all evident in consciousness and the processes are congenial to its nature are the tests. In the projection of the whole consciousness as a related and coherent unity lies the evidence, or proof, of mysticism and the guarantee of its implications and consequences in all departments of life.

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### THE IRONY OF SHAKESPEARE.

WHEN Marc Antony said, "I am no orator as Brutus is," he was talking ironically and thereby transgressing the boundaries of truth in an opposite sense to that of Falstaff when he related his memorable adventure with the men in Lincoln Green. St. Thomas, after Aristotle, opposes *ironia* to *jactantia*, or boasting, each being a species of lie involving, the one an understatement, the other an overstatement of our own merits. When the Pharisees disfigured their faces in order to show men that they were fasting, they were guilty of both these forms of lying, because they concealed one kind of excellence in order to make pretence of another. The prophet Amos when he says, "I am no prophet," is acquitted<sup>1</sup> of the charge of irony because the truth of his words is saved by the fact that he did not, by birth, belong to the class of professional prophets. For similar reasons, doubtless, Antony might be found guiltless of the charge of irony as understood by St. Thomas. At any rate, if we contrast him with Sir John Falstaff he was *in comparatione illius multo innocentior*.

Of the morality of the different forms of irony it is not our present intention to speak. The irony or feigned ignorance of Socrates is a device which many a schoolmaster would be loath to forego. The graceful humility of an author who pretends that his choicest inspirations are due to some unknown fifteenth century manuscript instead of to his own sweet inventiveness is an excess of reserve which may or may not edify the reader. But even those who perceive ethical defectiveness in such departures from the way of plain truth would still be willing, probably, that the transgressor should keep his tongue in his cheek and follow his own conscience, such as it is.

The irony of life in its manifold forms, and dramatic irony, which

<sup>1</sup> 2a 2ae cxiii., 1.

is a poetic presentment of these, imply the striving of a human agent who shapes his destiny in ignorance of some impending catastrophe, or in despite of certain facts which change the issues of his action. The defect from truth here consists not so much in an actual understatement of the facts as in the withholding of complete knowledge. The irony resides in the mind of him who, whether studiously or otherwise, withholds such knowledge and permits the agent to live for unattainable ends or to reap the consequences of his ignorance. Thus irony is attributed to fate or necessity, which endows an Achilles or an Œdipus with all the gifts which seem to mark him out for a great and prosperous career, and then gives the lie to its promises by plunging him in undeserved calamity. The irony of God, who allowed Adam's culpable ignorance to work out its own retribution, is expressed in Scripture by the words, "Behold Adam is become as one of us, knowing good and evil."

Examples of the studied irony, which prepares the situation on dramatic lines in order to deliver a blow with greater effect, are to be found in Nathan's rebuke of David, delivered suddenly home with the words, "Thou art the man," and in the pageant organized by Assuerus when he had Aman hanged on the gibbet prepared for Mordecai.

The leading *motif* of the Greek drama was the idea of necessity considered in its inexorableness rather than in its irony. Yet this latter element was naturally prominent as a consequence of the former. The Athenians, always keenly alive to the subtleties of terse dialogue, loved to hear an Œdipus, in language of double import, allude unconsciously to the network of destiny that was already enfolding him.

The irony of things may be reflected in a peculiar and personal manner in the mind of an author, and when this subjective or reflex irony is connected with the power that comes from reserve, it will contribute not a little towards giving a character to his style. It enables him to suggest more than he says, or to point to conclusions the opposite of those which his words might be taken to imply.

We like to moralize on the various vanities of life, but the moral must not be pointed too directly by one who does the moralizing for us. Thucydides avoids the didactic shoal by means of the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his historical characters. In that made by the Athenian envoys in the council hall at Melos we have an elaborate picture of the kind of pride that comes before an unexpected fall, while from this dialogue and others we gather, too, the peculiar cynicism and contempt for the democracy which lay deep in the mind of the author himself.

A favorite form of irony with certain quasi-scientific writers con-

sists in the suppression of a "but." It is used by those who, standing on a superior level, "classify" the beliefs and most cherished convictions of their less enlightened fellow-men. They do not refute or condemn, they merely state the position of their victims and with sympathizing condescension set forth all that is to be said for the grounds of it. Their statement is so like a panegyric that the reader is apt to be deceived unless he can find between the lines the adversative clause which dashes the victim from the pedestal to which he was lifted. The author knew, though he did not state, where the weakness lay.

A Jesuit father once complained in a review of a well-known novel that the author had made an ignorant and unfair presentment of the typical Jesuit. While regretting that he had given offense, the author protested that he had depicted what he considered to be a fine character. He had expected, no doubt, that it should be said: "They were classified and were not ashamed."

It is one of the ironies of the drama that it is unable, or nearly so, to deal successfully with absolute perfection. The Christian hero as such, at any rate, does not appear to advantage on the stage. Whether from the necessity of the case, or that the genius to deal with him has not yet arisen, he is apt to look very like a prig. Who would wish to see St. Edward the Confessor or St. Louis on the stage? The hero must have his faults and his weaknesses or else he will be undramatic.

No dramatist knew this truth better than Shakespeare. Macbeth is even more sinful than he is heroic. Othello is unrestrained in his jealousy and without that resignation which would have checked and saved him, while it would have spoiled the play. Lear is barbarous and extravagant alike in his love and in his hatred.

The irony of life is nowhere more powerfully reflected in the drama than when a noble character is undone or rendered mischievous by some inherent and even unrecognized weakness. When the weakness is obvious, as in the three cases just cited, the minds of the spectators are divided between pity and admiration in the proportion intended by the author. But when party passions and party principles are at play it is not always clear what kind of sympathy the author wishes to evoke.

For purposes of illustration we will take the case of an imaginary dramatist who produces a trilogy of which the rise, the glory and the fall of Napoleon are the respective subjects. In the second piece, let us suppose, the hero appears in the character of the ideal patriot who has raised his country from the state of confusion and terror so powerfully represented in the first. Such is the enchantment of his personality that, at a crisis in the battle, every officer

about him begs for the privilege of dying for him on a forlorn hope. In a speech to his men he asks for forgiveness if he has sinned in loving glory even more than he has loved his country, adding that, if this be a sin, he is conscious of none other. No one is even tempted to condemn him. The curtain falls and the spectators depart, each one fired with an overwhelming sense of patriotism. But certain indications in the piece itself and the whole tenor of the sequel go to show that the author was all along much more reserved in his sympathies. The hero in exile soliloquizes on the outcome of his glorious career. The manhood of France, many times decimated and sacrificed to his favorite goddess of glory, haunt him in spirit and reproach him for having left their country, widowed and defenseless, a prey to the invaders whom they had so often defeated for him and not for her. His glory has been his ruin and their own.

With the purpose of the action thus clearly forced upon them, the critics of such a dramatist would hesitate to say that, in any part of the series of events, he has stooped from his high level of detachment and thrown himself in with his hero. If the series had ended with the second play, the known facts of history and certain suggestions in the play itself might have led some of the spectators to suspect his irony, but the majority would not have recognized it. As it is, they are able to see that the hero is a creation of the poet rather than an emanation from his mind; that he has a quasi-independent existence, acts, as it were, according to the nature where-with he was originally endowed, but that the whole sphere of his activity and his interests is made subordinate to the higher purpose of showing his creator's vision of life.

Now, instead of an imaginary Napoleonic trilogy, let us take Shakespeare's "Henry V." The author of it more than any other dramatist has the name of being a true creator of his characters. They are individualized types, thrown off from his mind, and he does not send them as prophets to utter his messages among men. They mirror life as he sees it, and while doing so, they reflect, by their combination, the fairest vision of all—the mind of Shakespeare. If the word of God is in Scripture, the character of God is in nature, especially in mankind; and in the poet's imitation of the creative act his mind and character are analogously impressed on the creatures of his fancy. All that is true and real in human life has God for its author, yet human life by no means expresses God's idea of things as they ought to be; nor is the poet's world, nor any part of it, intended to convey lessons of absolute perfection. His idealizing consists in so adjusting the circumstances to the characters that the latter may work themselves out more rapidly and consistently than in the humdrum of real life. Moreover, since he idealizes life as he

sees it and not as it ought to be, it will be harder to find a man after the poet's own heart in the drama than a man after God's own heart in the world.

Yet among Shakespeare's heroes many find a notable exception in the case of Henry V. Here, at any rate, there would seem to be no such thing as irony, no implied suggestion of wasted greatness and no reserve on the part of the poet in identifying himself with his hero. Shakespeare seems here to be simply abandoning himself to his sense of patriotism and throwing himself into the effort to produce a truly national play. The hero has plucked away the weeds which sprang from the exuberance of his nature and comes forth to answer the hopes of a nation weary of division and longing to be united under a King who is at once a God-fearing Christian man and a leader without fear and without reproach. If he is not an ideal monarch in the strictest sense, if he has not the spotless integrity of a King Arthur nor the fenced and guarded majesty of Cæsar, he is at any rate a complete Englishman. His character is pitched in an attainable key, and no one more exactly than he could fit in with the special needs of the time. If there is irony at all, it will be discovered only by such as would look for the note of exalted majesty in their national hero and find a dramatic disappointment of their hopes in his love of practical jokes and his rather undignified wooing. But of irony on a grand scale, of the hanging of great destinies on the fall of a handkerchief or the belying of high promise through some unnoticed flaw in the character, there seems no suggestion in Henry V.

It is true that there is, properly speaking, no sequel to this play, and therefore no studied attempt on the part of the poet to effect in his audience a sudden change of feeling towards his hero. The possibility of creating such a transformation might have been too strong a temptation for a weaker man than Shakespeare, as it has proved too strong for many a rhetorician exulting in his power of swaying the feelings of his audience. The expressed "but" is not to be looked for in "Henry VI.," which seems to have been written earlier and which probably is not entirely from the hand of Shakespeare. Yet the known facts of history are such as to prevent a sober moralist from allowing his undivided sympathies to go out to the hero of Agincourt. Henry's claim to the French throne was based on a palpable fiction, and his attack upon France in the hour of her weakness was as unchivalrous as it was unjustifiable. The policy, moreover, which prompted it was of that desperate character which sometimes drives the ruler of a divided nation into foreign wars in order to escape from civil strife at home. In Henry's case this policy, though successful for a time, in the end only aggravated

the evil it was intended to cure. The wars of Edward III. had given rise to a class of professional soldiers or *retainers* who, like the *condottieri* in Italy, were the curse of the country and the terror of all peaceful citizens. Under a capable military ruler like Henry V. they were attached to the throne, but when the pageant of conquest came to an unexpected end they poured back into their own country and sought employment there. Under the unwarlike Henry VI. this sudden influx of landless resolute had its natural consequence in the Wars of the Roses and in a long period of anarchy, which came to an end only when these bravos and their employers were destroyed by mutual slaughter.

Regarded from the point of view of that larger patriotism which has not only country but Christendom for its object, the Hundred Years' War was even more deplorable in its consequences. Cressy, Poitiers and Agincourt were fought at a time when the Ottoman Turks were growing rapidly in power and threatening to overrun Europe. That they did not succeed in doing so was scarcely owing to the patriotism of Christian peoples and princes. These latter were doing their best to prepare the way for the common enemy by warring with one another. If the military undertakings of Richard Cœur de Lion and St. Louis in the East ended ingloriously, they at least had the merit of a larger public spirit and gained some measure of respect for the Christian arms. The performances of their successors in the fifteenth century were surely less creditable from every point of view. "People are apt to ask," says Newman,<sup>2</sup> "what good came of the prowess shown at Ascalon or Damietta, forgetting that they should rather ask themselves what good came of the conquests of our Edwards and Henries, of whom they are so proud. If Richard's prowess ended in his imprisonment in Germany, and St. Louis died in Africa, yet there is another history which ends as ingloriously in the Maid of Orleans and the expulsion of tyrants from a soil they had usurped."

With this view of the facts before us we shall do well to ask ourselves whether Shakespeare is in reality maintaining considerable deserve in his presentment of Henry V. or whether he identifies himself with that idea of patriotism which is current among the unthinking multitude. Is it his purpose to stir up universal admiration for his hero, or is there an appeal for the more discriminating among his audience to their sense of tears in human things? The mind of Shakespeare is not merely many-sided but universal, and when he deals with facts under some particular aspect he does not lose sight of their bearing on the whole scheme of life. Hence when, with an Englishman's pride, he recalls the glories of Agin-

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<sup>2</sup> "Historical Sketches," Vol. I., Lect. VI., sec. 4.



court, he can hardly wish to banish from his mind certain deeper sympathies evoked by the whole course of events of which those glories were but an episode. Were it otherwise "Henry V.," amid the unity of Shakespeare's plays, would appear with an incongruity resembling that of certain monuments in Westminster Abbey which display a species of patriotism strangely out of keeping with the spirit of the place. Henry's own tomb in the Abbey and that of King John in Worcester Cathedral are both monuments of patriotism tempered and elevated by religion. The glory recalled by the one and the weakness and disgrace associated with the other are left to the judgment of God, while the dust of either monarch reposes in the peace of God's temple. So, analogously, in the temple of Shakespeare's mind nothing is extenuated and naught set down in malice, while over the hurly-burly of human passions and human interests reigns that peaceful influence which creates and embraces all.

The whole series of plays which deal with the rise and fall of the Lancastrian dynasty naturally suggest the idea of the working out of a great retribution—the penalty which has to be paid for the usurpation of Henry IV. and the murder of Richard. The keynote is truck by the Bishop of Carlisle in the fourth act of "Richard II.:"

The woe's to come; the children yet unborn  
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

That it ever occurred to Henry V. that he himself, by his victories, was preparing the way for this retribution, so as to render it the more heavy for his own house and his people, there is no indication in the play. The shadow of Nemesis does not haunt him as it haunted Orestes. Yet it seems hardly consistent with the character of Shakespeare's genius, as gathered from his works as a whole, to suppose that the thought of the coming Nemesis was not actively present to him as he wrote. If he does not point the irony, it is because it is already pointed by our knowledge of his mind.

But there is another kind of irony which does seem studiously pointed. It concerns the inherent injustice of the claims by means of which Henry sought to reconcile his conscience with his passion for military glory. His claim to the English throne was questionable enough, and he was eager to begin his reign by showing conclusively that, whatever might be thought of his title *de jure*, he was fit to be King *de facto*. His dying father says to him:

Heaven knows, my son,  
By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways  
I met this crown . . . . Therefore, my Harry,  
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds  
With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,  
May waste the memory of the former days.

To this his son replies, with true English logic:

My gracious liege,  
You won it, wore it, kept it, gave it me;  
Then plain and right must my possession be.

But though actual possession and the will of the nation were in his favor as sovereign of England, there was not a shadow of reason in his pretensions to the throne of France. If the claim of his great-grandfather, Edward III., could not bear examination, his own was still less worthy of serious attention. Yet he has made up his mind that glory must be won, and, being no less desirous to square his conscience with the enterprise, he determines to abide by the judgment of the highest prelate in the land.

Archbishop Chichele was a penitent of the same school as Henry IV. That monarch had designed to atone for his usurpation by the conquest of Jerusalem. The Archbishop, who was perhaps more sincere in his repentance, founded All Souls College in order to provide Masses in perpetuity for the souls of those for whose death he felt himself responsible when he counselled the invasion of France. He appears before us in the play as a man hardly less well formed for dealing with the practical side of life than Henry himself, and as little given to counting the difficulties that lie in the path he has once chosen to follow. His knowledge of divinity seems on a level with the King's, of whom he says:

Hear him but reason in divinity,  
And, all-admiring, with an inward wish,  
You would desire the king were made a prelate.

He sees clearly that the King's eagerness for ready money provides him with a favorable opportunity of averting a wholesale confiscation of ecclesiastical property, threatened by the Commons. He therefore makes a generous offer on the part of the clergy as a contribution to the war. Henry, who thus knows what sort of decision to expect from him, has no hesitation in laying before him all his scruples, and begs him to answer according to his conscience. The Archbishop, without looking either to the right or to the left, takes the King's own point of view and makes the whole question turn upon the interpretation of the Salic law. With a great parade of special knowledge and an argument from Scripture, he proves that the law in question is no bar to Henry's title, and bids him unfold his flag in God's name. The King's scruples are completely set at rest, and without any misgivings about the justice or the policy of the proceeding, he promptly invites the French King to yield up his dominions. His buoyancy and confidence last through the campaign, and his splendid unconsciousness of guile is fittingly expressed by his words after the victory:

Do we all holy rites;  
Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*.

Henry, the man of action, brings all his purposes to a successful issue because, unlike Hamlet, the man of many thoughts, he is not given to "thinking too precisely on the event." Both men are conscientious, but Hamlet is the slave of doubts and fancied possibilities suggested by a conscience which he cannot control, while Henry, on the contrary, has the fortunate gift of being able to form his conscience very much in accordance with his wishes. The irony in this case lies in the shaping of a career which seems to display all the qualities of heroism in action, but which is in hidden antagonism to the moral law. In the mind of Shakespeare Henry, at least in his regenerate days, is the typical English gentleman, the soul of sincerity and honor, wanting in subtlety of mind, but possessed of a practical judgment which, though sound in most respects, is capable at times of ignoring objective morality in the most invincible persuasion of righteousness.

Not less devoted to principle than Henry V., and far more philosophically studious of principles in the abstract, is Brutus, the secondary hero of "Julius Cæsar." He is sometimes considered the principal hero of the play, but it is hard to see how this can have been intended by Shakespeare. It is true that Cæsar appears but seldom, and that in him there is no serious attempt at characterization, whereas Brutus is the most prominent actor in the drama and his character is minutely drawn. But then Cæsar is the dominant influence which, whether in life or in death, shapes the whole action of the play. He is foremost in the minds of men, and even his murdered body is the energizing centre of all the passions that play around it. As in a religious picture the central figure is sometimes conventionally drawn, out of reverence or from a feeling of inability on the part of the artist to rise to the dignity of his subject, so Shakespeare is content to mark the position of his hero above the common level by portraying him in a manner that is somewhat angular and melodramatic. Cæsar's high estimate of himself is expressed in language which in real life would appear ludicrously bombastic and calculated only to destroy the dignity it was supposed to maintain. A great man in real life endeavors to hide the nakedness of his pride by clothing it in dignified language so that the flaw in his greatness is not betrayed at every turn. But it is precisely the flaw in Cæsar's character that Shakespeare wishes to make prominent, and he does so by making his words express the nakedness of his thoughts. The conventional method which is adopted justifies such treatment. It distinguishes the resultant from a mere caricature and effects the main purpose of exhibiting acknowledged greatness marred by extreme self-consciousness.

Brutus is no doubt a better man than Cæsar, but he is a much

smaller figure on the stage of life. The irony of his fate is that his sense of rectitude and his presumably stern devotion to principle lead him on to the murder of a greater and wiser man than himself at the bidding of a lesser. He sees life through the medium of books and is incapable of estimating the characters of living men. He thinks that Cassius is actuated by the same high principles as he is himself and takes Antony for what he pretends to be, "a plain, blunt man," from whom no harm is to be feared. But the great flaw in his character is the lack of a certain healthy opportunism which should have supplemented his philosophy and led him to see that the Rome of his day was not the Rome of old, and that the strong hand of Cæsar was needed to prevent license and anarchy in a State in which freedom had become impossible. Brutus was Cæsar's friend. Cæsar had a power of surveying things as they are, an initiative and a masterly force of will which were entirely lacking in Brutus. Yet Brutus had qualities admirably fitted to supplement those of such a leader, and Cæsar was well aware of it. "For Brutus, as you know, was Cæsar's angel." That was his true destiny. A governor of a province or as a counsellor at home, his uprightness, gentleness and amiability would have corrected what was harsh or arrogant in his master and plucked the sting of tyranny from his rule. To bring his philosophy to bear usefully on life, to enable him to do great things, he needed the direction of a man of action capable of giving the necessary impulse to his practical energy for good. He deliberately chooses to take his lead from Cassius, under whose guidance he misses his destiny. His active qualities are called into play, but they are directed upon a course which ends in the murder of his benefactor and the ruin of his country.

In the management of his conscience Brutus stands in a position half way between that of Hamlet and of Henry V. He fails to get rid of his scruples, but he does not allow them to interfere with his purpose. He is partly conscious that the motive which chiefly sways his mind is the personal influence of Cassius, and when he seeks for arguments in justice for the murder of Cæsar he finds them so intrinsically weak, while those telling against his resolve are so strong, that his solitude is tortured and he cannot sleep. He tries to satisfy his conscience that the murder is for the general good, but the only reason he can find is that Cæsar's elevation to power is likely to convert him into a tyrant:

So Cæsar may;  
Then, lest he may, prevent.<sup>8</sup>

Hence he is in a state of mental anarchy common to all habitually conscientious men who have made a doubtful resolve.

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<sup>8</sup> Act II., scene 7.

Between the acting of a dreadful thing  
And the first motion, all the interim is  
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream.

It is the single purpose born of a double mind that upsets the balance of his judgment. There is no such conflict in the counsels of Henry V. nor in the well-poised scheming of such a calmly resolute villain as Iago.

It is in the company of his fellow-conspirators, where he is nerved by contact with others, that the resolution of Brutus gathers force. He even becomes the leading figure in the plot, though the real prime mover is Cassius.

The habit of meditating on general principles and the conscious endeavor to apply them in action is apt to make a man somewhat stilted and angular in his movements and to give a certain character of pedantry to his judgments. This want of complete naturalness is very noticeable in Brutus, in whom high principle has to supply the place of real depth of feeling. The balanced rhetoric and the formal appeal to reason in his speech on the death of Cæsar make some impression on his hearers, but the effect of it is soon swept away by Antony's direct appeal to their feelings. Antony is almost the exact counterpart of Brutus, for his is a strong character marred by the absence of principle, while in Brutus it is precisely the adherence to principle that gives a certain measure of steadfastness and nobility to a character otherwise inconsistent and weak. There is irony in Antony's words when he says, "But were I Brutus," but behind the irony of the man there is the irony of his destiny, for had the better part of Brutus been blended with Antony, there had been no Cleopatra and no Augustus Cæsar.

Speaking from the depth of strong feelings directed by a clear judgment, Antony is able to bend the minds of his audience entirely to his will, and in this kind of power he compares with his rival as a giant with a pigmy. His grief at Cæsar's death is sincere and at least as deep as that of Brutus when he hears of the death of Portia. But it does not destroy the balance of his mind. It gives fire to his oratory, and yet is no bar to the cold-blooded scheme of proscription which he concert with Octavian. Brutus attributes his resignation on the loss of his wife to his "meditating that she must die once." The probable reason, however, why he is so little shocked by the tidings is that his spirit is already dulled by anxiety. His stoic calmness is more affected than real. It does not prevent him from being irritated with the meddling poet who transgresses his cherished principles of military discipline, nor from running pell-mell into unnecessary personalities in his famous wrangle with Cassius. Cassius is the first to master his own feelings in the encounter, and

when he has done that he has little difficulty in calming Brutus. He rightly regards the poet as too inconsiderable an object for his wrath, but, in order to humor his irritable friend, he allows him to be summarily dismissed. For the sake of peace he even sacrifices his better judgment to the military theories of Brutus and allows the army to descend from an advantageous position and so invite destruction.

The suicide of Brutus is confessedly against those stoic principles which gave a general direction to his life, though they never really formed his character. His philosophy forbids him,

For fear of what might fall, so to prevent  
The time of life,

but the dread of adorning Antony's triumphal car, the counsels and example of Cassius and his own natural love of notoriety are motives too strong for his philosophy. He dies as he has lived, "with himself at war," and his last words:

Cæsar, now be still:  
I kill'd not thee with half so good a will,

are an unconscious acknowledgment that he himself has been his greatest enemy. His dying consolation is the thought that his name will be remembered as that of one who has made great sacrifices and done great things for his country in the stern, grand manner of the ancient Romans. Antony's kindly estimate of him when he says that he was "honest" and that "his life was gentle" gives us a truer summary of his character. There seems to be a touch of irony on Shakespeare's part when he makes Brutus reject the name of Cicero from the list of conspirators, for of all the characters in the play Cicero is the one that most resembles Brutus, and his name is proposed for the same reason that led Cassius to make Brutus his first accomplice—viz., to give dignity to the plot by connecting with it the most respected names in Rome. Moreover, though Brutus has more of the militant spirit than Cicero, who, besides,

Will never follow anything  
That other men begin,

yet it is precisely his own pragmatistical insistence that ruins the cause at Philippi.

The two examples of Henry V. and Brutus are here selected because they especially seem to illustrate that reflex and covered irony which is characteristic of the mind of Shakespeare and which is distinguished from the more objective irony of life which it is the business of every dramatist to mirror in his works.

In order to understand Shakespeare aright considerable effort is necessary, as he expects much from the coöperation of the reader's imagination. The unities of time and place are set at defiance in his

plays, and even the unity of action is often only verified in the unity of thought. Hence minor incidents such as the interference of the poet, alluded to above, are thrown in in order to give play to particular traits of character, even though they break the continuity of the action. The incident of the glove in "Henry V." has nothing to do with the main plot, but it adds to knowledge of the hero's character. Among Shakespeare's greater plays such interruptions are least frequent in "Othello" and most so in "Hamlet." Voltaire's pleasantries at the expense of the latter play are well known, and Manzoni speaks of the poet as "un barbaro che non era privo d'ingegno."<sup>4</sup> The absence of regular development in the plot seemed an unpardonable defect to critics of the classical school, but, though unity of action is desirable, it is not so important as the perfect adjustment of the circumstances to the characters, so that these latter may be enabled to reveal themselves fully and consistently. If this adjustment is consistently made there will be unity of thought in the play and unity of action, too, at least in so far as every action is made subservient to the one purpose of illustrating the characters in their relations with one another.

The appeal to the intelligence of the reader is made by inviting him to use one incident as a commentary on another and so to grasp the bearing of the several parts on the central idea. Similarly, in order to discover the true orientation of the author's mind so as to see everything from his point of view, it is necessary to use one play as a commentary on another until we perceive how the whole series of plays, taken in conjunction, fulfills its purpose as a commentary on life. The more carefully this process is carried out by one familiar with the genius of the English language, the less reason will there appear for being shocked by that uncouthness and want of finish in Shakespeare which so often makes him distasteful to readers of the Latin races. It is the very comprehensiveness of his view on life as a whole that causes the defects in question. He differs from Sophocles as a beautiful landscape differs from a perfect garden. We love the wild freedom of the one no less than the tasteful restraint of the other, for nature is ultimately the presiding genius in both. It is his masterly sweep, too, over the whole range of human nature which gives to Shakespeare his peculiar attitude of irony with regard to life. Like Coheleth he has "seen all things that are done under the sun, and behold all is vanity." Yet he is neither a pessimist nor a cynic. He can enter with equal sympathy into the follies of a Falstaff or the etherial musings of a Prospero, and all the while maintain the detachment and preëminence of his own mind. Modern art is commonly most successful when it deals

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<sup>4</sup> *Promessi Sposi*, c. vii.

with the strength of morbid passions and the humors of low life, and the power of the writer or artist comes from the fact that his own mind is impressed and dominated by his subject. There is a partisanship in his sympathies which indicates that he has surrendered rather than lent himself to the emotions with which he deals. He portrays life as the sensitive plate of a camera rather than reflects it with the unsullied cleanness of a mirror. Hence he is too greatly identified with his subject to rise to that preëminence which is the mark of a master mind. The mind of Shakespeare, on the contrary, seems to contract no stain of vulgarity nor to be overmastered by any strength of emotion through inordinate attachment to his creations. He lends himself to his work. His attitude towards life is analogous to that of the perfect Christian as summed up by St. Paul:<sup>5</sup> "It remaineth, that . . . they that weep [be] as though they wept not; and they that rejoice as though they rejoiced not; . . . and they that use this world as if they used it not; for the fashion of this world passeth away." It is as a passing thing that life is reflected in the mind of Shakespeare, as passing objects are reflected in a mirror. We see at one and the same glance both the mirror and the image, but the two are distinct and independent. The warm rays and the dry light are received and thrown back in new directions by a surface which is indifferent to either.

This power of dealing with the subtlest thoughts and most violent emotions without endorsing the one or being shaken by the other is inseparable from a certain attitude of irony. The comparison of the poet's mind to a mirror is imperfect in so far as he throws back more than he receives. There is always that coloring from his own mind which renders his work not merely an image of but a commentary on life; but it is his reserve and economy in using this element of himself that constitutes his subjective irony.

Another consequence of this calmness of his inner self is the habit in Shakespeare of mingling an abundance of healthy dry light with the warmth of the passions he calls forth. It is not administered in regular doses by a chorus—the chorus in "Henry V." is anything but impartial—but must be sought for in all the circumstances, however trivial they may appear, which form the intellectual setting of the play. The studious reader of Shakespeare has this advantage over the average theatre-goer, that he is better able to arrive at that intellectual standpoint which is the centre of unity of the whole action and towards which all the minor incidents converge. These last will not appear to him to be mere appendages, for they are all bound together in the unity of thought which, by careful study, he is trying to grasp. To any one who looks for a supposed unity of emotion

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<sup>5</sup> I. Cor. vii., 29-31.



rather than to the unity of thought, they may seem unnecessary and, as a fact, are often omitted. But then the result is not the pure essence of Shakespeare, who, if sensuous and passionate, is not sensational for sensation's sake. In him the emotion is for the sake of the idea and not the idea for the emotion. Hence he is never lurid. Healthy, regulated, average human nature is his zero point, from which all intensities, whether positive or negative, swing towards either infinity and balance one another. His heroes, in whatever key their character is pitched, breathe the same atmosphere as ordinary mortals, though the interaction of their passions and their relations to their environment are defined with more visible purpose than in ordinary life. The general tendencies of life are accentuated and freed from irrelevant circumstance, so that the present results, though not the Providential aims, of human action are revealed in the light of the poet's mind. In his world of active character the perfect blending of high qualities is never realized, and the high tide of life, in love and victory, lasts but for a moment. It is the theory of Thucydides. Every human agent is moved by an inscrutable destiny which seems to withhold permanent fruition as a thing not to be granted to mortal men, and to bestow the gifts that make for success with studied disregard for the fitness of the recipients. Political wisdom is stored up in the mind of Polonius as in an uncut manual; the moral utterances of Iago are no indication of his inner mind, and the kingly bearing of Richard II. is no sign of his fitness to rule. If such, then, is the irony of life so often and so pointedly reflected in Shakespeare; if a deep but not cynical irony pervades his whole view of human life, it would seem that there is a strong presumption for the existence of the same note of irony in disputed instances, and that the hypothesis of its presence in the cases of Brutus and Henry V. provides us with a useful clue in our attempt at forming a full and consistent estimate of their characters.

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# SIDE LIGHTS ON THE CHILD-LIFE OF OUR LORD.

A FRENCH PROFESSOR'S REVERENT RECONSTRUCTION.

## I.

The Christ-child lay on Mary's heart;  
His hair was like a fire.  
(O weary, weary is the world,  
But here the world's desire.)  
—Gilbert K. Chesterton.

THE Gospels leave a veil over the childhood of Our Lord from the return to Nazareth till the first Pasch at Jerusalem, that is to say, from the beginning of the second to the end of the twelfth year of His life. Since the earliest era of the Church there have not been wanting writers to peer through the twilight, often with luckless results. There have been the foolish false gospels of "Thomas the Israelite" and others, and the last century gave us the sentimental "Lily of Israel."

Christian poets have done better by leaving miracles alone, and remembering that the "first beginning" of these was at Cana of Galilee, hastened indeed by Our Lady's prayers, but not until Our Lord was in the prime of manhood. Their gift of poesy, ennobled by musings on the Incarnation, has empowered them to gaze betwixt warp and woof in such wise that the Church has never said them nay. Yet all their holy songs might be put into six words of St. Luke: "And He was subject unto them."

The reconstruction of what may be called the routine life of the Nazareth home, after nineteen ages of Christendom, has been left to scholars of the dawning century.

Arianism sent Catholics to their books and widened and deepened their knowledge of Scripture and the Fathers. So also what is needlessly called the "higher criticism" (for the profane carpings of Colenso and Ingersoll were not textual criticism at all) is raising rich fields of wheat within our borders for all the cockle it has sown without. Such is the fate of heresies. From Arius to Haeckel assailants of the Church have done her scholars service. Need it be added that the gain of the Church Teaching is the consolation of the Church Taught?

The Infant Jesus, as our children love to call the Child of Nazareth, was brought up like other Galilean little boys. What follows from this? Surely that a careful study of Jewish tradition and social life in the days of Christ, together with the tiresome yet invaluable Talmud and such works as Simon's "Education de l'Enfant Juif" will give in bold outline a picture of the child-life of Our Lord.

A little book<sup>1</sup> has been written on these lines by the Abbé Chauvin, sometime professor of Holy Scripture at the Seminary of Laval. Of the author's learning and safeness as a guide, no more need be said than that he is a consultor of the Biblical Commission now sitting in Rome. Let us dip into his pages, in the spirit, however, of devout recreation rather than of research. For the "Childhood of Christ," exquisitely simple as the title sounds, is written mainly for priests, who will certainly find the first three chapters invaluable. Their compression is intense, but the references are so full that any book-loving pastor with leisure could readily amplify them into lectures. They deal with: 1. Legends and Errors Concerning the Divine Childhood. 2. Christmas Night: The Time and the Hour: The Ox and the Ass: and The Shepherds at the Crib. 3. The First Weeks and Months of the Holy Childhood.

This last would well repay a little patience spent in turning up the authorities cited. It deals with the eighth day and the thirtieth day (the Circumcision and the Presentation), the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents. In the author's view, the babes murdered by Herod numbered no more than fifty. I am tempted to give the abbé's persuasive argument, but it would lead us far from our purpose. Let us turn to the next chapters of the Abbé Chauvin and muse upon the child-life of our rescued Lord after His safe return from the Egyptian village of Matarieh.

Like most little Israelites, Our Lord would be at the breast for some two years. "His Mother, blessed amongst women," writes the Abbé Chauvin, "would carry Him in the village street, now in her arms, now on her hip, or even upon her shoulders, as was the wont of Nazareth women then, and still is at this very day." St. Joseph toiled all day, combining blacksmith work with carpentry, according to Christian tradition, at least to the extent of fashioning ploughshares as well as ploughs. We need no scholarship to divine how often the dear saint would pause from his labor to caress the God-made Man for us.

In due time came the day of weaning. From the time of Abraham this was a festival in the Jewish home. Our Lady and St. Joseph would offer a simple feast, in token of rejoicing, to their Nazareth friends and kinsfolk.

When Our Lord was three and a half or four full years of age Our Lady would dress Him every morning in the fringed garment made according to the rule given to Moses by God: "Speak to the children of Israel, and thou shalt tell them to make to themselves fringes in the corners of their garments, putting in them ribands of

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<sup>1</sup> "L'Enfance du Christ. D'Après les traditions juives et chrétiennes." Par M. l'Abbé Constantin Chauvin. Paris, Bloud et Cie.

blue; that when they shall see them, they may remember all the commandments of the Lord, and not follow their own thoughts and eyes going astray after divers things, but rather being mindful of the precepts of the Lord, may do them and be holy to their God." (Numbers xv., 38-40.)

Catholic mothers may like to hear the Abbé Chauvin's explanation of the twists and knots in the fringes upon Our Lord's little robe. He prefers to call the fringes "tassels;" the Hebrew word, in English characters, is TSITSITH, and I must leave the matter there, for the sacred tongue of the Old Law is beyond me.<sup>2</sup> In the New Testament the word of St. Matthew, *kraspedon*, seems to fit in better with the "fringe" translation of our Douay Version. According to Liddell and Scott, this means the "edge, border, margin or hem" of anything. The Abbé Chauvin's "tassels," however, may give housewives a better understanding of the meaning of the *tsitsith*.

Each of these was made of eight strands of wool, seven of white wool and one of blue—the "riband of blue" of both the Catholic and Protestant versions. The white wool was an emblem of purity: "If your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; and if they be red as crimson, they shall be white as wool." The blue strand typified heaven, the throne of God.

These eight woolen strands were so twisted and knotted that they indicated to their wearers the oneness of God and the number of His written precepts—six hundred and thirteen. The explanation must be followed with some care, and we should remember that Hebrew letters were used for arithmetic as well as for spelling. Each character so used had a definite numerical value, not a varying one, like the *x* and *y* of our algebras. We may think ourselves advanced, with our convenient 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 0. Yet these are only imitations of letters from the Arabic alphabet, as any traveler will tell you.

The fringe, or "tassel," was, first of all, given seven twists and knotted once; then it was twisted eight times and knotted twice. By this means the number 15 was arrived at (7 plus 8). In Hebrew letters the number 15 is written I H, and this, to the Jew, is the all-holy name of God written short, being the first two consonants of the sacred tetragram or four-lettered cipher I H V H (Iehovah, or Iahveh). This stands (without vowels) in Holy Writ for the unutterable name of the Most High.

The tassel was again twisted, receiving thirteen turns and another double knot.

Now the consonants of the Hebrew word meaning *one*, in their

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<sup>2</sup> Apart from Hebrew, which he generally translates, the Abbé's book is too plentifully besprinkled with Greek and Latin terms for popular reading.

*arithmetical* values amount to just thirteen. Oddly enough, therefore, to our notions, this third twisting conveyed the idea of unity. And the seven-fold, the eight-fold and the thirteen-fold turns together brought forth the root-teaching of the Old Testament—*i. e.*, the Oneness of God, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God." The Hebrew child was taught to spell out the shortened name of God by counting the fifteen twists, and from the thirteen to arrive at the word "one" by figuring it out as we have seen. Thus his *tsitsith* said to him: "God is One."

Further, in the word *tsitsith* we have three consonants, for the *ts* sound (many readers may need to be informed) was made by one character, as was the *th*. The *ts* stood, in Hebrew arithmetic, for 90. The *i* was 10. The *th* was 400. So the two *ts*'s, the two *i*'s and the *th* came to  $180 + 20 + 400 = 600$ . Taking with this the number of knots, one single and two double, 5, and the number of woollen strands, 8, we reach the figure 613, and there we stop.

For this is the number of the precepts, including, of course, the ten which are binding upon all mankind, to be found in the law of Moses, according to the careful reckoning of the Jews. They numbered 248 positive commands in the Mosaic writings. This number (their surgeons said) was also that of the members and organs of the human body.

Of prohibitions, their sedulous poring discovered 365, the number of days in the year. Together the affirmative and negative precepts made 613, and home teaching made this number, worked out as has been described from the fringes on a child's garment, synonymous with the law of God.

"Thus the Jews," exclaims the Abbé Chauvin, "from childhood to extreme old age had ever beneath their eyes the remembrance of the One God and His law."

The first time the Blessed Virgin put the *tsitsith* on Our Lord, she would say, with Him and St. Joseph, the following customary prayer: "Blessed be Thou, O God, King of the world, for that Thou hast hallowed us by Thy commandments, and ordained our wearing of the fringes that betoken them."

As the days went by, Our Lady would teach her Son some verses of the Holy Scripture by heart. The earliest of these were texts proclaiming the unity of God: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole strength," from Deuteronomy, and similar texts. These learnt, the Blessed Virgin would teach Him others. She also taught Him to join His little hands in prayer every morning, and to repeat to His Heavenly Father a shortened form of the sacred *Schema*, which the Jew said every dawn and even of his life: "Hear, O Israel, the

Lord alone is God. Thou shalt love Him with thy whole soul, forever. His commandments shall be always in thy heart; in the house; when thou shalt set out on a journey; when thou liest down and when thou risest up; thou shalt bind them as a seal upon thy hands. I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt to be thy God. I am the Lord thy God."

So prayed Our Lord every morning on His awakening, while the birds He had made were twittering beneath the eaves of the holy home of Nazareth.

The saying of the *Schema*, it may be noted, was not *binding* upon a Jewish child until his legal "manhood," when he was twelve years of age. But it was taught and practised long before this, as soon, indeed, as the baby boy could lisp the sacred words.

Besides the large phylacteries, or prayer bands, against the exaggerated Pharisaic use of which Our Lord inveighed, the Jews had smaller strips of inscribed vellum for the use of children containing striking passages of the law, memorable words from the prophets and the high deeds, under Divine guidance, of the chosen people of Israel. When the day's work was over, or the Sabbath rest came, St. Joseph would take Our Lord upon his knees and put one of these small rolls into His hands, telling Him what is contained concerning His Father's dealings with the stiff-necked race.

Another small sacred scroll that played a part in the home life of Our Lord was the *Mesusah*. Our Lady and St. Joseph, like all devout Israelites, fastened over the transom of their door a tiny roll of parchment containing, in twenty-two lines, two passages from Deuteronomy; the first (Deut. ix., 4-9) upon the love of God; the second (Deut. xi., 13-21) declaring the blessings that follow obedience to His law. The writing was enclosed in a white metal case and nailed over the doorway well in sight. How often did the Child in Mary's arms instinctively stretch forth His little hands to the bright *Mesusa* box, especially when He saw His Mother and others touch it reverently as they entered or went out. It would be for St. Joseph to explain the meaning of this pious practice and to repeat to Our Lord the words sealed up within the shining tube.

To St. Joseph, again, fell the task of explaining, every seventh day, the excellence and the origin of the Sabbath. He would teach his Foster Son the meaning of the blessings prescribed by custom for the day, the significance of the rites observed on festivals, the reason for the leafy bowers erected at the feast of Tabernacles and for the solemn reading of the Book of Esther at the feast of Purim, or "Lots," and why Pentecost recalls the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. As Sabbath after Sabbath came round, he would unfold to the Christ-child the glories of the Pasch, with the mystic meaning

of its rites, the unleavened bread, the bitter herbs, the varying cups of wine, the joyous chant of the Hallel and—unfathomable mystery of the Word made Flesh—the Paschal Lamb itself.

At six years of age the boys of Israel began to learn to read, copy and memorize the Bible. Their days were no longer spent with their mothers, but at the "*Bethhassepher*," or "bookhouse"—i. e., school-house. The Abbé Chauvin thinks it likely that Nazareth had no regular *Bethhassepher* during the days with which he deals, but that there was an informal school dependent on the synagogue. To this Our Lord and the little Nazarenes would go, if not daily, several times a week, and always on the Sabbath day.

The schoolmaster, or *hazzan*, of Nazareth would make it his business to develop the memories of his pupils. Even nowadays small people in Palestine are drilled in the synagogue to know their Bible by heart by means of a droning, mechanical repetition. The success of this sing-song method astonishes the Western mind. Dusky little scholars absorb text after text with ease and a glue-like tenacity that recalls the Talmud's metaphor of childish memory—"a well-mortared cistern from which no drop of the water poured into it escapes." We may safely picture Our Blessed Lord, seated on a little mat, repeating the Messianic prophecies of His coming, or attentively watching the teacher's hand as the *hazzan* traced on a tablet or on the wall the characters of the Hebrew alphabet.

Often, and especially on the Sabbath, the lesson was given in catechetical form. The Jewish method of question and answer was not, as with us, one-sided. At times it was on the lines of the catechism we are familiar with, but at least as often the *hazzan* expounded the subject of the lesson *and the pupils catechized him*. His replies were in the form of parables, which in their turn elicited further questioning from his class.

As the twelfth year approached—the year when Our Lord began to earn His living as St. Joseph's apprentice—He would do a hundred and one little tasks for His parents, especially for Our Lady. Imagination may securely depict Him aiding Our Lady to draw water and to carry the earthenware pitcher used then as now by women in the East. Often He would do this work Himself—He who came on earth to give men Living Water, of which whoso drank should never thirst again.

Our Lady was kept busy in household cares, especially wool-spinning and the weaving of garments, while the grinding of corn in a small stone hand-mill would take yet more of her time than the actual preparation of meals. She who sang the "Magnificat" disdained not to knead bread from flour which her holy hands had ground.

Emmanuel—our God with us—was the joy and the glory of this home. His voice, sweeter than that of angels, rang through the little rooms; the beauty of His humanity glorified all with soft radiance from the Godhead. From on high His Heavenly Father looked tenderly upon Joseph and Mary and the beloved Son in whom He was well pleased.

II.

The Christ-child stood at Mary's knee,  
His hair was like a crown,  
And all the flowers looked at Him,  
And all the stars looked down.  
—Gilbert K. Chesterton.

Father Chauvin\* opens his study of Our Lord's twelfth year by the simple words of St. Luke: "And when He was twelve years old."

In the life of the Jews this date was very solemn. The child then became "a son of the commandment" and was obliged to observe the law. For the first time, then, the Child Jesus went up to Jerusalem, as of obligation, for the Pasch with Our Lady and St. Joseph, "according to the custom of the feast."

It was a good step from Nazareth to the Holy City—a journey of four days on foot. There is some uncertainty as to which route across

Those hallowed fields  
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet  
Which (nineteen) hundred years ago were nailed  
For our advantage on the bitter cross,

was chosen by the Holy Family. Galileans as they were (and as Our Lord was slightly called in His public life), they had the choice of three routes—that by Samaria, leading straight to Jerusalem through Jezrahel, Engannim, Sichem, Jacob's Well, Bethel and Beroth; that of the Jordan Valley, through Scythopolis, Succoth, Jericho and Bethania, and the seaside road, by Carmel, Joppa and the plains of Sharon and of Sephela. Most writers deem the first of these the one chosen by St. Joseph.

Father Chauvin demurs, on the ground that in the first century relations between other dwellers in the Holy Land and the Samaritans were strained to so dangerous a breaking point that Galilean caravans bound for Jerusalem would select either the seaboard track or the further bank of the Jordan. In his view, the Holy Family chose the latter. Then, according to his method, he patiently sets about reconstructing the events in which the Child Jesus took part.

On leaving Nazareth Jesus, Mary and Joseph joined a party of their neighbors making their way, like themselves, to Jerusalem.

\* Consultor to the Biblical Commission now sitting in Rome, and author of "*L'Enfance du Christ, d'après les traditions juives et chrétiennes.*"



The men walked together in one company, the women in another, precisely as did the exiles of the Irish famine when they came seeking work in the English counties during the years of the Great Hunger—a custom which, with a dozen others enumerated in "Luke Delmege" by Canon Sheehan, gives color to his brilliant conjecture that the Irish race is of Oriental origin.

Children were children ever, and joined their fathers or their mothers as they listed. It was only at nightfall that families reassembled, when a halt was made by some fountain or well or on the outskirts of a friendly village.

The separation of the sexes on the Paschal pilgrimage throws a vivid light upon the loss of Our Lord in the temple. "And thinking that He was in the company, they came a day's journey and sought Him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance. And not finding Him, they returned into Jerusalem seeking Him." Until the first evening's halt of the return, St. Joseph among the men and Our Lady among the good women, had minds innocently untroubled by the absence of Our Lord.

The road which the Abbé Chauvin is convinced was chosen by the Holy Family winds down from Nazareth to Naim and Jezrahel, across the rich plain of Esdrelon. It is a smiling countryside. With the Pasch at hand, "winter is over and gone." The after rains have yielded place to spring and to floods of brilliant sunshine. The wheat is in the ear; vast harvests wave in the plain beneath the warm breezes. The barley is golden-hued and awaits but the sickle. Flowers bespangle the green sward, as yet unscorched by the heats of summer. The lovely anemone is their queen, the "lily of the fields" of Holy Gospel. It is everywhere, this flower of the Palestinian spring—along the valleys, by the wayside, on the hill-slopes, in the meadows, even in waste places overgrown with briars, flaunting the exquisite crimson petals that are a more wondrous array than Solomon's in all his glory. On one of these days the Spouse in the Canticles sang to her beloved, whose footsteps we now are following:

The flowers have appeared in our land, the time of pruning is come: the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.

The fig tree hath put forth her green figs: the vines in flower yield their sweet smell. Arise, my love, my beautiful one, and come. My beloved to me, and I to him who feedeth among the lilies.

The pilgrims from Galilee fared on cheerfully. Some said prayers in common; others sang the *maaloth*, the psalms of pilgrimage:

I rejoiced in the things that were said to me: We shall go into the house of the Lord.

Now joined by many others, the caravan crept forward, happiness in all hearts, prayer on all lips. In one of the two Nazareth com-

panies was the Holy Child, now with Mary, His Virgin Mother, now with Joseph, his foster-father.

There were several stages in the first day's journey of some nine hours on the march. Very probably one halting place was Naim, or perhaps Sunam, the home of the good Sunamitess who was kind to the prophet Eliseus. Towards noon the Galileans would camp near Jezrahel, not far from the modern tourist's fountain of Djaloud, with its abundant sparkling waters. Thence, making their way again down the valley, they would reach Bethsan (Scythopolis). Here, in the author's careful conjecture, they would finally halt for the night. "The place," he says, "was favorable, secure and well-watered."

At early dawn the Holy Family and the Nazarene caravan set forth on the second day's journey, severer than the first, and amounting to twelve hours on the road. At nightfall the camp would be in the valley, no matter where, on the Jordan side, to leeward of dense thickets that shield both banks of the river. Some of the travelers might know of deserted ruins, relics from richer days in Israel; if so, a surer shelter might be secured. At all costs, they must avoid contact with the loathed and dangerous Samaritans.

On the third day the caravan would wind along the valley in the shade of tamarisks, palms and evergreen oaks. Four hours' march would bring them to Sartaba, where the noonday halt could be made. Towards evening they would make for Phasaelis, a new town built by Herod the Great, and safely spend the night there.

Another three hours' march next morning and they would reach the gates of Jericho. "What memories of His home teaching," exclaims the Abbé Chauvin, "must not this name have awakened in the mind of Jesus!" Glorious memories assuredly. The walls of the city crumbling to the blare of Josue's trumpets, the bitter waters of the neighboring fountain made sweet by the Prophet Eliseus, the Jordan curbing its tide close at hand to let the Ark of the Covenant pass over its naked bed—these had been among St. Joseph's Sabbath lessons.

Jericho, "the town of palms," was the last halt before Jerusalem. The ancient stronghold stood in a refreshing oasis at the extreme end of the hot valley traversed by the Holy Family. Another six hours or so, and they will stand before the walls of the Holy City and see the house of the Lord. The weariness of the journey was all but forgotten as the pilgrims gladly renewed their *maaloth*:

Even as the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so doth my soul pant after Thee, O God.

When shall I go and appear before the face of the living God?

The journey is uphill on the advance from Jericho to Jerusalem.

The path grows narrow and climbs between two rugged mountains. At the bottom of the ravine runs a noisy torrent. This last day's journey must have been painful to the boyish limbs of Our Blessed Lord. Tradition called the forbidding heights He trod the "Red Ascent"—*maaleh adumim*—word for word the ascent "of red men"—probably on account of the blood there spilt by outlaws.

At length the ridges of Mount Olivet appeared upon the horizon. Our pilgrims were soon at Bethania. Another half hour to wind round the summit of the hill, and Jerusalem was in sight.

All knelt. With "Alleluias" the 121st Psalm was triumphantly sung:

Our feet were standing in thy courts, O Jerusalem.  
Jerusalem, which is built as a city, which is compact together.  
For thither did the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord: the testimony of Israel, to praise the name of the Lord.

For the first time through human eyes Our Lord beheld—with what yearnings of the Sacred Heart it is not now our purpose to consider—the vast and splendid panorama unrolled beneath His feet.

The Holy Family descended the Mount of Olives, crossed the brook Cedron, climbed the opposing slope and entered Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate. Thence they turned at once towards the temple.

Let us follow them into the Court of the Gentiles, by which they have entered. It is a vast arcade, superbly paved with mosaic, surrounded with lofty colonnades and so thronged that the uproar is deafening. Buyers and sellers are jostling, cheek by jowl, for the feast day is upon them. They haggle, they shout; they even quarrel. The money-changers sit at their little tables offering sacred coin for Roman silver bearing the heathen head of Cæsar.

Further on are countless cages of pigeons and turtle doves. Then follows a row of shops and small bazars, where hawkers vend oil and wine and flour and the incense used for sacrifices. They have their wares in packs swung about their bodies by the girdle.

Assuredly Our Lord can scarce restrain His wrath. But His hour has not yet come—the hour when

With angered face,  
With knotted lash and word of blazing ire,  
He drave both trafficker and foolish buyer  
From forth His temple's consecrated space.

What must also grieve the Sacred Heart is the irate discussion of rabbis and doctors of the law. Nearly all of these would be present, drawn thither by the Paschal feasts from the remotest corners of Palestine. Here are Sadducees, pagan in morals and disbelieving in the God of that temple in whose vestibules they swarm. Proudly swathed in silken robes, they disdain the common people, especially Galileans, who, like St. Peter and doubtless the Holy Family themselves, speak with their provincial burr or accent.

Then we have others, Pharisees, affecting austerity of mien, mincing along the porch with eyes half closed. They pass by, muttering prayers, their garments fringed with tremendous *tsitsith*, their foreheads bound with great phylacteries—broad strips of parchment inscribed with holy texts.

Roman soldiers mingle with the throng, showing proud Italian faces, looking with half-humorous indifference upon the disorder which they hardly attempt to control.

The Holy Family makes no long stay in the throbbing Court of the Gentiles. Our Lady, with St. Joseph and Our Lord, at once goes up the short stairway leading to the *Azarath Naschim*, or "Women's Court." Entering one of the galleries, she remains there, for her sex forbids her to go further. If the gallery be not full, she takes a place at its front nearest the sanctuary by a balustrade low enough for her to see over. There she remains and prays.

St. Joseph and Our Lord go on further, to the *Azarath Israel*, or Court of the Israelites. There, of course, they find only men, who have come to praise the Lord. From where they thus pray they can see the scaffold "of benedictions," whence the priests bless the people. Further on is the still smoking Altar of Holocausts, and beyond it the door of the Holy Place, into which only priests "accomplishing the office of sacrifices" may enter.

St. Joseph and Our Lord bow down their heads and pray.

As the head of the household, St. Joseph bought the Paschal lamb as soon as possible after reaching the Holy City. Indeed, the law wished the choice to be made no later than the tenth day of the month, within four days of the Pasch. We do not know with exactitude what "lambs without blemish" then cost, but it is certain (says our guide) that a poor carpenter of Nazareth must have saved from his wages for a year to find the price of the victim.

On the evening of the 14th of Nisam St. Joseph betook himself to the temple, accompanied by Our Lord. He carried the lamb on his shoulders, and offered it to the priestly slaughterers. These were awaiting at the entry of the priests' court, barefooted and wearing the garb of their office, the white tunic and girdle and linen breeches, and what our version calls the "mitre" and the abbé the "sacerdotal turban." Beside them were Levites, holding bowls of silver and gold.

At three in the afternoon of our reckoning a trumpet sounded, and the slaying of the lambs began. "At this sight," exclaims the Abbé Chauvin, "must not Our Lord have mused upon the day when He Himself would be immolated on Calvary for the redemption of the human race?"

Yes, the Boy who stood watching the mute little victims being

killed was "Christ our Pasch" (I. Cor. v., 7), of whom these were but types. The abbé does not dwell, in what is not primarily a book of devotion, upon the fulfillment of the foreshadowing of the Pass-over. But readers may readily consider for themselves that Our Lord was slain at the very time of the Pasch; that no bone of Him was broken, "so that the Scripture might be fulfilled;" that He saved the world from the bondage of sin while the Paschal lamb commemorated Israel's rescue from the bondage of Egypt, and that He was truly the "lamb without blemish" in an infinitely and eternally higher sense than the spotless little creature St. Joseph was carrying.

"The priests are hurrying," writes the Abbé Chauvin, "with Gallic swiftness; the victims are innumerable. St. Joseph's lamb is slaughtered, flayed and drawn. The fat is laid aside to be burnt at evening, with incense, on the altar; then the bowels are replaced. St. Joseph and Our Lord pick up the victim, withdraw from the temple and return to Our Lady in one of the huts put up in the vale of Gethsemane, whither Galileans have betaken themselves, crowded out of the swarming city. The lamb is spitted crosswise on two pomegranate sticks and set to the fire to roast."

Let us also follow our author *verbatim* in his details of the Holy Family's Paschal supper: "By set of sun, when the feast must begin, Mary and Joseph have gathered their acquaintance and kinsfolk to help them to eat the lamb. As they wait Our Lord and the rest remain seated upon mats. Then the ritual repast begins and is celebrated in the customary order. To begin with, a first cup of red wine, called the 'Cup of Bitterness,' then a second, entitled the 'Cup of Rejoicing.' On the table are set forth the lamb, the unleavened loaves, the *charoseth* and the bitter herbs. When this is done the Holy Family and their guests intone Psalm cxii.:

"Praise the Lord, ye children:  
Praise ye the name of the Lord.  
Blessed be the name of the Lord,  
From henceforth now and forever.

The 113th Psalm—the *In Exitu Israel*—follows, as far as the *Non Nobis, Domine*, which in the Hebrew division begins another psalm. The Child-God blends His voice with theirs to sing the songs of David his forefather. The feast goes on in cheerfulness. The hallowed lamb is eaten, a third cup of wine is drunk, the 'Cup of Blessing;' then comes a fourth, the 'Cup of Hallel,' Psalms cxiv.-cxvii. are sung, and all is over."

We are not told the garb in which the Holy Family ate the Pasch, nor of its being girded, probably because they were already dressed as wayfarers, and thus no change was needed to fulfill the precept.

The next day, the 15th of the month of Nisan, was the solemn

day of the feast. The Jew was forbidden to do any work whatever throughout its hours, and thus the Holy Family spent them all in prayer.

At the third hour and the ninth (9 A. M. and 3 P. M.) they went up to the temple to be present at the sacrifices. And, for the first time in the troublous history of that fabric, perfect praise was offered up within its walls, so soon to be destroyed forever.

When the Pasch was over, Our Lady and St. Joseph set out with the Nazareth caravan. Unknown to them, Our Lord remained in the temple, "about His Father's business," in the midst of the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions.

There were three places in the temple where the doctors taught; one near the main entry of the court of the Gentiles, another beneath Solomon's Porch, while the third was in the Hall Gazzith, where the Sanhedrim met, adjoining the priests' court. Built of hewn stone, it drew its Hebrew name from this fact, and was thus readily distinguished from the two neighboring halls, "Of Wood" and "Of the Spring."

Who were these masters that the Child-God astonished with His wisdom and His answers? The Gospel tells us not, nor does tradition. All we know is that there was no dearth of rabbis then in Jerusalem. These belonged to the opposing schools of Hillel and of Schammai. Their disciples gathered about their feet, squatting in Eastern fashion on the ground or on thin strips of matting. There they would silently drink in the words of the oracles of rabbinism. When the Rabbi Jonathan expounded the law, says the Talmud, "birds scorched themselves at the flaming wings of angels gathered to hear him!"

We must picture Our Blessed Lord, then, in the boyish beauty of His twelve accomplished years, sitting on the floor with many others, while the doctors of the law held forth. Little attention would at first be paid to this unknown Galilean boy of quiet garb and manner. Besides, there were so many lads of his age, on whom the Paschal precept had newly fallen, to be found in the courts of the temple. But with the utterance of His opening question—doubtless a divinely pregnant one, which we shall never know till hereafter—all eyes were fixed upon Him. Then the keen theologians in their chairs set to questioning the wise Child seated on the floor and were "astonished"—that is to say, for the most part disconcerted—by the depth and piercing truth of His replies.

As this went on, the dear bewildered and sorrowing St. Joseph and Our Lady approached the eager group. If Our Lord had been, as some think, in the Hall Gazzith, by the priests' court, where women might not enter, Our Lady's presence would be hard to

explain. It is likelier that the gathering of the doctors at which Our Lord was present took place further down, under Solomon's Porch or in the gateway of the court of the Gentiles.

Here we must take leave of our devout and learned cicerone. Let us turn to another writer for the inspired words which round off the childhood of Our Lord in the hour when, by Jewish observance, His legal manhood began: "And seeing Him, they wondered. And His Mother said to Him: Son, why hast Thou done so to us? Behold, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing. And He said to them: How is it that you sought Me? Did you not know that I must be about My Father's business? And they understood not the word that He spoke unto them.

"And He went down with them and came to Nazareth, *and was subject to them.*"

JOHN HANNON.

London, England.

#### ST. CYPRIAN AND THE "LIBELLI MARTYRUM."

ST. CYPRIAN is dear to the hearts of Anglicans. Besides presenting the rare spectacle of exalted holiness of life throughout a controversy with Rome, he has passages in his writings like the famous *Episcopatus unus est, cujus in solidum pars tenetur*, which have made the followers of the Tractarian movement claim this martyred doctor as peculiarly their own. His treatises are among the earliest translations gotten out by the Oxford divines in the "Library of the Fathers," with its prophylactic prefaces and ready footnotes for protecting readers against obvious "Romish" errors in the text. Dr. Pusey, in his foreword to St. Cyprian's letters, feelingly acknowledges, "How much we owe to God through him (St. Cyprian) as mitigating to us the difficulties of a position as yet unavoidable and justifying our adherence to it;" and some ten years ago, when the validity of Anglican orders was being so warmly discussed, an Archbishop of Canterbury brought to an end a biography of the saint with which he had long been occupied.<sup>1</sup>

It is from this same St. Cyprian, nevertheless, that our theologians draw some of their strongest proofs, *ex praxi quae viguit in primis Ecclesiae seaculis*, for many a distinctively Catholic tenet; and this is especially the case when the existence in early times of so very Roman a doctrine as that of indulgences is called in question. For

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Benson, "St. Cyprian: His Life, His Times, His Work."

nowhere, perhaps, are better arguments for the "primitive" character of the theory and practice of this seemingly modern dogma to be found than are supplied by numerous passages in the correspondence of this third century Bishop.

It is the purpose of our paper to gather together these passages and to examine the force of the arguments drawn from them, sustaining at the same time the reader's interest by placing both letters and correspondents in this proper historical setting.

Thrascius Cæcilius Cyprianus was Bishop of Carthage from 248 to 258. A teacher of rhetoric and quite well-to-do, he became a Christian in middle life, when conversion calls for a "true holocaust of the heart." Only two years after his baptism he was forced by the clamors of the people and the gentle violence of the clergy to emerge from the hiding place to which, according to the ancient practice on such occasions of many holy men, he had retired, and was constrained to become a Bishop.

Two years later the short but sharp Decian persecution broke out. St. Cyprian, being admonished in a heavenly vision to withdraw, "preferred," as his affectionate biographer and deacon, Pontius, bears testimony, "to be dutiful to God's precepts rather than be crowned together with the breach of them." So he bowed to the storm, sought a place of concealment, and from there, as long as the persecution raged, guided and comforted his flock, with great wisdom and sweetness, in a series of magnificent pastorals which form, in the main, the documents used in preparing this paper.

And his sheep, truth to tell, were sorely in need of comfort and guidance. For the thirty-eight years' peace the Church had enjoyed since the close of the Severian persecution had chilled the fervor and relaxed the spiritual vigor of many of her children, particularly those of Northern Africa. For in his pastoral "On the Lapsed" St. Cyprian complains that:

"Every one was applying himself to the increase of wealth. . . . Priests were wanting in religious devotedness, the ministers in entireness of faith; there was no mercy in works, no discipline in manners. . . . Ties of marriage were formed with unbelievers; members of Christ abandoned to the heathen. . . . Numerous Bishops, despising their sacred calling, engaged themselves in secular vocations, deserted their people, strayed among foreign provinces, hunted the markets for mercantile profits and multiplied their gains by accumulated usuries."<sup>2</sup>

So God, "to prove His family" and to sift the wheat, permitted

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<sup>2</sup> The references are to the Benedictine text of St. Cyprian's works, Migne, Patrol. Lat. Tom. IV. For the most part, the Oxford translation is used.



the third great persecution. What made the Decian persecution such a fierce one was the fact that the Emperor ordered torture to be used expressly for forcing Christians to apostatize. The imperial edicts formerly read: "Whosoever confesses himself a Xtian shall be put to death;" now they ran: "Shall be tormented till he renounces his faith."

The result was that throughout the empire thousands of Catholics recanted. In St. Cyprian's diocese especially the tempest, as he writes, "overthrew the greater portion of my people and even reached a portion of the clergy, too."<sup>3</sup> Surprised and terrified by the edict, large numbers did not even wait to be arrested, but hastened to prove themselves no Christians by spontaneously offering sacrifice.

Many, too, who at first courageously confessed the faith, yielded in the end to torture. "While I was contending in the struggle," Cyprian imagines one of this sort saying, "my successive torments and protracted pains became too much for me. My mind continued steadfast, and my faith kept its courage; my spirit long wrestled, unswerving, with the torturing penalties. But when my most hard judge's cruelty again freshened, and my body was tired and wearied out, and the scourges lashed me, clubs bruised me, the rack strained me, the iron claw dug into me and the flame scorched me, the flesh fell short in the effort, the infirmity of my frame yielded and my body, not my mind, gave way beneath the suffering."<sup>4</sup>

But besides those who offered incense to idols, or who shared in sacrificial feasts in honor of some pagan deity, there was another class of "lapsed" called *libellatici*, who had in some way persuaded themselves that they could keep the faith and at the same time escape the torturer by accepting from the venal Roman magistrates in return for a substantial "consideration" a piece of parchment or *libellus*, which formally certified that the holder had either denied that he was a Christian or had actually sacrificed, whereas he had done neither.

But while these "libellatics," now no longer molested, were congratulating themselves on having "witnessed a good confession" by paying a fine for not conforming, their watchful shepherd, writing from his retreat, caused consternation in their ranks by showing that those who were "defiled with the profane certificates of idolatry" were little better than those "who had tainted their hands with impious sacrifices." Such did "in profession what another had done in reality."

Now those who by word or deed formally denied the faith were *ipso facto* excommunicated. Homicide, adultery and especially idolatry were held in early times to be such heinous crimes that those

<sup>3</sup> Epist. V.

<sup>4</sup> De lapsis, XIII.

guilty of them could hope to be absolved, and thus restored to "the peace of the Church," only after long years of severe penance, though the African Church of Cyprian's day does not seem to have required such sinners to pass through the four penitential stages we find so widely in vogue by the middle of the fourth century.

So, while the prisons filled with staunch confessors and the torture chamber and the arena ran red with martyrs' blood, "the lapsed," stricken with remorse for their crime, and realizing too late the value of the prize they had thrown away, eagerly sought to avail themselves of a well-known means that then existed of being restored to communion in an easier and quicker manner than the rigorous penitential canons of the period afforded—viz., by having recourse to "the martyrs."

In the primitive Church a "living martyr" was not an oxymoron. All those in Christ's name "had resisted unto blood," though not as yet unto death, and those, too, it would seem, who were merely awaiting in prison their day of torture or of execution—nowadays we should call them confessors—were then styled "martyrs."<sup>5</sup> These Christian heroes enjoyed a peculiar privilege. For in letters to the Bishop they could recommend that certain excommunicated sinners, named therein, who had with great contrition already performed a large portion of this canonical penance, should forthwith receive absolution, the rest of this penance being remitted in view of the vicarious satisfaction the martyrs were ready to make for them by a voluntary death for the faith.

The dogmatic basis on which this practice rests is familiar. The Church, remembering that Christ has promised that all who confess Him before men He will confess before His Father in heaven, has always taught that martyrdom, "a second baptism," washes every stain of sin away and pays fully every debt incurred by sin. Therefore heaven opens at once to receive the soul of Christ's triumphant witness. "Without the penalty of delay," writes St. Cyprian, "the reward (of martyrdom) will be rendered by God, the Judge."<sup>6</sup> "He wrongs a martyr," St. Augustine says, "who prays for him."

But as the *martyr designatus*, rich in merit, knew that he would have no need himself of the vast propitiatory power of his sufferings and death, he naturally desired to transfer it, if he might, to friends of his who still had satisfaction to make for actual sin. And this the Church permitted, her Bishops, by the power of the keys, granting leave to the martyrs "to fill up" by their torments "what was wanting to their fallen friends "of the sufferings of Christ."

Nor was the practice a novelty in St. Cyprian's time. It had been

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<sup>5</sup> It is generally in this sense that the word is used in our essay.

<sup>6</sup> *De Martyrio*, Cap. XIII.

in vogue as early at least as the persecution under Severus in 212. For the Catholic Tertullian in his "Exhortation to the Martyrs"<sup>7</sup> says: "This peace (reconciliation), some not finding in the Church, have been wont to entreat of the martyrs in prison. And therefore you ought, were it only for this, to have and to cherish and to keep it among yourselves, that you may be able, if need be, to give it to others also." And the same Tertullian, when a Montanist, by his condemnation of the practice in his treatise "On Modesty," bears witness to its prevalence. "But you go so far," he storms at the Catholics, "as to lavish 'power' upon martyrs withal! No sooner has any one . . . put on bonds . . . than adulterers beset him. . . . Instantly prayers echo around him; instantly pools of tears from all the polluted surround him; nor are there any who are more diligent in purchasing entrance into the prison than they who have forfeited communion with the Church."<sup>8</sup>

And the custom of excommunicated sinners, according to Tertullian, had seeking "peace" through the intercession of the martyrs that the Emperor Severus had made, also existed at the time of the Decian persecution, as is plain from frequent references to the practice in St. Cyprian's letters; as, for instance, in the Tenth Epistle, where he exhorts the martyrs "to weigh cautiously the requests of your petitioners," and in the Eleventh he says: "The blessed martyrs have written me about certain persons, requesting that their desires be considered," and again, in Epis. X. he refers to certain letters "you (martyrs) sent me, wherein you desired that your requests might be examined and peace granted to certain lapsed." In fact, almost every citation from St. Cyprian in this essay shows, at least by allusion, how common the custom then was.

But the question now arises were these *libelli* which the martyrs gave really indulgences—indulgences in the same sense as the word is used to-day? Yes; in all essentials, it may be safely said, they undoubtedly were. For an indulgence, broadly speaking, is a relaxation, valid *in foro divino*, of the temporal punishment due to sin by means of an application made in favor of worthy penitents, of the satisfactory works of Christ and the saints, by those who have the power of distributing the spiritual treasures of the Church.

Now that the object a martyr had in giving his fallen friends a *libellus* was to secure for them a mitigation of the severe canonical penance of the period is clear from what has already been said, and that such a relaxation, if granted by the proper authorities, was valid *in foro ecclesiastico*, is also plain. But was it considered equally valid *in foro divino*? Yes; there are many indications that it was.

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<sup>7</sup> Cap. I.

<sup>8</sup> Cap. XXII.

Otherwise St. Cyprian would scarcely be so vehement as we find him in correcting disorders in the use of the *libelli*, nor so earnest as he is in exhorting the martyrs, when giving letters, to be guided by the advice of priests and deacons who have carefully examined the dispositions of all who thus sought the "peace of the Church." That nothing might be done "contrary to the Gospel, contrary to the precepts of the Lord," the saint wished only those who were truly contrite and who had already done part of their penance, to be favored with indulgences.

For thus he writes to the martyrs: "The anxiety of my station and the fear of the Lord oblige me, most valiant and most blessed martyrs, to admonish you by my epistles that they by whom faith in the Lord is so devotedly and valiantly maintained ought, moreover, to maintain the law and discipline of the Lord. For as it behooves all the soldiers of Christ to guard the injunctions of their Commander, so it is more in keeping that you should more diligently obey His precepts, in that you have been made an example to the rest, both of constancy and of the fear of God. And I had trusted, indeed, that the presbyters and deacons who are with you were advising and instructing you most fully in the law of the Gospel, as was ever done in times past under my predecessors, that the deacons visiting the prisons, by their advice and by precepts from the Scriptures, guided the requests of the martyrs. But now with the utmost pain of mind I learn that the divine precepts, so far from being suggested there to you, are even hindered, etc., etc."<sup>9</sup>

And surely it was because the martyrs' petitions, when duly authorized by the Bishop or his representative, were valid *in foro divino* that the saint directed: "That they who have received letters from the martyrs, and may be helped by their privilege with God, if they are seized with any ailment or danger of sickness, may without waiting for my presence make confession of their sin before any priest at hand, . . . that so receiving imposition of hands unto repentance, they may go to the Lord with that peace which the martyrs in their letters to me have requested for them."<sup>10</sup> And again in the same tenor: "They who have received letters from the martyrs, and may by their aid be assisted with the Lord amid their sins, if they begin to be sore pressed by any sickness or peril, may, after they have confessed and received imposition of hands from you, be remitted unto the Lord with the peace promised them by the martyrs,"<sup>11</sup> which seems to be the third century way of saying: "They may gain a plenary indulgence at the hour of death."

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<sup>9</sup> Epist. X.

<sup>10</sup> Epist. XII.

<sup>11</sup> Epist. XIII.

Nor was this belief, either, a novelty in St. Cyprian's day. For Tertullian, the Montanist, some thirty years before the above letters were written again bears witness by attacking it to the existence of a similar belief among the Catholics of his time. "Let it suffice to the martyr," he writes, "to have purged his own sins; it is the part of ingratitude or of pride to lavish upon others also what one has attained at a high price. If you are a sinner, how will the oil of your puny torch be able to suffice for you and for me?"<sup>12</sup> Now, unless what was loosed on earth at the martyr's intercession was believed to be loosed in heaven also, the taunt of this keen-witted third century Puritan would be robbed of its sting.

This same passage would indicate that the penitents of Tertullian's time were firmly persuaded that they could satisfy the Divine justice for their own sins through the imputation to themselves of the superabundant satisfactory works of martyrs. And if it were not a tenet of St. Cyprian's faith that only by martyrdom could the imprisoned confessors pay the debt due Almighty God for others' sins, he would hardly blame certain priests, as he does, for reconciling the lapsed "almost before the departure of the martyrs themselves."<sup>13</sup> The correspondence, too, of the confessors Celerinus and Lucianus, as will shortly be seen, testifies to the strong faith of the martyrs themselves in their power to give by their own death "peace" to their fallen brethren.

As is not surprising, the conditions under which an indulgence was granted were far stricter in early times than now. The greatest care was taken that *libelli* should be given only to the worthy. Those penitents only were to be named in the martyrs' petitions who had given undoubted signs of true contrition and who, by already performing a large part of the conventional penance imposed for their sins, had shown themselves deserving of having the rest remitted at the martyrs' intercession. And to be sure that penitents were deserving, priests and deacons were appointed to examine in the very prisons all applicants for letters. Nor was this examination deemed sufficient. For another scrutiny into the lives of those the martyrs recommended seems to have been made by the Bishop himself in the presence of the laity. For St. Cyprian in one of his letters to his flock, after referring to certain petitions sent him by the martyrs, promises that, "When peace is first given to us all by the Lord, and we have begun to return to the Church, each case shall be examined in your presence and with the aid of your judgment."<sup>14</sup>

And another safeguard against any relaxation of penance being

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<sup>12</sup> De Pudicitia, Cap. XXII.

<sup>13</sup> Epls. IX.

<sup>14</sup> Epls. XI.

granted to those unworthy of it was the martyrs' custom of expressly naming in their letters just whom they wished to recommend for an indulgence. "Designate by name," their Bishop bids the martyrs, "those to whom you desire peace to be granted."<sup>15</sup> Indeed, from the neglect of this precaution many evils resulted.

Finally, ancient indulgences, like modern ones, could be granted only by those who possessed, through the power of the keys, authority to distribute the spiritual treasures of the Church—namely, by the Bishops. The letters of recommendation, accordingly, which the lapsed received from martyrs were addressed to the Bishop and had no value as indulgences until endorsed and executed either by him or by those with faculties from him. This is plain both from many passages in St. Cyprian's letters already cited and from his stern rebuke of certain factious priests who were restoring to communion, without Cyprian's leave, some lapsed that the martyrs had recommended: "For what peril must we not fear from the displeasure of the Lord when some of the priests, mindful neither of the Gospel nor of their own station, and, moreover, nothing heeding the future judgment of the Lord nor the Bishop now set over them, do that which was never at any time attempted under our predecessors, with contempt and dishonor of the Bishop, arrogate sole authority to themselves?"<sup>16</sup>

The saint again complains of this abuse in a letter to the martyrs, and then earnestly entreats them like the martyrs, their "predecessors in times past . . . to weigh anxiously and cautiously the requests of your petitioners . . . lest anything should have been rashly and unworthily either promised by you or *executed by us*."<sup>17</sup> Consequently when we read in Cyprian's correspondence of the martyrs granting penitents "peace," it is to be understood that they gave it only mediately, the Bishop's confirmation being necessary before the indulgence was really granted.

From indulgences, moreover, as thus used, many great spiritual advantages followed. Discouraged sinners, for example, took hope and did penance; added prestige was given to martyrdom, and the comforting doctrine of the communion of saints and of the efficacy of vicarious satisfaction became a commonplace with the people.

Such being the case, if St. Cyprian appears in places to inveigh against the *libelli martyrum*, it will be found on more closely studying these passages that it is not the *lawful practice* of seeking and granting indulgences, but its *abuse* that he condemns. For abuses in the use of indulgences there unfortunately were, even in the primitive

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<sup>15</sup> Epls. X.

<sup>16</sup> Epls. IX.

<sup>17</sup> Epls. X.

Church; abuses arising from ignorance, laxity or greed—just as there have been since.

It is easy, for instance, to understand how multitudes who had fallen from grace during a fierce persecution, in their desire to be restored to communion as soon as possible, but filled with little love for the long and thorny road of penance, would hasten to the prison where the martyrs were confined, bribe the jailer to let them see their friends, and then beg piteously of them commendatory letters to the Bishop. It is equally easy to understand how some of the martyrs, being but men, flattered by the confidence shown in their power, wearied by the importunity of the suppliants or blinded by affection, without examining each case as they should or neglecting the advice of the clergy, lavishly granted letters of peace to many who were quite unworthy of them.

How could a martyr, for instance, steel his heart against the pleadings of a poor old mother, who had been frightened into offering sacrifice, and now finding herself outside the Church, ran to the prison and tearfully begged the means of speedy restoration from her martyr son? It was wrong, of course, to recommend for reconciliation those who had not already done a good portion of the canonical penance imposed for apostasy; but now the petitioner was his own mother.

Another grave abuse arose from the ignorant belief of some of the martyrs that, without making any inquiry themselves into the worthiness of those they recommended for reconciliation, and without even bothering about writing any names in the *libelli*, they might give general letters of indulgence to any of the lapsed who happened to desire them.

Considerable trouble and anxiety was caused St. Cyprian by the prevalence of this mistaken idea. Two letters especially which have come down to us along with his correspondence, the one from a Roman and the other from a Carthaginian confessor, while showing admirably how strong the faith was of third century Catholics in the efficacy of indulgences, also seem to indicate that one of the writers did not understand perfectly just how indulgences should be granted.

Celerinus, the Roman, having himself steadfastly confessed Christ in the very presence of the tyrant Decius, was therefore the more sorely grieved at the spiritual death of his two sisters, Numeria and Candida, one of whom had denied the faith by offering sacrifice to idols, and the other by purchasing a certificate. So in his sorrow and shame he sends to a brother confessor named Lucianus, who was confined with many others in an African dungeon, and asks for a *libellus* expressly in favor of his repentant sisters. "Great as is their sin, I believe," he writes, "that God will pardon them on the entreaty

of you, his martyrs. Therefore, my lord, I beg and entreat, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would refer the matter to the rest, your colleagues, your brethren, my lords, and entreat of them that whoever of you shall first be crowned will remit that so great sin to those our sisters Numeria and Candida. . . . When their cause was lately heard the ruling priests bade them wait as they are until a Bishop is appointed, but as far as you may, by your holy prayers and petitions, in which we confide, since ye are friends, and, moreover, witnesses of Xt, that you will indulge us in all things. . . . I entreat, therefore, dearest Lord Lucianus, that you would remember me and grant my petition."<sup>18</sup>

Celerinus thus expressly states for whom he wants *libelli* sent, and his sisters' billets of indulgence were presumably submitted to the proper authorities for confirmation, for he is afterwards praised by St. Cyprian for his moderation and caution and was subsequently "incardinated," as we should say nowadays, into that Bishop's diocese, being made a lector as a preliminary step to the priesthood.

Lucianus, on the other hand, "glowing indeed in faith," as St. Cyprian bears testimony, "and strong in courage, but insufficiently grounded in the word of the Lord,"<sup>19</sup> in his answer to Celerinus, and also in a pompous note to Cyprian, presumes in his ignorance to grant "peace" so illegally and lavishly as to arouse the episcopal wrath of his ordinary.

"When the blessed martyr Paulus was still in the body," Lucianus writes his Roman friend, "he called me and said to me: 'Lucian, I charge thee before Xt, that if any one shall ask peace of thee after I am summoned away, grant it in my name.' Moreover, all of us whom the Lord, in this so great tribulation, hath deigned to summon, all of us by mutual compact have by our letters given peace to all. . . . Therefore, dearest brother, greet Numeria and Candida, who shall be . . ."<sup>20</sup> according to the injunction of Paulus and of the other martyrs, whose names I subjoin."<sup>21</sup>

And in his note to Cyprian Lucianus condescendingly informs him with what princely generosity "we have granted peace to all of whose behavior since the commission of their crime you are satisfied; and we desire, through you, to make known this decision to other Bishops also. We wish you to maintain peace with the holy martyrs."<sup>22</sup>

In spite of the mollifying clause, "of whose behavior you are satisfied," these two letters of Lucianus, on account of their conse-

<sup>18</sup> *Epist.* XX.

<sup>19</sup> *Epist.* XXII.

<sup>20</sup> The sense is incomplete: "Pardoned?"

<sup>21</sup> *Epist.* XXI.

<sup>22</sup> *Epist.* XVI.



quences, evidently vexed St. Cyprian exceedingly. For it was no sooner noised abroad that the martyrs themselves had magnificently granted peace to all the lapsed than multitudes throughout "Arch-bishop" Cyprian's large province clamorously besought their Bishops to give formally the absolution which the people believed had already been granted by the martyrs.

St. Cyprian rightly considered such proceedings quite subversive of all ecclesiastical order and discipline. For in a letter written during the vacancy of St. Peter's chair to the "presbyters and deacons abiding at Rome," St. Cyprian speaks of the announcement Lucianus had made in the name of all the confessors as one, "Whereby the whole bond of faith, and the fear of God, and the commandment of the Lord, and the sanctity and strength of the Gospel were well-nigh dissolved. The blunder has stirred up the odium of the people against me in that when I have begun to hear and examine the cases of individuals, I must seem to deny to many what all now insist that they have received from the martyrs and confessors."<sup>23</sup>

And worse still, a like abuse, which some of the martyrs countenanced, opened the door to an unholy traffic in indulgences on the part of unscrupulous men. For after securing from the martyrs billets loosely recommending for reconciliation "such a one and his friends," these simoniacs for a suitable sum were willing to number some twenty or thirty frantic penitents among "their friends." This practice the saint in his Tenth Epistle sternly condemns. And in a letter written to the *Clerus Romaus* during the vacancy of the chair of "the principal church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise,"<sup>24</sup> as St. Cyprian elsewhere styles the Roman See, he takes occasion, while rendering the priests and deacons there an account of his "acts, discipline and diligence," to deplore the fact that many of the lapsed in Carthage had been "canvassing the martyrs everywhere, . . . so that without any discrimination or inquiry into the several cases, thousands of letters were daily given against the rules of the Gospel,"<sup>25</sup> presumably through the hands of those who sought profit from an illicit traffic.

It should be noted also that these abuses in the use of indulgences crept in the more easily because while Cyprian was in retirement a half dozen seditious clerics of Carthage had headed a schism, arrogated to themselves the powers of a Bishop, and with a view to winning the people's favor, presumed to reconcile to the Church, without examination, all who seemed to be recommended by the martyrs. These fomenters of discord St. Cyprian, of course, promptly suspended and excommunicated.

<sup>23</sup> *Epis.* XXII.

<sup>24</sup> *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. III., column. 841.

<sup>25</sup> *Epis.* XIV.

It was doubtless on account of such abuses as these in the use of the *libelli martyrum* that St. Cyprian decided to stop granting indulgences until peace was restored to the Church. An exception, however, was made, as has been shown, in favor of those lapsed who had fallen seriously ill. All others were ordered to keep their letters for formal examination till the close of the persecution.

This, then, is a sketch of the manner indulgences were granted in Africa some 1,600 years ago. Such spiritual favors are now much easier to get than in the days of Cyprian. Just by devoutly using certain aspirations, twentieth century Catholics can gain indulgences that penitents of Cyprian's time got with difficulty only after a long period of rigorous penance. And these relaxations were, no doubt, more highly valued by those who received them than are present-day indulgences by us. For there was a very perceptible reality about an indulgence which actually shortened by several years the grim canonical penance of the early Church that modern Catholics, who regard indulgences chiefly as a means of obtaining for themselves or others a speedy release from Purgatory, can scarcely realize.

Nor were indulgences so lavishly granted in the third century as now. During and after the Decian persecution especially, the question of how the lapsed should be treated was a burning one. A Bishop's or a cleric's attitude of mind on this point was almost a test of orthodoxy. Stern and exacting as we should now consider St. Cyprian's treatment of the fallen, we must remember that severity with flagrant offenders against God's law, and especially with apostates, was a characteristic of Church legislation in primitive times. Cyprian's rigor, too, is accentuated, perhaps, by the laxity of the schismatics among his clergy and the weakness of some of his "suffragans." Yet he regarded himself, and was apparently considered at Rome, as almost too indulgent toward apostates. "I am well-nigh a delinquent myself," he writes, "in remitting delinquencies;" and the purpose of more than one of the saint's letters to Rome was to clear himself, it would seem, of the charge of laxity in reconciling the lapsed. Indeed, compared with the Novatians of his time, or with those Spanish Bishops who framed some fifty years later the decrees of the Synod of Elvira, Cyprian was a veritable St. Francis of Sales for sweetness.

It should be also remembered that throughout the duration of the Decian persecution the Bishop of Carthage in governing his diocese very probably had the direct guidance, in those famous visions of his, of the Holy Spirit—an extraordinary grace that many a modern Bishop would doubtless value highly—while it is the remarkable knowledge of the Scriptures and of canon law, of which the writings of this new-made Christian give evidence, that makes Baronius of

the opinion that the saint had either been miraculously enlightened at baptism or else had studied the books of the Christians for many years prior to his conversion.

Be it observed, finally, that if this great doctor seemed hard on others, he was much harder on himself. As Newman, in a characteristic paragraph, sums up the life and work of our saint: "While exhorting to almsgiving, he is already an example of voluntary poverty; if he praises virginity, he has himself embraced a single life; he insists on the nothingness of things earthly, having first chosen contempt and reproach; he denounces the heathen magistrate, with the knowledge that he is braving his power; and he is severe with the lapsed, because he himself is to be a martyr."<sup>26</sup>

A martyr, indeed; for eight years after the close of the persecution that raged under Decius that of Valerian broke out, and one of its most distinguished victims was the great African Bishop. Warned in a vision that he was soon to be crowned with martyrdom, he set his affairs in order, and being in all probability fully restored by Pope St. Xystus to communion with the See of Peter, he who had so earnestly exhorted others to martyrdom received that palm himself, being beheaded within sight of his episcopal city, as he had desired, and surrounded by his faithful clergy and beloved flock. St. Cyprian suffered in the year 258, on the 14th of September. His feast, however, is annually celebrated two days later, together with that of his dear friend and "brother," Pope St. Cornelius, who preceded him to martyrdom by six years, and with whose name St. Cyprian's is also united in the Canon of the Mass.

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## CATHOLICITY IN SPENSER.

COLLIGITE QUAE SUPERAVERUNT FRAGMENTA.

THE temptation to interpret an author in a way differing from the ordinarily accepted one is by no means uncommon. We have seen a story turned inside out; as in the hands of Browning the tale of the Glove, where the current of sympathy is diverted from the knight whose ladylove has shown an exactingness born of an abnormal vanity, to her in whose face the Glove, recovered from the lions, has been flung. And as in the hands of Mrs. Boole, who once turned the hair of even the youngest members of the New Shakespeare Society white by proclaiming that Portia,

<sup>26</sup> Preface to the Oxford translation of St. Cyprian's treatises.

whom all had been brought up to admire, was a barbarous and unfeeling woman, the hard-hearted cause of evils too terrible to conceive. To make a hypothesis and fit facts thereto; to take a story and find in it a meaning hitherto undiscovered, a meaning unknown to the author himself, has had, and always will have, a fascination for some among us. But to say that such and such is a writer's meaning is one thing, and to find in him that large suggestiveness which is an unfailing mark of the greater among the poets is another; for the measure of a poet's mind is not to be taken merely by what he has thought and said, but by that also which he has made others think, or say, or do; not only by the ear delighted, but also by the tuning of the voice; also not only by the deaf ears unstopped, but by the tongue of the dumb made to sing. The great poet will make us sing, in our hearts at least, because of the beauty of his music, as he will set us thinking because of the depth and height and breadth and justice of his thought. If, as Emerson says, there is a double meaning, or a quadruple, or a centuple, or a much more manifold meaning in every sensuous fact, there is also a manifold meaning in the word, words being, to quote again from Emerson, a kind of action. Thus, may it not be granted that to give out something of what Spenser has *suggested* as Catholicity is not necessarily a mistake?

There seem naturally to be two divisions of this subject—what might be interpreted in a Catholic sense and what is, in its nature and expression, essentially Catholic.

We may, I think, illustrate the former of these divisions by the mode which Browning adopts in his treatment of the story of Alkestis. To the Greek the death of the young where the old might possibly have been a substitute would have seemed in its very nature an outrage on the eternal laws of fitness, and hence on the law of beauty. Browning goes deeper with a plummet surely belonging to the ages that have lapped in the clothing of Christianity; and so with him Pheres must through his grief find purgation from his sin and redemption from the power of his selfishness. And do we not all, consciously or unconsciously, read into the stories of the olden days meanings which, if not always larger, are at any rate different from those which they would have conveyed, or even could have conveyed, to those in whose ears the story first was told?

I am not, of course, going to make any attempt to prove that Spenser was a Catholic. I am perfectly aware that he cannot be claimed as such. But he certainly was no Puritan; and it would be difficult to study his work without feeling that in some ways he was less far from the kingdom of God, by which, of course, I mean the Church, than many of his readers would have us to believe.

It is quite true that our poet exhibits an animus against the Catholic Church which it would be dishonest, even if it were possible, to attempt to explain away. Whenever he directly refers to the Church of his forebears he has no good thing to say of it; he thinks of the Spanish King, and of the throwing away of the shield of his faith by Henry of Navarre, and of attempts to overthrow the sacred queendom of Elizabeth Tudor by the false rebels who clung to her Popish cousin, and of the horror of superstition and blindness of heart, and evil and cunning, and all that deserves his deepest hatred and loftiest scorn. But I think it is rather as an Englishman to whom the independence of his country is passing dear that Catholicity seems to embody for him lack of patriotism, and disloyalty, and the preference of darkness to light. When there is no question of foreign attempts at usurpation, no thought of an England less free than the England he has known, no dream of a ruler less heart enthroned than his beloved gloriana, Spenser walks in a larger space, in a lovelier liberty.

A dram of sweet is worth a pound of sowre.

he tells us. How much, then, does not his pound of sweet outweigh any sour he may have given us?

Was there nothing in Spenser's environment to account for his sympathy with Catholicity in at least some of its aspects?

We remember that his very earliest recollections would be those of a little Catholic boy; for he was six years old when the brief time of the restoration of the altar ended, and five of those years would have been spent under the guardianship of the Church. Again, in his day there must have been a good many who, not recognizing the significance of outward change, held practically to their old beliefs, thinking, as many English people now think, by a revival of the theory allowed to pass away so many years ago, that it is possible to be a member of the Church Catholic without being under the Papal obedience. And in Elizabeth herself as well as in others a certain comfortable eclecticism arranged at least a meeting between Catholicity and Protestantism; though for the matter of their kissing each other, the less said the better.

There was also in Spenser's literary environment much of the affirmative element which so essentially distinguishes the old faith from the new. He had browsed on poetry made in the atmosphere of the ages of belief, as well as on the great classic literature whose long-neglected pastures the children of the Church had been the first to reënter. Chaucer, as we know, was his beloved master, his well of English undefiled; that Chaucer who, curiously, has been supposed in sympathy with Wiclif and that ilk, because, forsooth,

he hated a bad life and took no pains to conceal that most of all he hated it in priest and religious—as all good Catholics have always done, and, please God, always will do. He must have well known that wonderful book of Malory's, steeped as it is in the glamor that Tennyson could never succeed in capturing. That, too, of Tasso and Ariosto, to say nothing of the greatest of all Catholic poets, Dante. Edward Kirke says of Spenser, in speaking of his language, that, "having the sound of these ancient poets still ringing in his ears, he mought needs, in singing, hit out some of their tunes." May it not also be said that echoes of the bells of holiness and consecration were sounding in his spirit ears so that he could not but give out some of their sound?

Plato was a strong influence upon Spenser; and, as we know, it had not been left for Protestants to trace in the teaching of the great Greek something of that which found its highest expression in the teaching of Him who spoke as never man spoke, even the Supreme Teacher by whose word all who have taught any part of truth have found their utterance.

To consider first what might be read in a Catholic sense or taken as suggesting Catholicity. In "An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie" we have a lovely description of that eternal wisdom which found its incarnation in the Mother of Our Lord.

There in His bosome Sapience doth sit,  
 The soveraine dearling of the Delty,  
 Clad like a Queene in royall robes, most fit  
 For so great powre and peerelesse majesty,  
 And all with gemmes and jewels gorgeously  
 Adorn'd, that brighter than the starres appeare,  
 And make her native brightness seem more cleare.  
 And on her head a crowne of purest gold  
 Is set, in signe of highest soveralgnty:  
 And in her hand a scepter she doth hold,  
 With which she rules the house of God on hy,  
 And menageth the ever-moving sky,  
 And in the same these lower creatures all  
 Subjected to her powre Imperiall.  
 The fairenesse of her face no tongue can tell;  
 For she the daughters of all wemens race  
 And Angels eke, in beautie doth excell,  
 Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face,  
 And more increast by her owne goodly grace,  
 That it doth farre exceed all humane thought,  
 Ne can on earth compared be to ought.  
 Let Angels, which her goodly face behold  
 And see at will, her soveraigne praises sing,  
 And those most sacred mysteries unfold  
 Of that faire love of mightie heavens King;  
 Enough is me t' admyre so heavenly thing,  
 And, being thus wth her huge love possest,  
 In th' only wonder of her selfe to rest.  
 But who so may, thrise happy man him hold,  
 Of all on earth whom God so much doth grace,  
 And lets His owne Beloved to behold;  
 For in the view of her celestial face  
 All joy, all blisse, all happnesse, have place;  
 Ne ought on earth can want unto the wight  
 Who of her selfe can win the wishfull sight.

For she, out of her secret treasury  
 Plentie of riches, which there hidden ly  
 Within the closet of her chastest bowre,  
 Th' eternall portion of her precious dowre,  
 Which mighty God hath given to her free.

May we say, as St. Paul said to the Athenians, "What therefore ye worship without knowing it?" Have not poets and thinkers in all ages sung and spoken of what, indeed, they knew not in anything like its fullness?

As I have said, I think it will be found that Spenser is not given to inyeighing against Catholic doctrine. In the "Shepherds Calendar" the criticism of the unfaithful pastors applies to conduct, not to teaching or belief. It would apply equally well to unfaithful priest and unconscientious minister. We require the argument to the fifth eglogue and E. K.'s Gloss to make us understand that Catholic pastors are a bad lot and Protestant ones the reverse. It is true that in the first book of the "Faerie Queene" we have Archimago, the deceiver, masking under the semblance of a religious, breviary at side and eyes bent lowly on the ground, who leads Una and the Red Cross Knight to his little lowly hermitage with its holy chapel close by; he bids his beads, and strows Ave Marys "after and before." But how well Spenser knew that the spiritual life is fed by contemplation we see in the tenth canto of the same book, where again we have a little hermitage close to a sacred chapel, not now—and this is surely significant—in a dale, but on a hill both steep and high. Here heavenly contemplation lives apart—that heavenly contemplation who leads the knight up to the highest mount and shows him the path that leads to the city of God:

The new Hierusalem, that God has built  
 For those to dwell in, that are chosen his.

It is also true that we have Blindheart (Corcoca) praying day and night upon her beads, with her nine hundred Our Fathers and her two thousand seven hundred Hail Marys every day; her painful penances, her sackcloth and ashes and her fasts. But, as we shall see, all these things are also represented as accessories to the life of devotion, most fruitful as most deep. For sham does not disprove, but prove, the existence of reality, and, "Though all foul things should wear the brows of grace, yet grace must still look so."

How nobly this poet sets forth the beauty of that chastity which, alike in man and woman, the Church has always glorified. Catholics in all ages have revered this virtue, its cherished revelation in all the magnificence of its glory being in and by the Mother Immaculate. Una, Belphebe, Britomart, Florimel, all are lovely in its sheen. If, indeed, the Elizabethans, in honoring this virtue with a special honor, idealized the Queen of England instead of

realizing the Queen of Christendom, let us ask whether such an ideal would have been possible had the Reality never been known? The spirit of praise had poured out precious perfume upon the feet of the lady of ladies before it vulgarized itself to kiss the shadow of Elizabeth Tudor.

In seeking to point out marks of the Catholic spirit in Spenser, I do not intend to reverse the allegory of his greatest and loveliest work, the "*Faerie Queene*." I am not going to make Una the Catholic Church, slandered and robbed by Duessa, as Protestantism. But Spenser, who, I am fain to believe, sees now "with larger, other eyes" than of yore, could not resist the form and pressure of the influences that had gone to shape him as man and poet.

Who is the Red Cross Knight?

In one aspect, as we know, the England of Elizabethan days—that England which knew not the faith as the "one entire and perfect chrysolite," and yet had some light from the fragments that still remained after the shattering and the trampling on, and the casting upon the dunghill. He is also called the Knight of Holiness. Yet surely he appears rather as the seeker after holiness than as the actual personification thereof. And so with Una, for she is more the truth seeker than the very truth itself, and in this would, of course, correspond to the non-infallibility of the Church of Protestant theology. And yet, imperfect the allegory would be which in her shadowed forth the Living Truth, there are certain things which suggest that the poet had at least some conception of the meaning of a Church. In her name we have the first of the four names by which we know the Church of God—Una, Sancta, Catholica, Apostolica—and so we have an acknowledgment, at least a tacit one, that unity must accompany truth; or, rather, indeed, be of its very essence, and inseparable from its conception. Without unfairness, we may surely see in Una a witness to Spenser's belief in the existence of a truth that is worth living for and dying for; as well as in Duessa the protest of heart and soul against the multiform falsehood which ever seeks to sunder us from the living truth. In her garb, as we see her at first, Una has the look of Holy Church as in England for centuries she went, black stoled and as one that inly mourned; and how can we be grateful enough for the toleration by which, though it may be born of indifference as well as of charity, is yet indeed toleration, our goodly Royal Lady may approach to the wearing of her fullest earthly splendor? So, in canto 12, we have this description of her glorious gear:

For she had layd her mournfull stole aside,  
And widow-like sad wimple throwne away,  
Wherewith her heavenly beautie she did hide,  
Whiles on her wearie journey she did ride;



And on her now a garment she did weare  
 All lilly white, withoutten spot or pride,  
 That seemd like silke and silver woven neare,  
 But nelther silke nor silver therein did appeare.

The blazing brightnesse of her beauties beame,  
 And glorious light of her sunshyny face,  
 To tell, were as to strive against the streame:  
 My ragged rimes are all too rude and bace  
 Her heavenly lineaments for to enchace.  
 Ne wonder; for her own deare loved knight,  
 All were she daly with himselve in place,  
 Did wonder much at her celestiall sight:  
 Oft had he seene her faire, but never so faire dight.

Spenser's Una, rather, on the whole a sweet and pathetic figure than an august God-sent lady, is yet not wholly without strength, for she has some power to rebuke as well as to comfort, which is shown when (canto 9) she snatches out of her knight's hand "the cursed knife" which the Red Cross had, at the urging of Despair, lifted to destroy himself:

And threw it to the ground, enraged rife,  
 And to him said, Fie, fie, faint harted knight,  
 What meanest thou by this reproachful strife?  
 Is this the battell, which thou vauntst to fight  
 With that fire mouthed dragon, horrible and bright?  
 Come, come away, fralle, feeble, fleshly wight,  
 Ne let vaine words bewitch thy manly hart.

But truth as Spenser conceived of it is not our truth. His is a truth that, going in company with the Knight of Holiness, makes no attempt to keep him out of the wood of error, but simply enjoys the beauty around her, as they together "joy to heare the birdes sweet harmony, . . . and praise the trees so straight and hy." She, the Lady of Truth, no more than he, the Knight of Holiness, can find the path to return:

Led with delght, they thus begulle the way,  
 Untill the blustering storme is overblowne;  
 When weening to returne, whence they did stray,  
 They cannot find that path, which first was showne,  
 But wander to and fro in wayes unknowne,  
 Furthest from end then, when they nearest weene,  
 That makes them doubt their wits be not their owne:  
 So many pathes, so many turnings seene,  
 That whch of them to take in diverse doubt they beene.

At last they come to a hollow cave, amid the thickest woods. Even then Una can only warn him to withhold his stroke till he has made further trial. Then she tells him that she better knows the peril of the place than he, and bids him beware, after informing him that this is Errour's den, a monster vile, whom God and man does hate.

Neither does Una see through Archimago's wiles, but is helplessly separated from her defender. Does not this, to a Catholic, inevitably suggest the hopeless uncertainty of Protestantism? Is not truth, to the Protestant, at least largely the creation of his own mind? How else could we be told of such and such a one that he

beat out his belief; that he found a religion that was comprehensive enough for him? As truth cannot even swerve, much less fail, the confusion by which Una is made to enter the Wood of Error is quite inexplicable on any hypothesis than that of the entire subjectivity of truth, as conceived of by a post-Reformation poet.

In the introduction of the old story of the taming of the lion we have the witness to the truth of the Catholic doctrine of virginity. The passage is so lovely that no amount of repetition can ever dull or stale it to our ears. And we may also find in it an unintended parable of the might of our Mother's purity to tame and subdue the untamed and the unsubdued, and to use the power of the strong:

One day nigh wearle of the yrksome way,  
From her unhastle beast she dld alight,  
And on the grasse her dalnty limbs dld lay  
In secret shadow, far from all mens sight:  
From her faire head her fillet she undight,  
And laide her stole aside. Her angels face,  
As the great eye of heaven shyned bright,  
And made a sunshlne in the shadie place;  
Did never mortal eye behold such heavenly grace.

It fortun'd out of the thickest wood  
A ramping lyon rushed suddainly,  
Hunting full greedy after salvage blood;  
Soone as the royall virgin he did spy,  
With gaping mouth at her ran greedily,  
To have att once devourd her tender corse:  
But to the pray when as he drew more ny,  
His bloody rage aswaged with remorse,  
And with the sight amazd, forgat his furious forse.

In stead thereof he klist her wearle feet,  
And lickt her lilly hands with fawning tong,  
As he her wronged Innocence dld weat.  
O how can beaultie malster the most strong,  
And simple truth subdue avenging wrong!  
Whose yleided pride and proud submission,  
Still dreading death, when she had marked long,  
Her hart gan melt in great compassion,  
And drizling teares dld shed for pure affection.

\* \* \* \* \*

The lyon would not leave her desolate,  
But with her went along, as a strong gard  
Of her chast person, and a faithfull mate  
Of her sad troubles and misfortunes hard:  
Still when she slept, he kept both watch and ward,  
And when she wakt, he walted dilligent,  
With humble service to her will prepar'd:  
From her faire eyes he tooke commandement,  
And ever by her lookes conceived her intent.

How fine is the description of the arrival of Kirkrapine at the "cottage small" of Blindheart and Abject (for so we may render the names of Corcoca and Abessa), where Una and her lion have taken shelter:

Now when Aldeboran was mounted hie  
Above the shinle Casselopelas chaire,  
And all in deadly sleepe did drowned lie,  
One knocked at the dore, and in would fare;  
He knocked fast, and often curst, and sware,  
That readle entrance was not at his call:  
For on his backe a heavy load he bare  
Of nightly stelths, and pillage severall,

Which he had got abroad by purchase criminall,  
 He was, to weete, a stout and sturdy thiefe,  
 Wont to rob churches of their ornaments,  
 And poore mens boxes of their due reliefe,  
 Which given was to them for good intents;  
 The holy saints of their rich vestments  
 He did disrobe, when all men carlesse slept;  
 And spold the priests of their habiliments.

How significant is that spoiling of the holy saints of their rich vestments!

And when the lion fiercely encounters this robber and presses him down under his lordly foot, is it possible to imagine that the poet really meant by the lion His Majesty Henry VIII.?

Are we not given a very parable of Catholicity in the three brothers, Sansfoy, Sansloy and Sansjoy, and even in the significant order in which they appear? Without the faith, given over to lawlessness, bereft of joy.

It is after Duessa has guided the Knight to the House of Pride that we come to the Catholic teaching of Spenser concerning sin. The group of the deadly sins meets us, at whose head is the sin of Pride, the sin most protean of all, as our poet knew; the sin that turns to the noble a side different from that which she turns to the ignoble or the weak or the sensual. Spenser represents Pride in various forms, but, in the canto in which we have all the sins that kill the soul, Pride appears as Lucifera, throned in state, disdaining earth, sitting high. So a still greater than Spenser represented him who is in himself all sin and the very fountain thereof. Lucifera is the usurping queen, with neither rightful kingdom nor heritage of rightful sovereignty; nor is she a law-maker nor a ruler by law. She is Sansloy, or rather includes in herself all that is signified by Sansloy.

The House of Pride is a goodly building, led to by a broad highway. Here we see at once by the application of our Lord's words the identification of pride with destruction; nor could the unity of sin, if I may use such a phrase, be more clearly and powerfully denoted than by this grouping of Lucifera and her six terrible postillions, the evil wizards who uphold her kingdom with their counsels bad. There she sits in her great coach, "drawne of six unequall beasts, on which her six sage counsellors did ryde." Each of them rides an animal partaking of or symbolizing his own nature. Thus, Sloth, who leads, is on a sluggish ass; Gluttony, upon a swine, and so forth. In the description of Envy there is an interesting evidence of Catholic feeling as opposed to Antinomianism:

And who with gracious bread the hungry feeds,  
 His almes for want of faith he doth accuse.

In the various aspects in which Spenser shows us the sin of pride,

he never exhibits a trace of that sympathy with, or at least tenderness in condemning pride, as if indeed it were, like Milton's *Fame*, the last infirmity of noble minds. Spenser does not look upon sin as mere negation of goodness, but as the terribly active principle which it took the death of the Son of God to break.

It is perhaps in the tenth canto of the "*Faerie Queene*" that we find the strongest evidence of the Catholic spirit of Spenser. And here I may say that when I had almost finished my paper I came across this passage in Aubrey de Vere's essay on "*The Two Chief Schools of English Poetry*," which expresses what I had long felt. "We can nowhere meet an exposition of the Christian religion in its completeness and proportions, doctrinal, devotional and practical, more searching, while so brief, than exists in the tenth canto of his (Spenser's) first book (of the '*Faerie Queene*'), describing the visit of the Redcross Knight to the House of Holiness."

That Spenser's soul was far from being at odds with the Great Mother; that he was not, indeed, a willing alien from her courts, can here be most plainly seen.

The Redcross Knight has fallen after manifold temptations, after much struggle, indeed; but, separated from Una (and this is significant), he cannot attain to anything like a complete conquest. He has escaped from the power of the pride of luxury and worldliness and falls under that of *Orgoglio*, who perhaps represents the pride of power, thus escaping one form of pride to fall by another. Delivered by Arthur, whom Una brings to his rescue, the Redcross is overcome by despair, that despair which is, after all, but another form of pride. As we have seen, it is Una who delivers him from this foe. It is she who leads him to the House of Holiness, which is opened to them by Humility, in contrast to the "gentle husher," Vanity, of the House of Pride. Una requests of *Fidelia*, or Faith, to instruct the Knight, and, accordingly, he is taught and brought to deep contrition. His agony is such that Una comes to *Cælia*, the mistress of the House of Holiness; comes in her perplexity to her who surely is a truer type of Holy Church than Una, as her very name indicates, for she is the kingdom of heaven. *Cælia* sends for a "leach," or doctor, "the which has great insight in that disease of grieved conscience, and well could cure the same." Who can be intended here other than the spiritual healer, the priest of God? What is it but the Sacrament of Penance that is described?

Who, coming to that soule diseased knight,  
 Could hardly him intreat to tell his grief:  
 Which knowne, and all that noyd his heavie spright  
 Well searcht, eftsoones he gan apply relief  
 Of salves and med'cines, which had passing priet;  
 And thereto added words of wondrous might.

What can be meant by this but the confession, so difficult to make,

so wisely assisted by the skilled confessor, who gives the penitent medicine indeed of surpassing excellence and brings him to his right mind? [By which to ease he him recured (recovered) brief.] But there is yet more to come. The words of wondrous might are to be pronounced in their awful sweetness: *Absolve te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*

The satisfaction has yet to be made, and no light penance is laid upon the pardoned one. The body is arrayed in sackcloth and ashes, and "dieted with fasting every day;" and his prayers go up early and late; and "bitter Penance" disciplines him with a whip of iron, and the smart of salt water bathes the body, and all for the healing of the soul. He is led to Una then, who puts him under the care of Charissa (Charity). Charity instructs him "in everie good behest of love and righteousness" and well doing, and teaches him the ready path to heaven. Mercy is called upon to guide "his weaker, wandering steps," and she goes with him, tenderly helping him and doing away with the hindrances in his way, until they come to the holy hospital, or hostel, wherein dwell the Seven Beadmen, who are the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy.

The first of them, that eldest was, and best,  
Of all the house had charge and governement,  
As guardian and steward of the rest:  
His office was to give entertainment  
And lodging unto all that came and went;  
Not unto such, as could him feast againe,  
And double quite for that he on them spent,  
But such as want of harbour did constraîne:  
Those for Gods sake his dewty was to entertaine.

The second was the almner of the place,  
His office was the hungry for to feed,  
And thirsty give to drinke, a worke of grace:  
He feared not once himselfe to be in neede,  
Ne car'd to hoord for those whom he did breede:  
The grace of God he layd up still in stor,  
Whiche as a stocke he left unto his seede;  
He had enough, what need him care for more?  
And had he lesse, yet some he would give to the pore.

The third had of their wardrobe custody,  
In which were not rich tyres, nor garments gay,  
The plumes of pride, and winges of vanity,  
But clothes meet to keep keene cold away,  
And naked nature seemely to aray;  
With which bare wretched wights he dayly clad,  
The images of God in earthly clay;  
And if that no spare clothes to give he had,  
His owne coate he would cut, and it distribute glad.

The fourth appointed by his office was  
Poore prisoners to relieve with gratious ayd,  
And captives to relieve with price of bras  
From Turkes and Sarazins, which them had stayd;  
And though they faulty were, yet well he wayd,  
That God to us forgiveth every howre  
Much more than that, why they in bands were layd;  
And he that harrowd hell with heavie stowre,  
The faulty soules from thence brought to his heavenly bowre.

The fifth had charge sick persons to attend,  
And to comfort those, in point of death which lay;

For them most needeth comfort in the end,  
 When sin, and hell, and death do most dismay  
 The feeble soule departing hence away,  
 All is but lost, that living we bestow,  
 If not well ended at our dying day.  
 O man have mind of that last bitter throw;  
 For as the tree does fall, so lyes it ever low.

The sixt had charge of them now being dead,  
 In seemely sort their corses to engrave,  
 And deck with dainty flowres their bridall bed,  
 That to their heavenly spouse both sweet and brave  
 They might appeare, when he their soules shall save.  
 The wondrous workmanship of Gods owne mould,  
 Whose face he made all beastes to feare, and gave  
 All in his hand, even dead we hinour should.  
 Ah, dearest God me graunt, I dead be not defould.

The seventh, now after death and buriall done,  
 Had charge the tender orphans of the dead  
 And widows ayd, least they should be undone:  
 In face of judgment he their right would plead,  
 Ne ought the powre of mighty men did dread  
 In their defence, nor would for gold or fee  
 Be wonne their rightfull causes downe to tread.  
 And, when they stood in most necessities,  
 He did supply their want, and gave them ever free.

In verse 39 there is a clear allusion to the story of Martin the catechumen, who clothed the Lord.

In verse 40 the ransom of captives from Turkes and Saracins refers to a custom which it had not been left to the "reformers" to inaugurate. Had not the Christian world long since known of the founding of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy and of the work of its holy son, St. Raymond Nonnatus?

The forty-first verse is very noticeable as expressing the Catholic doctrine of "Bona Mors." Some years ago at a meeting of the Browning Society an Anglican clergyman, in speaking of the poem "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," found "an intrinsic contrast between the English or Protestant ideal and the Catholic, as expressed in these two poems (this poem and "The Dream of Gerontius"), speaking slightly of the Catholic ideal, as shown in Newman's poem. The Hon. Roden Noel, who was chairman on this occasion, himself a poet, though not a Catholic, spoke for the Catholic view taken by Cardinal Newman as inculcating a wise passiveness and humility in face of the mystery of death. Spenser, at all events, thought in the atmosphere of the faith on this subject.

May we not, indeed, say that, in some ways at least, Catholicity is in Spenser no mere picturesque setting, as in the work of some moderns, but an integral part of his thought, and, consequently, of its expression? That we do find in this poet very definite Catholic teaching on certain points I think there can be no doubt. To the old faith he owes some at least of his strength, some at least of his sweetness. He owes it directly, as in the instances which I have given. Indirectly his debt is greater still; for the Catholic Church

is the mother of all Christian art, plastic or poetic. This separated son of hers simply cannot help himself. He has had to accept what has been given him; accept it as we accept light and air and all the influences that go to the making of man. And so Spenser has had to accept the influence of the Church involuntarily as well as of free will.

If he girds at her, may we not pity the child who knows not his mother?

He tells of a springing well whose silver flood could restore health to the sick and life to the dead. He tells of a goodly tree by God's hand planted whence ever flowed a stream of sovran balm, giving life and long health and the healing of deadly wounds. Surely drops of that water had touched his brow with their vitalizing grace; surely he knew something of the healing of that precious balm.

E. HICKEY.

*Note.*—It will easily be seen that I have left a very large portion of Spenser's work unsurveyed from my point of view. As Chaucer says,

I have, God wot, a large feeld to eere,  
And wayke ben the oxen in my plow.

There is, indeed, a large field—larger even than seems at first sight. I shall be more than glad if I have at least opened a furrow for some one whose plow is drawn by oxen less weak than mine.

### GOD'S HAPPINESS AND OURS.

AS FAR as it is possible, through the ideas we have of Him, to know God, we apply to Him certain names, and in order to express the infinity of His characteristics, we emphasize them with the help of some affixes, and we say: The Most High, the Almighty God. But there is an attribute of God of which, perhaps, we do not think enough, at least directly, although indirectly and in relation with us we make much of it. I mean *happiness*. God is to be our happiness. Why? Because He is His own happiness first, and, moreover, because He is in Himself all happy. It may not be, perhaps, a useless and fruitless task for us to contemplate this attribute both with regard to God and to ourselves; it is a theological contemplation, both high and beautiful, as well as a very practical meditation in our present day, when some thinkers go so far as to dream of a destiny for man in which neither a personal God nor a permanent possession of personality should find a place,

as if immortality meant nothing but our survival in the memory of others as long as they remember us, or as long as they themselves exist.

# I.

In the first place, we must approach our subject from a metaphysical point of view. These three terms, *happiness*, *goodness*, *being*, are intimately connected one with another, and we shall deal first with the last two.

According to the very old definition, goodness is what all desire; evidently not in the sense that something cannot possibly be good except it be universally desired, but in this, that nothing can be desired unless it be good; or, to put it briefly, the object of all desires is goodness. So far this definition seems to be merely nominal; there are desires, in fact, and these desires tend to something, and this something we call good and goodness. But what is it? We can arrive at the answer by studying the very object of the desire itself. What is it that every being desires? Its own perfection; that is to say, according to the very etymology of the term, its perfect development; and to that end every being has a tendency, an "appetitus," for this latter word well expresses both the claims advanced for the possession of any element of perfection and the steps taken to grasp it. Every being abounds in beginnings which have a tendency to complete perfection. The seeds and germs are animated by a motion of development into the complete plant or animal of which they are the living principles. The bud is impelled to grow up and unfold into the radiant and perfumed flower. All its life-long the animal seeks after the satisfaction of its desires. And what is man's pursuit after truth and morality except a means of attaining to a perfect intellectual and moral being? This, then, is the general law: Every being desires its own perfection; that is to say, desires the complement of those elements which its nature demands.

We can sum up our conclusions by a series of propositions. Goodness is the object of desire; desire implies incompleteness; incompleteness and imperfection are correlative terms; therefore, desire caused by incompleteness has for its object perfection; perfection is complete development, or existence in its fullest sense. Thus we arrive at the identification of these two terms, goodness and being. Goodness is the object of desire; it is desired because it is perfection; it is perfection because it is being.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now consider God and try to apply to Him the notions we have just defined. The correct idea of God's goodness may be expressed in the following short definition: The goodness of God

<sup>1</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 5.



is in the very measure of His being. But what is He? If we apply the three well-known methods or "ways of *causality, negation, eminency*," we may conclude at once: By the first, that, as He is the first Cause of all things, He must be all things; by the second, we modify the inaccuracy of the foregoing assertion and say that He cannot be all things as they are; by the third, we sum up the former results and arrive at the conclusion that He is all things eminently, that is to say, in a higher mode of being. He is *perfect*, as the first Cause of all perfections.

But this very word "perfect" must change its ordinary meaning when applied to God, as St. Gregory says: "In halting speech, as far as our weakness permits, we proclaim the high things of God; the Unmade cannot be said to be made up." We can, however, use the word with a corrective: God is made up, He is the sum total of perfection, but without succession, without acquisition, without addition, at once, by His very nature, from eternity. He is all-perfect, that is to say, He has all the perfections which are scattered abroad through this world, but He has them unsullied by the **conjunction of earthly imperfections**. Further, He does not possess them in a composite manner, because all that is in Him is blended together in the utmost simplicity and oneness. Furthermore, not only is He the sum total of all the perfections in which creatures share, which belong to Him as their centre and cause, but He has all possible perfections because there is no cause of Himself, because He is self-existent, because He *is*.<sup>2</sup> And under that name God presented Himself to Moses: "I am, who am." This appellation ranks first amongst those ascribed to God because it embraces all others in its unity; even as being embraces everything in itself. It is peculiarly applicable to God, because He is "the infinite and unbounded Ocean of Substance," to quote the far-reaching words of St. John Damascene.<sup>3</sup>

God is, and therefore is good, and the characters of His goodness coincide with the characters of His being. And how infinitely does the divine goodness tower above that of poor created beings. In our being, which is a limited essence called out of nothing, we have the first degree of our perfection and goodness; but how imperfect and how dependent for its progress is it upon the powers and tendencies within us and upon other things without. And, when by those three steps we have reached some stage of goodness, or even the highest at which our nature may aim, then, as we had to attain it by the law of progress, immediately our further efforts are arrested by the law of decay. How deeply did St. Augustine feel it, and how

<sup>2</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 13, art. 11.

pathetic are his words: "Whithersoever the soul of man turns itself, unless towards Thee, it is rivetted upon sorrows; yea, though it is rivetted upon things beautiful. . . . They rise and set, and by rising they begin, as it were, to be; they grow that they may be perfected; and perfected, they wax old and wither; and all grow not old, but all wither. So, then, when they rise and tend to be, the more quickly they grow that they may be, so much the more they haste not to be. This is the law of them."<sup>4</sup> But it is not so with God. His essence is one with His existence, and so is not this or that way of being, but Being itself; there are no powers surrounding it of increasing His goodness, since His goodness, like His being, is infinite, and there are outside Him no other things from which He could get any increase; and, lastly, as there is no beginning nor progress, there is no decay and no end in God, the King of Eternity.<sup>5</sup>

As God is goodness because He is being, so is He happiness because He is goodness. We need not here conclude from the fact that there is happiness in creatures that it exists also in their Creator; it is enough to know that in Him there is goodness; the conclusion, therefore, that there is consequently happiness is evident to any one who knows what happiness means, which is "nothing else than the perfect good of an intellectual being, capable, as such, of knowing its sufficiency in the good which it possesses. . . . Both these conditions belong to God in the most excellent form. Therefore happiness supremely belongs to God."<sup>6</sup> He is the Most-Happy God. What is in the ontological order a want of being and perfection is, in the psychological order, a desire and a suffering, when such want is felt by consciousness. On the other hand, what is satisfaction of this want, and consequently of this desire, is pleasure, and, in a higher degree, happiness. So numerous and commonplace would be the examples that it is better to omit them and to form our opinion, on the ground of evidence, *that* in God there is supreme happiness.

But when we try to find out and to describe *what* is divine happiness, once more we encounter the same difficulty—to know the unknowable, to utter the unutterable. Here also lie open before us some ways of imperfect knowledge as a path at the foot of a lofty Sinai, leading to its summit, which disappears amidst a cloud of dazzling light. By the way of causality, we ascend from creatures to God; and we conclude that "every earthly shadow of happiness, however small it may be, existed before, perfectly, in the divine

<sup>4</sup> Confess., Book IV., Ch. X.

<sup>5</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 6, art. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 26, art. 1.

happiness." And if we try to analyze and reckon up all these shadows of happiness which are to be found around us, we shall draw, with human colors, a very faint picture of the divine happiness. As for the happiness of contemplation, God has the continuous, most certain and perfect insight of Himself and all things. As for that of action, He has the government, not of one man, of one city, of one kingdom, but of the whole universe. As for that which men dream of finding in pleasure, riches, power, dignity and glory, God has His pleasure in the most excellent enjoyment of Himself and all good, without any mixture of evil; He has His riches in the perfect sufficiency which any wealth could promise; He has His power in His infinite might; His dignity rests in the headship and government of all things; He has His glory in the admiration of all creatures, according to the measure of their knowledge."<sup>7</sup>

But we must, at this point, apply the method of negation to correct the imperfections of such a picture. Happiness represents for us, and is defined accordingly, the union and accumulation of all good things. They are in God, indeed, but not by way of composition, but of simplicity, because, as we have said before in speaking of perfections, that which is composite in many creatures preëxists in the one God in simplicity and unity. We also represent happiness as the reward of virtue, but that is not essential to happiness; it is a mere fact that happens to those who deserve and acquire their happiness, just as to be generated happens to those who begin to be. But as God has His being without having been born, so He has His happiness without any previous merit, the contrary implying that there could be a time when He had neither happiness nor being.<sup>8</sup>

Lastly, by the way of eminency, our mind soars upwards to God Himself and sings to Him: "O, God, we know that Thou art the Most Happy God, but what is the nature of Thy happiness we do not know, as we are likewise ignorant of Thy very being. We know that all happiness in the world created by Thee must needs be in Thee most perfectly; but we know also that there must be in Thee a happiness of Thy own, although we cannot even fix our eyes upon that Inaccessible Light in which Thou contemplest Thyself and lovest Thyself, not alone, yet not many, One and Three, in the unspeakableness of Thy eternal ecstasy."

## II.

God's happiness is in Himself, but where is our happiness? The general answer is simple: Without God or in God. First of all

<sup>7</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 26, art. 4. Sum. c. Gent. lib. I. c. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 26, art. 1, ad 1 et 2.

that there must be some is a conclusion which seems to spring out of the very depths of our nature. Naturally we all aspire towards our well-being and perfection, but where is happiness to be sought and found? Many things, indeed, can give us happiness, and therefore be pursued as definite ends of our activity; but what things can give us perfect happiness, and therefore be pursued as the end above and beyond all others, as our ultimate end?

Will it be riches, "which seem to supply whatever men can desire?" They can be, at most, an instrument for purchasing happiness which they do not contain in themselves. Will it be honor, glory, power? These three are insufficient, for one may have them and be at the same time perfectly unhappy. They remain, as it were, outside us. The first two are only signs, sometimes very deceptive ones, of some eminence and perfection, and the third may be an instrument of good or evil for him who possesses it. Will it be pleasure? That, indeed, is more closely connected with our very being, but though our body is part of ourselves, it is not our better self, our very self. Our intellectual soul is in some way infinite compared with that portion of matter to which it is united; the welfare of our body must be of little consequence compared with the welfare of our soul, much less can it be our perfect good and happiness. We are compound of a **body and a soul**, but the former is for the latter, and it would be an abuse to make the soul nothing more than the purveyor of our body. Not so, but as we naturally prefer our body to all external things, so we ought to prefer our soul to our body.

Therefore, if there is any true happiness at all for us, it is to be found in our soul. But our soul is not self-sufficient; it has powers of knowledge and powers of love. On what, then, can it exercise these powers to give us perfection and happiness? Moreover, these powers of ours are great, immeasurably great; they go beyond all material and concrete things to their general ideas and laws, beyond all particular perfections and beauties to their ideal and type; beyond this world, with its order, magnitude, splendor, being, to the One above, the principle and cause of such order, magnitude, splendor and being.

Are we not stranded between a double view of happiness equally unsatisfactory? On the one hand, a kind of happiness too low and too little; on the other hand, a kind of happiness too high and too unattainable. Yea, all earthly happiness is too little or at least too brief, as it has "an answer of death." So far hedonism is wrong and pessimism is right. Yea, if there is happiness at all for us, perfect happiness, I mean, worth being pursued as equal to our very being, it must be from God and in God, in whom we can have the accumulation of all good through our union with Him, who is the

universal spring of all good; but is such ideal happiness attainable, and which are right—the optimists of hope or the pessimists of despair?<sup>9</sup>

Why has God created us? This is indeed the question. To fulfill what end? This question is implied in the more general one: Why has God created at all? That God had a reason and an end in creating is beyond dispute; to act for an end is the law of all agents; they must act determinately for this or that end, for from an indetermined cause nothing would follow. Much more is it the law of intelligent causes, as we experience in ourselves in the deliberation of our intelligence and the choice of our will, and much more is it so in the Supreme Intelligence.

Now, what is the end of God's actions? Here appears the difference between God, the Infinite and Uncreated, and the finite and created beings. The latter may act in order to transmit to others something of their being, perfection and goodness; but as they are perfectible as well as in some degree perfect, they endeavor to gain for themselves something at the same time; thus they act as by a law of exchange, of action and reaction, intending together to give of their goodness and to add something to it.

It is not and cannot be so with God. On the one hand, God is solitary, in the sense that before creation there was no other being at all besides Himself; and on the other hand, He is fully self-sufficient. These terms, granted as they must be, the question supplies the answer. For what end did God create? For Himself, because nothing was but Himself. He is the First Cause in the order of finality as well as in the order of efficiency. Everything comes from God, and in some way or other everything must return to God, just as the ocean is the primary cause of all waters, from which they rise up and are condensed into clouds, float in the air and then fall down in flakes of snow upon the lofty white-headed mountains; at their feet the rivers spring forth and carry the waters back to the place of their birth.

God has, therefore, created all things for Himself. As He is the Cause, so is He the End of all things. But we must rightly understand how God is such an end. It is not as a result that is to be obtained by the composition of all things, as some modern pantheists have maintained (for their theory is that God's perfection is in process of completion), but as something already existing and which is to be reached by every being according to its own nature and in its own way. It is not as if all things struggled to obtain some good for God, as soldiers fight to obtain victory for their King. No, God is not the end of all things in the sense that He may acquire anything

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<sup>9</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., 2ae., Qq. 2 et 3.

through them, but rather as something to be acquired by them. He is not in want of anything, but, on the contrary, He bestows His gifts with unsparing hand from His inexhaustible treasury. When the earth turns up to the sun its side which had been hidden from it during the night, the sun itself remains unchanged and simply lavishes upon it some of the bright and warming rays of its glorious crown. As a consequence redounding to the glory of our God, He is the only truly and infinitely generous One, as He is the only One truly and infinitely rich, in whom is no lack and therefore no want; He gives, but does not receive.<sup>10</sup>

So, then, God has created all beings for Himself, that is to say, that they may reach, acquire, possess His own goodness. But we ought to explain immediately such an assertion by recalling that every being is all that it is by and from God, as an emanation, a participation, a reproduction and truly something of the goodness of God. Thus we may say both that everything is good by the Divine goodness, and that everything is good by its own goodness; the one and the other affirmation not being contradictory, since everything has in itself a goodness inherent in itself, which is really its own and on account of which it may be called good; and since, also, the goodness of everything comes entirely from God's goodness. So that we may say that there is one goodness of all, and, at the same time, that there is more than one. It is just the same with the good as with being. Plato's theory of Separate Ideas is true for once. There is something real separated from this material world which is first being and good by its own essence and from which every other thing holds its being and goodness.<sup>11</sup>

As a consequence, God's goodness appears to us in a twofold aspect—in the world and in Himself. In the world it is nothing more than His goodness, or, as we have explained, a shadow of His goodness; but in Himself it is His goodness unfolding into His happiness. Now, all created beings, every one according to its own nature, desire God, since they cannot but desire good, and there is nothing good except by the goodness of God spread all through this world by creation. The rational creature has an immense and twofold privilege, first by his nature and secondly by the grace of God—viz., the power of rising up to God Himself, "*Homo est capax Dei*," man has a capacity for God, that is, he can know and love God Himself. The supernatural order consists essentially of God's own self in Himself, beyond the natural order of beings and laws created by God, and in such a superior order we have our place, since we are called by God to enjoy with Him life eternal. We can participate

<sup>10</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 44, art. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Sum. Theol., 1a., Q. 6, art. 4.

in the divine goodness, as it is in itself, through our acts of knowing and loving God. And therefore God is preëminently the end towards which the rational creature moves, desiring the divine goodness itself, of which the irrational creature desires an image only.

So God's goodness appears to us in three degrees—the supreme degree, as perfectly possessed by God Himself, who is His own goodness and happiness; the second degree, as capable of being possessed by us, not as an integral part of our being, but as so known and loved by us that we may be said to take our share in the goodness and happiness of God; the third degree, as it may be possessed not in itself, but through the medium of all the good things created by God and presented here below in and to all creatures. Thus other beings may be said to have been made in some way for the goodness of God; *we* are made for the very happiness of God.<sup>12</sup>

We hold by faith that we have to find our happiness in God, and this belief is entirely consistent with the superior instinct of our nature, when it becomes conscious of itself and takes cognizance of the vanity of created things and of itself among them. Unto what will that happiness be like? As we have tried to represent to ourselves God's happiness through our human ideas of earthly happiness, so we may try to picture our happiness.

We must not too much despise created things; it would be a mistake. They are insufficient, indeed, as our ultimate end, but they are good and can certainly bestow a certain amount of happiness upon us. But, moreover, all that they do and can do in this respect we are sure to find in God, since every kind of goodness and perfection found in various creatures is gathered totally and as one in their Creator as in the source of all goodness. Thus, if we can draw happiness from the brooks, with what rapture shall we drink from the very source, which is a boundless and fathomless ocean!

Thus all goodness will be found in God by us, and therefore all our desires satisfied and our happiness fulfilled. Our desire as intellectual beings of knowing the truth will be satisfied by seeing all truths together in the very light of the First Cause and last explanation of them all. Our desire as moral beings of ruling over ourselves and ordaining everything within us according to reason and right conscience will be abundantly satisfied by a clear perception of and intense devotion to the Eternal Law, beyond all question of deficiency. Our desire of honor will be gratified by our elevation to the supreme dignity of union with God and of a share in His eternal Kingship. God, who can neither deceive nor be deceived, will crown our desire of praise and glory by bestowing those same marks upon us. We shall receive the fullness of riches in the possession of One

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<sup>12</sup> Sec. II. Sent., dist. 1, Q. 2, art. 2.

who comprehends in the most complete and perfect degree all that is good. With what depth and with what rapture will not such a One be beloved by us! Although such a happiness is beyond the reach of our senses, our body itself will share in it; happiness is for the whole man, but beginning in his superior and immortal, and overflowing upon his inferior and material part. Our body here below darkens and materializes the soul, but hereafter our soul will enlighten and spiritualize our very body, as the night begins at the foot of the mountains and climbs up to their peaks, and as the morning sun touches their peaks first and creeps along their sides to enwrap them in a robe of light.<sup>18</sup>

When we have thus tried to express with the elements of earthly happiness the heavenly one, we must confess that it is nothing more than a mere drawing from life, which is powerless to give the relief, the colors, the expression, the very life of the original. The heavenly happiness will be all we can conceive, yet not like, but infinitely superior to it. Our belief outdistances our knowledge of it. "Thou shalt fill me with joy with Thy countenance." (Ps. xv., 11.) "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man what things God hath prepared for them that love Him." (I. Cor. ii., 9.) These two words express our faith and our humility. Let these two virtues serve as wings to carry us up to God's happiness, which is also to be ours, through His infinite goodness, forever and ever.

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<sup>18</sup> Sum., Contra Gent., Lib. III., cap. 63.

## THE FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION.

### III.

THE Court of Cassation on May 17, pronouncing upon the Ministerial appeal against the judgment in the case of Abbé Jouin (see page 297 of this REVIEW), upheld the ruling and phraseology that is so awkward for all legislating blocards who, as I contend, voted in 1905 or executed in 1906 and this year unconstitutional enactments. The Appeal Court strikes out from the text of the important judgment merely this first ground (*motif*) alleged by the Correctional Tribunal for its verdict: "Attenuating circumstances are found in the fact that defendant's personal feelings of



a praiseworthy character are attacked by certain of the consequences following from the law he resisted." But the Appeal Court refused to interfere with the statement alleged by the tribunal as their second ground (*motif*), thus: "The (separation) law of December 9, 1905, appears an excessive (*exorbitante*) law of exception to our common law, inasmuch as it creates an offense special to ministers of worship, although, under this very law, they have become ordinary citizens." The Court of Cassation then declares that in the sentence thus translated, the expression "excessive law of exception to our common law" (*loi d'exception exorbitante du droit commun*) "must be construed in the sense commonly given it in jurisprudence." This is a crushing legal defeat for Governments and Chambers.

Cardinal Richard on the 19th of May informed the Parisian parish priests a new diocesan regulation instituted councillors to assist them in temporal parochial administration. The Archbishop said: "It is traditional that representatives of the Christian people participate, under pastoral authority, in managing the resources available for maintaining divine worship. The task of the clergy is thus lightened while their responsibility is more securely protected." These parish councillors will be nominated by the Archbishop on presentation of names selected by the curés. They are to incur no financial or legal liability, the curé only remaining responsible for all acts of parochial temporal administration. A similar organization is to be created for the *denier du culte*, or worship-penny fund.

On the 27th and two following days was held, at the Institut Catholique, the third diocesan congress of Paris under the presidency either of the coadjutor, Mgr. Amette, or the vicar general, Mgr. Odelin. The *séances*—morning, afternoon and evening each day—were all crowded. The pressing need for dividing most of the existing parishes, whose average population is 37,000, a few counting nearly 100,000, a figure unexampled in history, and for organizing new ones, was shown.

The delegate from Lyons assured the congress what should be decided upon there would have immense influence in other dioceses, where details of Parisian organizations were awaited impatiently as types to be followed. Throughout France strongly organized Catholic union was desired. A letter read from Cardinal Merry del Val recommended creation of parochial committees consisting of selected Catholics as starting points for more extended organizations.

The type foreshadowed, then, by the Holy Father is the parochial committee. Mgr. Odelin said the end in view should be a provincial grouping of parochial and diocesan committees, with finally a national federation. There should be in France a vast popular Catholic union like the German Volkverein, founded by Windthorst, which

had been so fruitful in good results. Mgr. Amette explained that the Vatican desired a creation of committees having limited numbers of councillors, composed of proved Catholics, who should direct the movement and group around each their adherents, each committee to be the centre of more extended Catholic groupings. Papers were read, questions discussed upon the following subjects: Popular dispensaries, workmen's dwellings, coöperative societies, savings banks, popular Catholic clubs, reading rooms, music halls, cafés, etcetera, the new Sunday rest law, systematized conferences, mutual help societies for the laity, similar associations for ecclesiastics (of which there are none yet in Paris, but several in the provinces, in the Dioceses of Rheims, Grenoble, Amiens, Soissons and Digne), the social duty of Catholics, the religious press and on Catholic clubs. On the last matter the Abbé Fonssagrives, chaplain of the Luxembourg (Paris) Catholic Club, founded shortly after the last German war by M. Beluze, with the aims of opposing by Catholic action the free-thought action of the "Teaching League," and preparing for creation of Catholic universities, stated their club organized between 120 and 130 conferences yearly, so that during his twenty-one years' tenure of office he had held 2,485, and each conferencier (or lecturer) was usually asked to repeat his address five or six times in Paris or provinces. The club had started long ago (and had soon been followed in this by the Jesuit Fathers, the Catholic Institute and others) a conference for practice in public speaking, the "Ozanam Conference," which had supplied and will, it is hoped, long continue to supply a large number of devoted orators to the Church, skillfully equipped for oratorical tournaments in public controversial gatherings. The Abbé Thellier de Poucheville read a paper advocating the use in conferences in churches of luminous wall projections of great Gospel scenes, of grand historical events during the score of centuries of Catholicity, offering as they do such inexhaustible resources for these illustrations, the good effect of which upon popular incredulity cannot be overestimated. "Our duty," concluded the speaker, "is to contribute by such images to the Christian education of the French people. Several parish priests corroborated the abbé's views. At St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, at St. Margaret's, at Aubervilliers, at the Sèvres parish church conferences with these luminous projections have given unhoped for results. The Abbé Pelez de Cordova said he had formed a service for supplying the *clichés* that quickly became important and extensive. He is now creating one for cinematography.

While this congress, which was an unprecedented success, progressed the Cardinal Archbishop presided over an assemblage at the Catholic Institute of twenty-eight Bishops—one-third of the French

episcopate—protectors of that institution, whose rector, Mgr. Baudrillart, read a report concerning the course of studies and the mental attitude he had to deal with now; the new chairs to be founded, in particular those of Christian origins and patristic theology; the history of religions, the reorganization of the faculty of philosophy and the urgency for sending students there, the question of the faculty of law and the financial situation. During the ensuing discussion it was settled the spirit of the faculty of philosophy should more and more conform, as desired by the Pope, to the sound philosophical tradition bequeathed by St. Thomas and the schoolmen.

For founding the two new chairs (one of which, history of religions, will be occupied by a series of lecturers) the Holy Father presented Mgr. Baudrillart at Rome with \$20,000, and in a letter to the Bishops-protectors of 6 May, 1907, His Holiness declared: "It is easy to perceive that under the existing circumstances, so unfortunate for France, what is above all else in great danger is her youth, withdrawn in large measure from tutelage of the Church and driven in crowds into public colleges and huge lyceums seemingly made expressly for the purpose of uprooting religious sentiment from souls. In regard to philosophy we ask you never to allow in your seminaries relaxation in observing the rules laid down with such foresight by our predecessor in his encyclical 'Æterni Patris.' This is a point of utmost importance for maintaining and protecting the faith. It is certainly for you as well as for us very painful to witness the publication that proceeds from clerical ranks, particularly from the young clergy, of novelties in thinking full of danger and of errors about the very foundations of Catholic doctrine." The Bishops decided to send more students to the institute, particularly such as were destined for professorial duty in their seminaries; and, further, to constitute a new seminary in Paris, whence the courses of the institute could be followed by the seminarists, but that the courses of philosophy at the Sorbonne (State University) should not be followed before securing adequate sound scholastic formation of their minds. Finally their Lordships decided on forbidding ecclesiastics within their respective dioceses to contribute to the Abbé Loisy's *Historical and Literary Review*.<sup>1</sup>

In the same last week of May during four days there were morning and afternoon crowded *séances* in the conference hall of the Institut Catholique of the Joan of Arc Federation, presided by

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<sup>1</sup> The Holy Father has desired the French episcopate to take the initiative by themselves condemning, as they are entitled to do, works dangerous for faith, instead of submitting them to the Congregation of the Index, whose labors will thus be lightened. The writers condemned can, of course, appeal to Rome.

Mgr. Foucault, Bishop of St. Dié, assisted at the two first by Mgr. Baudrillart and at all by the secretary general of this ladies' association, Mademoiselle Maugeret, who in her annual report announced the federation to be a work of both union and studies, with the further end of joining in the protests against attacks on the memory of Joan. Papers were read describing a large number of good works undertaken by various ladies, many of high rank, most of them "in society," such as patronages, free dispensaries, hospital visiting, Sunday lectures, protection of work girls, assistance by procuring work. Madame de Prat has founded and presides over an association for the latter purpose at Fontainebleau, which acts as intermediary between employers and employés. To carry out the business properly she has become a traveling agent for her association and regularly calls at the large Paris shops on behalf of her *protégées*, a fact disclosed to the meeting by the secretary and acclaimed enthusiastically. A discussion concerning methods to be pursued by ladies willing to imitate Madame de Prat followed. The Bishop advocated a coöperative form of guild by workers in the same line; the secretary general (and other ladies) preferred workers and employers should be syndically united: "Union must necessarily be created against the consumer, who is the chief exploiter, always anxious to buy in the cheapest market; whereas, if employer and employed are agreed together, prices can be fixed uniformly and wages can be raised to a reasonable figure. The solution of the social problem lies in a rise of wage for the female worker."

The Countess of St. Laurent, herself founder and president of a vast Catholic association at Lyons—League of Frenchwomen—in an address lofty in thought and style, declared that league to be the apostle of the royalty of the Sacred Heart, its principal social mission being to bring the various social classes to act together, for which effort a complete success has ensued. "We must," she said, "defend religion, not in the name of liberty, but because it is essentially divine," a formula provoking impassioned applause. The Countess went on to urge the need for propagating a good press, insisting upon the influence wielded by the daily paper. The press above all else can do good, wherefore the good journals should be unweariedly, widely distributed. "Resistance is the true Catholic watchword to-day."<sup>2</sup> Madame Danielou gave some particulars of the Catholic Normal School for ladies founded at 90 Rue de Rennes, Paris, in October, 1906, by herself and Madlle. Desrey, which is patronized by the Cardinal Archbishop and the professors of the Institut Cath-

<sup>2</sup> Madame Boursier read a report upon the work styled "The Press for All" that, founded in 1903, distributes free fifty thousand journals daily, and subscribes besides for another fifty thousand daily.

olique. Madame Danielou, herself aggregated to the University, prepares female professors to obtain the diplomas now required by law for the secondary instruction of girls above thirteen in all schools and colleges, and she successfully appealed to the well-to-do for aid in a work intending to save "free instruction" from the Freemason. Two-thirds of her pupils have already passed. This institution is a complement to the Institut Catholique.

Admiral de Cuverville expressed the warm thanks of the navy to the federation for protesting against the suppression of naval chaplains (recorded on page 280), and gave a touching account of the situation now created by an anti-Christian ministry for sick seamen. Countess Lecointre spoke eloquently about divorce on the stage, and the Catholic journalist, M. Maurice Talmeyr, discoursed admirably upon morality; demonstrating the immorality so fast increasing and disgracing Parisian streets under sundry forms results from a deliberate plan, settled long beforehand, and tenaciously prosecuted by Freemasonry during generations. In support of this assertion (that would, of course, have been received with a smile of pity by the ordinary American and British Mason), he read these passages from a secret circular of the High Italian Lodges dated in 1838: "To destroy Catholicism woman must be suppressed; but, since she cannot be, let her be, instead, corrupted. . . . Let us popularize vice among the masses; make hearts vicious and you will have no more Catholicism." The lecturer declared the actual *régime* in power sought to induce a return to the bestial customs of paganism. Speeches were made by the presiding Bishop and M. Théry on the indissolubility of marriage vows and on divorce, which subject the working class speaker, Madame Gouthéraud, treated in simple language, without formalities, with an air of extreme timidity, but with perfect sincerity and natural eloquence, reading her paper on "Children in the Divorce."

The Bishop, much moved, rose, saying he saluted respectfully the gray hairs of this daughter of the people who had so excellently demonstrated by simple reasoning from the heart, but with not less power than M. Théry, the thesis of that orator, who had shown the State, being unable to confer a legitimate marriage, could not dissolve one. An ovation was accorded to Madame Gouthéraud, unable to restrain her tears, who was warmly embraced by many of the ladies round her.

These *séances* gave to those present as auditors "the impression of a vast renaissance of Christian works distributed over French territory under the impetus of generous and devoted souls—renaissance of ideas, renaissance of actions, provincial works, comparisons of a syndical with a corporate *régime*, dispensary work, the work of

the good press, national resurrection through a female apostolate, popular and prison libraries, books for the blind, divorce questions, combat against vice. Such was the extensive programme, while all these matters were handled with a good sense, a good will and especially with that devotedness of spirit which is woman's sublime characteristic." (H. de Rauville.)

On the last evening in the same week, under the presidency of the Abbé Coubé, at the Paris Winter Circus was held a crowded meeting of the "League for Resistance by French Catholics," organized by Messrs. Paul and Guy de Cassagnac and the Deputy M. Jules Delahage. The abbé pointed out that wherever Catholic groups resisted government gave way, wherefore to organize resistance was a duty. M. Paul de Cassagnac affirmed "the day is nearing when armed legions will rise in defense of religion, country and freedom." M. Guy, urging resistance, blamed his brother Catholics for their far too slender aid to officers and others who made sacrifices for the sake of religion. He said: "Only one situation has been offered our league; it was by a Jewess Baroness requiring a secretary decorated with the Legion of Honor ribbon!" Sketching Messieurs Clemenceau and Briand, he styled them "worthy successors to the great bandits of the Revolution."

The first reflection provoked by these various highly necessary, most admirable, ecclesiastical and lay programmes announced for the future is that the whole of the popular undertakings, and of the reforms decided upon, and also these resolutions to resist revolutionary bandits to the last extremity ought to have, might have, been adopted and practiced a decade ago. About that time has expired since I read in an anti-clerical journal a smart article comparing its adversaries to a party contemplating an arduous journey, and, after much debate as to whither and by what route, at last setting out in company for the railway station, only to find there *ils out mangué le train*—they had lost the train. It certainly is "never too late to mend" *good material* as an abstract proposition. Let us then hope the French Catholics will persevere, "with a strong pull, a long pull and a pull all together," until the destroyed edifice is solidly restored; but delays are dangerous. It is right to say there is a settled conviction among the most intellectual and cultured as well as fervent of the religious expelled and sheltered in England that the worst events will come to pass; that blood will be shed in torrents before peace can return to their country, whose sins against Love and Light are so heinous and obstinate.

Assistance at magnificent Corpus Christi processions in all Paris churches was numerically greater than in former years. At Saumur the Masonic Mayor refused to authorize them in the streets; never-

theless, 8,000 persons at least formed one that was not interfered with by a strong body of gendarmes and troops from the cavalry school, directed by a special commissary with several police officers, sent "to preserve order," from Angers. But at Tourcoing, a manufacturing town near Lille, whose radical Socialist Mayor, the Deputy M. Drou, had likewise forbidden them, an assembly of 2,000 from all the parishes in front of the principal church sung hymns and liturgical chants in protest until a body of fifty mounted gendarmes arrived and charged them. Several persons were wounded and twenty-five arrested, including the curé. The Correctional Tribunal, Lille, punished several of these "manifestants" by sentences of imprisonment for from two to eight days, and Sub-Lieutenant Bodin, of the reserve forces, was referred for punishment to a court-martial for words he addressed to the gendarmes. On the other hand, two days previously the Council of War of the Eleventh Corps at Nantes acquitted Lieutenant Couesdic by six against one vote (one of its members is a Jew), his offense being the observation to a commercial traveler at the window of the hotel where they both were staying on the 4th of May: "The band of ruffians! What dirty work they are doing!" The lieutenant defended himself by saying: "I do not want to shirk responsibility for these words, said in a private conversation and not addressed to those executing such work. As a Catholic and a religious man I expressed what I felt, and it was my right, as it was every other man's right, to say what I did to testify indignation at the expulsion from their homes of those Ursulines." The annual pilgrimage to the immense Church of Our Lady of Hope at St. Briec, closing the month of May, ended with a grand procession through the streets, decorated with flags and brilliantly illuminated. Two Bishops assisted, several thousand pilgrims arriving in special trains. This has no doubt incited the watchful Cabinet to try and hinder people from going to the grand Breton annual festival at St. Anne d'Auray (see page 179) by requiring the Western and Orleans Railway Companies to notify organizers of this year's pilgrimages they must state numbers and apply for the usual fifty per cent. reduction in prices five weeks in advance—a requirement amounting practically to interdiction. At Tours on June 2 M. Flourens, Liberal ex-Minister, and M. Guyot, de Villeneuve, Deputy, addressed a meeting of 2,000 persons under the auspices of the departmental committee of "Popular Liberal Action." The sterility of parliamentary and ministerial proceedings, their "incoherence," the mischievous rôle of Freemasonry were denounced. "Catholics must be organized, prepared for action, be practical, have confidence in the future of the country and remember that twice—in 1885 and 1898—universal suffrage nearly gave them

a majority. The one question to-day is, will our France of history, the country the world has hitherto known and admired, will that France continue to exist, or will she make place and give way before a new entity proscribing private property, substituting for Christian monotheism the Masonic paganism now stifling her national genius beneath international cosmopolitanism?" M. Flourens proceeded to contrast the sinister influence of Freemasonry, encouraging the revolt of the Commune in presence of the foreign army with the devotedness to France in her hours of trial of the Holy See, and its aid towards furthering and consolidating the foundation of the republic by rallying round it partisans of fallen dynasties.

On the festival of Saints Peter and Paul in the Salle Wagram, Paris, at a meeting of 10,000 convened by the "Action Francaise Association," founded a year ago, to present him with a gold bust medallion of himself costing the subscribers \$7,000, General Mercier, War Minister in the Dreyfus days,<sup>3</sup> in a speech starting with the maxim, "Do your duty, happen what may," attributed to the Dreyfus campaign "the condition of anarchy and dissolution of the moment, the measures tending to uproot religion and ruin magistrature and army, those three pillars of a nation's stability and security. The watchword of true Frenchmen should be, "Jewish and Masonic power must be destroyed." It seems to the writer so important a gathering of opponents to the Bloc may fittingly be recorded here. But unquestionably appropriate is notice of the significant fact that a grandiose white marble statue (carved out of one enormous block) of "The Eagle of Meaux" was about the same time erected in that city, of which Bossuet was Bishop.

The great orator is represented standing draped with a mantle, the right hand pointing to heaven. At his feet are grouped the personages whose virtues he celebrated in the popularly famed funeral orations—the least able and learned of all his manifold discourses and literary works,<sup>4</sup> in my humble opinion, and I have carefully read every one of his thirteen score sermons, some of which are, I think, only equaled by St. Anselm's "Cur Deus Homo."

This monument to the Christian mystic whose genius formed, as

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<sup>3</sup> The rehabilitated Dreyfus has now retired from the army, probably as the result of mass boycotting.

<sup>4</sup> The reason of this odd fact is, not want of discrimination, but because so few care or are able to form opinions. It is easier to follow the crowd and the "good" form of the day. The five funeral sermons are read as school exercises, but who for two generations passed has cared to read a long sermon, were it preached by an angel? My own debt to good sermons is incalculable.

<sup>5</sup> The ashes of that wretched corrupter are to be officially removed to the Pantheon in October. Ministry of Fine Arts (save the mark!) has not yet settled where his statue shall be erected.



the bestial, Masonic and cremated Zola<sup>5</sup> deformed and disgraced, the modern French language, is the work of the sculptor Ernest Dubois and was exhibited this season at the Paris Salon of French artists.

M. Briand, who had shortly before decided the church properties of St. George's parish, in Lyons (see page 270), should be transferred to the schismatic worship association—in violation of the principle laid down in the separation law that “general rules regulating exercise of public worship in each religious body must be respected”—early in May circularized the prefects concerning protests from Mayors against prefectoral decisions in regard to grants of presbyteries such as are related in the note on page 272. This circular says: “The legislator's intention when prescribing your intervention by the law of January 2, 1907, was, emphatically, to insure execution of the (separation) law of December 9, 1905, by avoiding the contracting of any lease on such low terms as would manifestly make it take the character of a subsidy, indirectly, to worship. But your right of approval thus conferred should be exercised with constant care to leave to the municipalities that liberty of action on this subject which in principle belongs to them. I am at your disposal always for giving any useful hints in cases where you may find yourself faced by practical difficulties that you may consider especially delicate to deal with.” In other and plainer words, “do all you can to injure and as little as possible to help religion.” To stimulate such action, this Minister of Public Instruction, Worships and Fine Arts a month afterwards addressed the prefects again as to the measures they must take “in cases where municipalities persist in a manifest spirit of resistance to law to allow the parish clergy to occupy gratis and without a lease the ancient presbyteries disaffected by the law of January 2, 1907, and that are now communal freeholds. Such a situation cannot be prolonged, contrary as it is to the principles of the new legislation forbidding any direct or indirect subvention in favor of public worship, and prejudicial to the good management of communal interests. It is your duty to address to such municipalities observations calculated to make them respect legal enactments. If your observations are unheeded, you will have to seek what powers are available for your recourse to. In particular you will examine the feasibility of using your powers of controlling the communal budget; whether it would not be an opportune occasion for disallowing credits asked for expenses not absolutely necessary. Those facultative credits might be disallowed to the extent corresponding to the rent that could be obtained for the presbytery if let. Or you might add to the declared receipts, as though *overlooked* by the municipal council, such a sum as you consider represents the rent obtainable for the presbytery

were it let. When, in special cases, municipalities instead of thus eluding their legal obligations, do their best to fulfill them as promptly and as easily for you as they can—then consider how best you can lend them support of your authority.”

Within ten days from publication of these instructions a large number of communes in the Jura resolved to pay no direct taxes if the circular should be enforced in the department.

The murder at Aubervilliers, a Parisian industrial suburb, on Sunday evening, June 2, on which day the Corpus Christi procession took place at the small neighboring village of Dugny, of Hippolyte Debroise, excited much emotional interest and sincere widely spread sympathy in France. A party of some 200 youths and children from the patronage at 38 Rue des Epinettes, accompanied by two priests, the Abbés Firmery and Vitu, its directors, had been to Dugny for the afternoon function, and returning, some in vehicles, others in bicycles, others on foot, the group, nearing the patronage about six o'clock, was attacked by a dozen young ruffians from Aubervilliers and Bourget, in ambush at the roadside, who fired a shower of bullets from the revolvers wherewith several were armed. The Abbé Firmery received three balls, one in the thigh, penetrating deeply, and was in hospital for a fortnight. A lad was struck on the hand, but the young Debroise, of Aubervilliers, in his twentieth year, fatally wounded in the chest by two bullets, threw up his arms and fell. Conveyed to the Lariboisiere hospital and confessing to a priest on the way, he expired there at 11 that night. Three lads (all of them mechanics), from sixteen to eighteen years old, were arrested for the crime, each denying he fired the fatal shot, but the youngest averred he had aimed at the Abbé Firmery. The circular issued by the committee of the Association of Catholic Students at the Luxembourg Club, Paris, appealing for attendance of comrades at the funeral, says: “Hippolyte Debroise has just been assassinated in hatred of our common faith. He belonged to one of those patronages so willingly aided by Catholic students, and where they pass fraternally several hours a week with young workmen and employés. We doubt not Paris Catholics will make a point of attending the funeral of this first<sup>6</sup> victim of anti-clerical education.”

Hippolyte, youngest of three sons, was apprenticed; the elder is a military engineer; their father is a hackney coachman, and the family, much respected at Aubervilliers, have lived in the same house there since 1893. The central committee of the League for Resistance of French Catholics, founded by the brothers De Cassagnac and M.

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<sup>6</sup> At the inventory takings last year there were two other victims slain, both, like Hippolyte, sons of workmen or artisans—namely, Ghysel and André Regis—but, “*Sanctis martyrorum Semen ecclesiæ est.*”

Delahaye, undertook the arrangements and expenses of the funeral on June 6 (octave of Corpus Christi), the religious functions being celebrated at the young martyr's parish Church of St. Michael, Batignolles. The ceremonies attracted 10,000 followers of the bier, whereof nearly one-third were delegates from various bodies in the city and country, such as 150 Parisian patronages, numerous seminaries, great associations, as Popular Liberal Action, Catholic Association of French Youth, with their president and chaplain, Union of Free Workmen, the Catholic Action, the French Action, French Anti-Masonic League, Catholic Committee for Religious Defense, French Patriots, besides many others. The funeral car was followed by 300 members of Hippolyte's patronage, with their sub-director, Abbé Vittu; then came the family, next groups of Deputies, municipal councillors and Parisian notabilities, including M. Legrand, president of the Royalist committee of the seventeenth arrondissement, with his committee, M. Fresnay, Senator; M. Jacques Piou,<sup>7</sup> MM. Xavier and Amédée Reille, M. Jules Delahaye, M. Groussau, M. Castelnau, M. Pugliesi-Conti, Gaston Méry and the brothers De Cassagnac, General Jacquey, Colonels de Ramel and d'Allemagne and a delegation representing the Patriotic French League composed of the Baroness Reille, Viscountess de Montrichard, Viscountess de Wall, Madlle. Gervais and M. Leon Clement. Inside the church 3,000 people were packed. More than twice as many remained outside. Six tricolor flags surrounded the catafalque, one of them in the white division bearing a Sacred Heart image, these flags after the sermon being carried before the patronage deputations through the streets in the re-formed *cortège* to the Batignolles Cemetery.

The ceremonies were presided by the Coadjutor Mgr. Amette, assisted by Mgr. Fages, archdeacon, who received the body at the porch and accompanied it to the entry of the choir, where "De Profundis" in plain chant produced grandly solemn effect.

The ritual over, Mgr. Amette mounted the pulpit steps and delivered a funeral oration that provoked no little applause and affected many present to tears. "The spectacle before our eyes," said His Grace, "is more moving than any words can be, yet I cannot silence the interior voices within all hearts in presence of this manifestation, at once so grandiose and so sorrowful. Why this immense, unusual concourse of clergy and faithful around the blood-stained remains of an humble child of the people? Why these elected from city, town and country? Why all these directors of good works, these crowds of pastors and ecclesiastics? Why did His Eminence the venerated

<sup>7</sup> Deputy, founder and president of the great "Popular Liberal Action," and Parliamentary leader of French Catholics.

Cardinal Richard desire me to represent him here? For if he has not come himself, it was on account of age and infirmities. Ah! what brings us round this coffin is, in the first place, sentiments of pity for this child, for these weeping parents; but we desired also to bear protest against an odious crime and to affirm our attachment to the cause for which Hippolyte Debroise died—the grandest cause in this world, the cause of faith, of God. For his faith, for his God, did Hippolyte die, returning joyously from a religious festival. . . . It was the priest they sought, it was the *Soutane* they aimed at, and because he was close to it was the poor youth struck. . . . Disciples of the forgiving God as we are, we still are entitled to say to those who daily by word and pen excite the populace against the Church—this is your work! We mourn for them more than for this martyr of twenty years. . . . This blood will be fruitful in results for our two mothers, Holy Church and France. If it be true there must be innocent victims to insure triumph of just causes, let us implore our Lord to render this blood prolific of good for the Church of Paris, the Church of France!"

M. Henri de Rauville declares no fair idea could be given of the tone, the sympathetically communicative emotion of the orator, whose words evoked profound emotion and also irrepressible enthusiastic applause, reminding him of the axiom "the spoken word is a living, the written is a dead, word," and he estimated the numbers of people at the cemetery to have risen to 12,000. During the whole way there were sympathetic crowds on both sides of the roads, and, getting foothold upon a boundary stone, he could see the great extent of the *cortège* from the Barrier along the whole Avenue Clichy to its junction with the Avenue St. Ouen, "floral crowns and palms like a clear, light cloud floating over a sombre stream and pointing heavenwards in a burst of hope and consolation." The Abbé Fonsagrives, chaplain of the Luxembourg Catholic Club—whose paper read at the congress has already been summarized—received, before the parish church was left, a telegram from 900 inhabitants of Rheims "saluting young Hippolyte Debroise, fallen on the field of honor," and recording their recognition of "the cowardly assassination as the fruit of Masonic teaching." The defile from church to cemetery lasted one and one-half hours. There were many police, gendarmes armed with muskets, and near the Barrier Clichy was a reserve force of mounted guards; but no disorder occurred.

M. Gaston Méry, who was a spectator of many pagan funerals of eminent Masons, as Victor Hugo, President Carnot, Zola, declares he never experienced anything like the sentiments evoked by these harmonious, simple Christian obsequies. "No banal gossiping between carless 'mourners' waiting arrival of the corpse. An un-

usual, surprising, dignified bearing testifying the sincerity of general emotion. An atmosphere of melancholy rather than of mourning. Perhaps in that Church of St. Michael, without a history as yet, invincible, resolutions were born from whence shall proceed the merciful revolution that shall restore our France."

The Catholic Union has initiated a subscription for a monument to Hippolyte Debroise at Bourget on the spot where he was slain. The Cardinal Archbishop has sanctioned another, initiated by the Abbé Baston, curé of St. Michael's, for subscriptions from French patronages for erecting a monument in memoriam at the Batignolles Cemetery. The two subscription lists are distinct and do not clash. As to the murderous gang, it is unlikely any serious consequences to them will result. The three ruffians arrested had the artful effrontery to avow they only intended to kill a priest. "Killing is no murder" in such a case. M. Guy de Cassagnac, in the *Autorité*, asks: "After firing at a curé, is not one sure to end one's days in the skin of a bourgeois blocard? Where are the assassins of Mgr. Darboy, President Bonjean, Abbé Deguerry, Father Ollivaint? Where are the assassins of Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas (when the actual Premier, Clemenceau, was Mayor of Montmartre and close by while they were shot)? Where are the assassins of Colonel Henry, of the heroic Morès, of Syveton? Never, in Rome under the Cæsars, in Italy during the Middle Ages was political assassination exalted, as with us to-day, to the rank of a principle of government. These Apaches from below, of sixteen years old, are merely the products of Apaches above, the gray-haired Apaches of political life." If the language is exaggerated, the thought is sound and strictly logical.

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<sup>8</sup> In the spring of this year the freethinkers associated in the republic of lamented Garcia Moreno voted unanimously a programme as follows, realization of which they demanded from their National Assembly:

1. Sequestration of all mainmorte properties.
2. Secularization of cemeteries.
3. Suppression of noviciates.
4. Abolition of exterior ceremonies in public worship.
5. New law of police for public worship.

The Socialist journal of Charleroi (Belgium), praising this programme, proceeded to say that as most Ecuadorian Deputies are freethinkers, these resolutions will surely become laws. "Yet a few years ago the Jesuits reigned and constituted an actual theocracy in this Republic." What would the Charleroi journal say did Belgian Catholics talk of closing the Temple of Science (so called) and prohibiting Socialist manifestations? But to close noviciates and suppress processions of Catholics seems to it a natural proceeding. However, the great majority of Belgians think differently. In their land of liberty would-be oppressors of compatriots are ill received, and could not withstand general indignation. Belgian Catholics, unlike their brethren in the land the illustrious Garcia Moreno graced but yesterday, will never, like them, be reduced to slavery, whatever may happen to Frenchmen.

One of the fellow-coachmen with Debroise the father years ago said to him: "You are wrong to send your sons to the Patronage. It is out of fashion now. I let my boys do as they like. You will see the neighbors will not think well of you or your boys." But, says Bebroise père, "his sons have turned out badly, and he is in despair about them now. As to us, we have lived in this neighborhood twenty years. I am proud of my sons, of the dead one as of the two living; and I find in this calamity how well we are thought of by all honest folks."

Excepting possibly the Masonic Republic of repudiating Ecuador,<sup>8</sup> I believe in every country outside France, statesmen, whether Catholic or Protestant, recognize that the Catholic patronage is a school of good and loyal citizens, which ought to be fostered by wise rulers. Under Clemenceau and his Bloc these admirable institutions are proscribed and ruined. Numerous examples of this are forthcoming. The freehold patronage of St. Joseph at Lorient, confiscated along with the property of St. Louis' Church, was in June handed over to the municipality; and Canon Duparc, protesting against such spoliation and forbidding the Catholic public, on pain of incurring the rigors of ecclesiastical law, to take part in the adjudication, is prosecuted for "interference with the freedom of public auction." In the Code Napoleon any act of life can be found to be criminal.

For many years there has been carried on at 126 Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris, a Catholic workman's club directed by Brothers of St. Vincent of Paul. The liquidator of that congregation's properties, M. Menage (about whom more will hereafter be said), included therein the club properties and sold them this summer for \$60,000. Now, the club belonged to a civil society legally constituted long before the spoliation laws were voted; but the tribunal of first instance and the Court of Appeal have decided the civil society was a mere blind. If, writes the club's director, Abbé Piché, "if this property belonged to religious devoted to interests of children of the people, of workmen, of those earning bread by sweat of the brow, it was a sacred patrimony successive governments should have endowed and protected; if it belonged to a civil society legally formed before 1901, no just law can hinder religious from uniting with laymen to found such a society, a thing so just and reasonable, indeed, that lawyers, consulted before its foundation, would not foresee as possible such an aberration from the sense of justice in French laws; if, finally, this property be (and facts prove it is) the fruit of subscriptions by poor and rich, of laborious begging by its owners, of charity sermons and charitable bazar sales, I ask myself, by what right then, in spite of all, government confiscates and sells it, and the first comer installs himself as lawful owner of it, had he even

paid a million of francs for this property?" So will every just, impartial man say who studies this matter. Those who acquire this property for money are profiting by stolen goods, as they must have learned from the reception accorded them by the young men at the club, which has been carried on for upwards of half a century and is despoiled of all its property through simple anti-religious hate. Hundreds of workmen, thus robbed, expelled from their own house and obliged to find another, a thing not easily done nor to be done at all without important capital! The Abbé Piché has indignantly memorialized President Fallières, suggesting to the Freemason head of the State that the chapel in his Elysée Palace, which he never uses, might be generously given to the despoiled club!

Not content with depriving youth of their homes as well as of proper instruction, government now attacks infants. A crèche receiving daily fifty babes at 27 Chaussée d'Autin, Paris, directed by Sisters of Charity, received on July 11 notice of "expulsion" within the ensuing week.

The *Official Journal* on July 5 published a list of eighty-one schools conducted by religious in Paris and in ten departments, from north to south, from east to west, that, by two decrees of the Premier M. Clemenceau, dated 2 July, are to be closed on September 1. The Christian Brothers, the Daughters of Charity (S. V. P.), the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, Ursulines and Sisters of St. Joseph are the principal congregations concerned, but there are also many smaller congregations.

Upon this wholesale proceeding Cardinal Coullié, Archbishop of Lyons, addressed to the Christian Brothers and the religious ladies to be dispersed this letter: "The hecatomb will soon be completed which is destroying our scholastic establishments, the primary, superior and professional schools. Responding to the admirable initiative of Cardinal Fesch (a century ago), our populations, inspired by faith, called into the diocese a considerable number of the sons of St. John-Baptist de la Salle. Thanks to their direction and to the generousities of the faithful, numerous schools flourished prosperously. Generations of children and young girls were trained to respect God and His laws, in parental veneration, and to love their country. We were proud of this regiment of 900 Christian Brothers spread through the parishes of the diocese and fighting the good fight in the simplicity of a life of poverty and the heroism of hidden self-devotedness. We are now vainly seeking successors and asking ourselves to whom we shall entrust the work? Our grief is great, for it ought to be thoroughly made known the disaster consequent on your removal effects social and religious ruin both; and they who do not shrink from taking the responsibility of measures so grave

inflict a cruel wound upon France as well as the Church. Notwithstanding our grief and anxieties, we say to you, take courage, dearest Brothers! You will return to France. The tempest sweeping over our beloved land cannot last always; an hour shall come when the plain good sense that characterizes the Franks shall resume its rights."

A week previously Mgr. Henry, Bishop of the adjoining Diocese of Grenoble, presiding at St. Laurent du Pont (near the former Carthusian monastery), a congress of the association for insuring school neutrality, said: "No one can charge me since I came to the diocese with lacking a conciliatory spirit. Without sacrificing essential principle, I have labored to the best of my power at the pacification of minds, in respect for our institutions and for opinions of others; for I imagined there was room in my country for a tolerant republic sheltering all her children under one flag. Such a republic has not been given us; we still await its advent to salute it respectfully. But the proceedings of our government are taking us back to the worst Cæsarism, and we will have none of such Cæsarism." Every American republican will applaud these sentiments from a Bishop who does not mince matters.

At the Vatican there seems to be complete sympathy with the views of the French episcopate that continuance of the oppressive situation is dangerous; that the present "camping" in churches must completely cease, and as soon as possible; that the ministerial instructions about presbyteries inaugurate a fresh campaign against Catholicism, and that a strenuous, legal resistance without violence or provocations will tend to create a national movement against exceptional "laws" and against violations of the text of those very "laws."

The Prefects of Meuse and Puy-de-Dome lately attempted, contrary to provisions of the separation act, to foist schismatics upon the parishes of Besson and St. Hilaire. M. Aubert, Prefect of the Meuse, required the Mayor of Besson to insist by force that the schismatic curé of Culey<sup>9</sup> should baptize a child in Besson parish church, "a building affected to free exercise of public worship." The Mayor refused, resigned office and the parish priests shut the doors on the would-be intruders.

A phrase of the ex-Minister Rouvier, an anti-clerical, is continually quoted now: "France is dissolving." Words that may be paraphrased by our so familiar line from "In Memoriam,"

The old order changeth, giving place to new!

which naturally remind one here of an opinion recorded in the Gospel, "The old is better." Evolution is a natural, necessary pro-

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<sup>9</sup> See page 180.



cess—from excellent to excelsior, from bad to worse—and Rouvier, as an old man of business, must feel the fruit absolutely proves what the tree really is that has produced a result he deplures. An undefined sense of this is rising in the minds of Frenchmen, a conviction there is something *radically* wrong, or the state of the country could not be what it is. We Catholics have been assured by Vicars of Christ that our good “God has made the nations curable;” accordingly we know France is not, as thinkers uninfluenced by divine faith may fancy, incurable; but that her salvation and restoration can, indeed must, proceed from renaissance of faith to begin with. In the meantime, assuredly, France dissolves.

The national finances are in so unsatisfactory a condition that the cost of the persecution, government extravagance in a multitude of matters and heavy expenses incurred as result of ministerial incapacity,<sup>10</sup> are attracting attention, assisting active and passive resisters of the Masonic tyrants. A milliard of francs, or two hundred millions of dollars, were promised half a dozen years ago by the late Waldeck-Rousseau as proceeds of seizure of properties of congregations to be suppressed, and that sum would, he assured the world, be available for working class old age pensions. Up to now government have received nothing;<sup>11</sup> but instead have advanced to the various liquidators one and one-quarter millions of dollars, and disclosures of distribution of much plunder, not to the people, but to political supporters, are made from week to week. Meantime the one and one-quarter millions of dollars have had to be provided in budgets. Three hundred thousand dollars are asked now to convert the seized St. Sulpice Seminary into a picture gallery and the seized archbishopric into a Ministry of Labor adequate to the wants of M. Viviani, the lights extinguisher. Two ministerial colleagues ask \$55,000 for installing steam heating; \$120,000 are asked for alterations to the opera house.

However, on July 11, a day before their session closed, the reporter

<sup>10</sup> M. Aynard, Progressist Deputy, at a banquet in the Rhône department on July 7, pronounced the gathering to be a manifestation in support of electoral liberty. It is, he said, “the abandonment during a certain number of recent years by the Republic of liberty that has misdirected our whole policy. There remains only the liberty which is license to disorder. Of electoral liberty not a vestige is left. Our actual policy it is hard to define. I should say it was an ‘incoherence,’ if the word had not been used so much by every one. It is a negative policy, sterile in every point, obeying no ruling idea and based on private interests. For years we have had but a single policy, the anti-religious policy.”

<sup>11</sup> The property at Limoges of Sisters of the Incarnate Word was sold for \$1,064. Expenses of liquidation, including State taxes, amounted to \$541. The liquidator awarded \$520 to himself for his labors, and \$3 remain at disposal of the Sisters. At St. Etienne a final balance settled two and a half years ago of \$891 is not yet paid over.

of the Senatorial Financial Commission, M. Poincaré, Senator, ex-Minister, candidate for and probable successor to the post still occupied by M. Clemenceau, made it known that for the first time during a quarter of a century the commission had decided to withdraw from discussion that session and to throw over until October or November all the "supplementary credits" asked for by Ministers, and voted by the Chamber of Deputies, amounting to no less than eight and one-half millions of dollars, on the alleged ground that large total of items had been submitted to the Senate too late for serious examination and discussion of the details.

M. Poincaré, who is no friend to the Church, had, exactly a fortnight previously, delivered, at a banquet of the Federation of retailers, a discourse very like to a ministerial programme. Among its principal passages are what follows: "At this troubled epoch the duty of politicians is rather to listen than to speak. One main cause of existing disquiet is, in my opinion, that Senators and Deputies are too much unaccustomed to hear the country's voice. They live wrapped up in themselves in a factitious world whose frontiers are the Luxembourg Palace Gardens and the Pont de la Concorde, in an atmosphere so rarefied that the image of every object is refracted and altered, more and more gradually isolated, instead of keeping in continuous touch with the nation they represent. They regard themselves as holders of sovereignty, gifted with a magical faculty to dispense to the people all sorts of material satisfaction and human joys. . . . When one carefully examines current signs of spontaneous anarchy one is painfully struck by their analogy with those admirably described by Taine in his pages concerning the eve of the Revolution—power slipping away from hands whose mission was to keep it from the hands of the masses; evil instincts profiting by disorder to enjoy free course; soldiers betraying passwords and refusing their service; lastly, as Taine says, 'a building whose main beams have bent, successive and multiplying cracks in all the minor supports and crossbeams.' Changed morals and still more changed methods are wanted. In their daily exercise of the legislative mandate Senators and Deputies keep on snatching at rent morsels of executive power, interfering in nominations to this position or that office, dictating their capricious wishes to public administrations, imperiously exacting what favors they think they can obtain for their electors' profit or that of friends or relations, reserving the right of indignantly protesting against the like favors claimed by opponents. There must be a change of morals and of methods, too, in the country, which, intoxicated by promises and nurtured on illusions by well nigh all political parties, shall otherwise soon unlearn her essential traditions and the permanent conditions of national

grandeur. . . . Let us not hypocritically call 'humanitarian' weaknesses of character, calm egotisms, blind desires for peace and quiet. A nation cannot be vigorous and resisting without a spirit of devotedness, abnegation and sacrifice. Let us talk a little less of our rights, a little more of our duties; let us unite our efforts to maintain or revive conscience in our restless country."

Fine words, brave words, true words, yet the orator regaining power would be (as he was before) a servant of Freemasonry. Unfortunately, to quote the anti-clerical, semi-official *Matin*, the Paris daily newspaper with the largest influential circulation, from an article by its principal leader writer, M. Lauzanne, on June 19, entitled "It is Cracking:" "For a quarter of a century France has been governed by phrases alone. Little of the ancient edifice (of government) remains standing. Those two foundation stones called authority and discipline are daily more and more crumbling away. There still are left some vestiges of *amour-propre*; Ministers remember they ought to be severe on those who show want of respect for themselves, but they forget to be severe on law-breakers. It is cracking; the worst cracks are at the top. A general mocking and sneering is splitting up the whole house. They who are administered are ridiculing functionaries, who, in turn, slight their chiefs, while these snub Cabinet Ministers. Everywhere shocks are weakening the walls. The front itself now and then trembles. To avert complete wreck of the whole concern we have words from the government, speeches from the government, phrases from the government."

The blocard journal *Le Radical*, in a leader signed by M. Paul Leconte, discussing M. Rouvier's pithy sentence, says it "has created much emotion on account of the character of its author, who does not put words together for the pleasure of doing so, who only speaks about things he understands. His opinion, so disquieting because it comes from him, had in view only the state of things resulting from the manifold antagonisms disclosed by agitation among functionaries, by the outrageous claims and manifestations of syndicated bodies, by the excesses committed in private strikes anticipating the universal strike, by the increasing propensity everybody begins to remark, to consider private interests before the public interest. Every one else clearly saw we are in a great social and moral crisis, characterized by the daily growing and evident weakening of the sentiments of discipline, modesty, civic abnegation, that are the real forces of States, especially of popular States, where the break which, whatever may be done, is always absolutely, indispensably necessary, is placed, not in the more or less brutal hands of one man, but in the reason, mind and heart of all. Every other spectator's eye perceived we have reached a point where the violence of unbounded

appetites generally dominates sense of principles, where desire to enjoy universally conquers antiquated honorable convictions. But this outcry of Rouvier is already a month old; it is then ancient history, it no longer corresponds to actual reality. However pessimist it may have seemed last month, it has become almost an euphemism in presence of events now preparing, confronted by enormities now close at hand. We are, most probably, about to see what was seen by our fathers of the convention and the committee of public safety. This is no dream, no romancing; it is reality; it is the very last cry of actuality."

M. de Boisandré observes upon these two articles: "This frightful situation, so perilous for France and for themselves, is their own work, the work of Rouvier and Clemenceau both; the collective work of the whole band of unscrupulous politicians who have during thirty years been preparing this 'dissolution;' it is their joint complicity in the poisoning of a country, but yesterday so robust and healthy, realizing the consequences of which complicity they can now only utter terrified howlings."

The Parliamentary session begun in November 5 last ended on Friday afternoon, July 12, the very last work done being the voting of a little bill (opposed by the Right, who were not allowed speech) to make things still more pleasant for divorced persons who remarry. The characteristic of this session is legislative barrenness. It is shown on page 273 how the Cabinet ecclesiastical programme has been stultified by its propounders themselves. The other important measures promised on November 5 in the Premier's declaration to Parliament were: 1. Law to suppress military councils of war. "The discussion of this project is inopportune now," declared M. Clemenceau a fortnight before close of the session, and, by aid of the Right (who deem it always inopportune), he obtained a majority of 93 against proceeding then with that bill. 2. Law to abolish capital punishment. Murders are increasing so fast that the French respectable public everywhere have protested against this reform, through municipalities, departmental councils and otherwise, the general feeling being that of Alphonse Karr, "let assassins begin first;" nor has government therefore ventured to introduce the promised project. President Fallières, however, as make-weight in favor of Apaches, has, within seven months, annulled the death sentences of no less than twenty-eight assassins, and it is notorious French juries can be induced to give such verdicts only when the most inhuman monsters are the principals concerned. 3. Law for working class old age pensions. Of this nothing whatever has been heard since the 6th of November. 4. Law for such a taxation of incomes as should lighten the burdens of voters who toil and sweat,

but increase those pressing on capitalists' shoulders. This philanthropic project has been introduced and discussed at some length in the Chambers, at very great length elsewhere; indeed, has been pulled to pieces and dissected, to universal disgust of all classes excepting the voters of the proletariat, too ignorant to comprehend such matters. The Senate (where M. Poincaré has explained its effects) will certainly never vote it. 5. Law to authorize the State to "purchase," in short to confiscate, the Western Railway. All the Councils General of the departments served by this line are opposed to the scheme, as are all the Deputies for places in the territory it traverses, excepting one or two, and the owners of the railway. The Senate will not hear of it. Accordingly that project likewise hangs fire. 6. Law to assist the French wine producers, "so cruelly tried and so urgently needing now legislation to rigorously repress the frauds" from which the Viticulture suffers, said Clemenceau in his declaration on November 5. No project whatever was produced until after the southern demonstrations and strike against taxation in mid-June; then a scheme was laid before Parliament, and after lengthy discussions a measure was finally voted twenty-four hours before the session closed that is universally held by the vineyard proprietors and dealers practically interested to be quite futile. "After nearly ten months of almost dictatorial power, Clemenceau appears not only odious, inspiring horror on account of the blood shed (at Narbonne), but impotent; a man thoroughly incapable, unfit for government or for realizing the useful and fruitful." (E. Drumont.)

Some reader of this paper will here say to himself: "The agony is piled up too high; there surely must be a good deal of exaggeration. If the situation is truly pictured, why did not the Chamber vote want of confidence, and so get rid of the Ministry of mismanagement and misery?" My reply to this is twofold. *a.* The Cabinet majority in the Chamber of 350 votes on February 19, when their ecclesiastical procedure was impugned, had fallen to 67 on June 28, when the question concerned a proposed parliamentary inquiry by a committee of twenty-two Deputies into the events in Southern France, that was moved for by M. Paul Meunier (Socialist-Radical), yet refused by M. Clemenceau, who a few hours previously said he would agree to it. 256 votes recorded for and 323 against show there were practically no abstentions from this final trial of strength, 591 being the total elected last year. *b.* M. Clemenceau, inventor of the Bloc, shortly after the meeting of this first Parliament, in which he is for the first time a Prime Minister as well as Chief Blocard, insured himself a sufficient majority under any circumstances short of utter revolution by arranging that a project of law

should be, without any public notice, sprung upon both Chamber and Senate in their houses on the same day increasing the parliamentary salaries of Deputies and Senators from \$1,800 to \$3,000. The measure passed each house without any debate within half an hour, and has added a million dollars or so to the yearly budget; but to a Chamber half whose members are impecunious (a reasonable estimate, seeing that during their first month of session against a third of them detainers of their salaries were lodged with the Treasurer by their creditors), their salary is a boon that will not be let go for any immaterial consideration. A subsequent decision of a higher court that creditors are not entitled to seize or lodge detainers against more than \$1,000 yearly of these representatives' salaries has put each Deputy—half being men of straw elected by single straws—into the happy position of seeing his private indebtedness automatically, without trouble to himself, reduced by the State to the extent of \$1,000 annually and of also receiving from the State for himself twice that sum annually, besides getting free railway passes from New Year's Day to next New Year's Eve, as well as free lunches, drinks, smokes, teas, besides numerous banquets, etcetera, during the whole session, and other rewards of virtue alluded to in M. Poincaré's criticisms hereinbefore cited. The Bloc can always hunt with the hounds and still content the hare when dissatisfied. The party whips can arrange votes to serve both ends.

Hence the government is strong enough, happen what may, short of a revolution or a general strike against the tax gatherer, to stop where they find themselves, hoisted far above the noisy crowd, for three more years if they choose. As to dissensions among the motley blocards, Ministers know they can be stayed at any time by treating them as a huntsman treats a pack of ravenous hounds. There are church properties seized producing \$100,000,000 yearly still to be distributed among their yelping supporters. Under the anti-clerical flag all quarrels can be stilled and a solid Bloc formed at any moment. This happy after thought perhaps decided M. Briand *not* yet to introduce, as he suddenly, to general amazement, announced on July 1 he would do at once, an ecclesiastical law No. 5 for distributing immediately those stolen goods under a project the details of which were published officially in that week. It is useless to give them here.

The Masonic family in office, however, have several lugubrious skeletons in their cupboards on which doors cannot be shut. First of all, in that hot-bed of heresy and revolution, the Sunny South, there is the Viticulture agitation, long brewing, inaugurated on May 12 by a meeting at Beziers of 100,000, followed by four others, at Perpignan on the 19th of 180,000, on the 26th at Carcassonne of

250,000, on the 2d of June at Nîmes of 300,000, and on June 9th at Montpellier of fully 600,000 manifesters, who decided upon a general strike throughout four departments against all direct taxation and the resignation of their offices by all Mayors and municipalities—about half of which bodies, to the number of over 500, have resigned and adhered to their resignations. Into the economic causes and the practicable remedies for this well founded popular movement this is not the place, nor are the government demagogues and their supporters qualified to deal with such arduous problems, as the parliamentary course followed during the final four weeks of the session conclusively shows. But 50,000 troops are quartered in the large disaffected district, blood has been shed, public edifices have been destroyed, the original leaders are in prison, misery prevails, great costs are accruing to the State, no solution is in view, though civil disorganization reigns in cities and communes. The Southern Deputies are mainly anti-clerical and blocards, so the district reaps what it has always sown.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody good." From these events resulted a gain for religion in Besse, a commune near Toulon, whose anti-clerical municipality resigning in sympathy with the movement, the Bishop of Fréjus at once raised the interdict with which the parish had been stricken, the offices are again celebrated and the curé has retaken possession of his presbytery. Elsewhere, there being no civil functionaries at closed *mairies*, many marriages have been celebrated in church without previous "civil marriage," as required by law. But for so marrying a lady and gentleman of rank, Mgr. de Beauséjour, Bishop of Carcassonne, had to appear on July 16 before the correctional tribunal in that city and was fined ten dollars.

A respected Catholic tradesman in Perpignan keeps a grocer's shop there and sells petroleum, of course, to all comers for the article. The rioters in that city, who, among other Anarchist exploits, set fire to the prefecture, bought some petroleum for that purpose at Faget's shop. Faget happens to be a Royalist as well as a practicing Catholic, wherefore officialdom tried to discover a plot or to concoct one. Pending any proof Faget and his shop boy were arrested and imprisoned. After spending three weeks in jail, Faget<sup>12</sup> was confronted on July 12 by the Magistrate, M. Mouret, with his accuser, who turned out to be his fellow-prisoner, fifteen years of age. The lad said in open court to the Magistrate: "I declare that you, Mr. Judge, promised to release me very quickly, and that my father was with you at the time, assuring me you would do so if I would say what you would tell me to say."

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<sup>12</sup> Still in prison as I write.

Most ungainly Cabinet skeletons are, anti-militarism and its consequent military mutiny. In several regiments there have this summer been serious revolts. The One Hundredth Line, the Second and Seventh Engineers, Twelfth Infantry, Seventeenth Infantry, Eleventh Line, Fifty-eighth Line, Twenty-fourth Colonial, Eighty-sixth Line and Twentieth Dragoons, all in the South, are those concerned. M. Clemenceau stated to the Chamber on June 21: "So soon as it became a question of a military pacification of the South, I learned—but did not know before—that the system (introduced by the late War Minister André) of regional recruiting had produced in the garrisons of the Southern departments a spirit which did not allow discipline to be maintained. The colonels wrote: 'I cannot answer for my men.' The generals said: 'If you send a regiment to replace one here I cannot answer for my men not marching against those who may be sent to replace them!'" The War Minister, Picquart, was as ignorant as the Premier of the state of things!

The worst mutiny was that of nearly half the Seventeenth Infantry stationed at Agde. Four hundred soldiers broke from barracks about midnight on June 20, blew doors and gates open, took from the magazine 200 cartridges each and, bayonets fixed, marched for Beziers (thirteen miles distant), where they arrived at six in the morning of the 21st and were enthusiastically received by enormous crowds of the populace, who supplied them with rations and wine (not given to French troops by the State). Late in the day General Bailloud boldly trusted himself among them, harangued them, urged their return to duty, promised them free pardon if they did submit then and there, obtaining their submission on the spot. Marching back to Agde they were disarmed, ordered off to Gap, court-martialed there and transported with all haste to a naval seaport, whence they were shipped to Gaisa, in Tunis, and will spend the summer in what government assert is "an oasis" in that torrid land, as punishment for their grave mutiny. The inquiry into their motives and so forth began in Gap was continued at Gaisa, where "a certain depression, due to their transportation so far away from home and to the total absence of distractions has succeeded the excitement of the outburst caused by their contact in Agde with a populace at fever heat. They regret their culpable behavior, but were deceived into believing there was to be a general military rising in the Southern region."

Such is the official information published, dated Tunis, July 16. M. Clemenceau refused to ratify General Bailloud's pledge of full pardon. The general before approaching the mutineers telephoned M. Clemenceau, some four hundred miles away, for necessary authority, and received it by telephone, but the Premier denies hold-



ing any such conversation. Who did "speak" through the instrument has not appeared, nor does it much matter. M. Clemenceau had told the Deputies of his party on June 12: "In the One Hundredth Regiment there are officers who go to Mass, who are responsible for the insubordination of their soldiers; an inquiry has been opened upon their attitude!" But insubordination is not confined to the army in the South. From a multitude of places at every point of the compass the public hear of unpleasant incidents. M. Jules Delahaye told the Senate on the 9th of July: "The chief cause of disorder in France is the present Ministry. The example of breach of discipline was given our soldiers by the War Minister. The real culprits are on the ministerial benches."

Prosecutions of twelve anti-militarists out of twenty-one whose names appeared at the foot of placards and posters headed "To Soldiers," that two months previously were widely distributed in street and barrack (though promptly torn down by the police), were conducted in the Paris Assize Court on June 24 and 25. All the prisoners were acquitted. The remaining nine the police could not find.

During the night of April 23, a week prior to the annual May 1 demonstrations, the objectionable poster was placarded by the International Anti-Militarist Association. Among other things it asked "workers in factory or field" whether they would any longer "consent to become defenders of the well-fed portly *bourgeoisie* who take from you freedom to-day and will take the fruit of your labor to-morrow. The prevailing effervescence allows one to suppose that to-morrow may be the day of the Grand Strike, prelude of the Revolution. If that day come, comrades, do not hesitate. Society exists thanks only to you; help us, will you not, to demolish it? Imitating clericals, you will refuse to obey the orders given you; if it must be so, be still more energetic; show by a yet more finished attitude that you know no monitor but conscience for your obedience. Oppressed in barracks to-day, you will be oppressed to-morrow in the factory unless you avail of events to return into the ranks of the revolted and take part with us in fighting parasites and cheats. . . . If called upon to interfere in strikes, comrades, do not hesitate; with your rifles held aloft, break your ranks!"

The twelve prisoners arrested and tried were made up of three printers, two jewelers, two house painters, a blacksmith, a fitter, a cabinetmaker, a waiter, a handy man of a café. All entered the court in the best spirits. Before the trial actually began M. Jacques Bonzou, one of the advocates defending them, rose and asked that Messieurs Clemenceau, Briand and Guyot-Dessaigne (Minister of Justice, and whose coat has been repeatedly turned) should be cited

as witnesses on the grounds that "the accused are prosecuted for a crime of opinion, and it is essential justice should know whether the accusers ever changed or varied their own opinions, or whether they ever themselves propagated the precise theories concerning the attitude of a republican army towards the proletariat that are to-day submitted to the jury." M. Bonzou said he desired to ask these questions:

Of M. Guyot-Dessaigne: "Were you not Attorney General (Procureur) of the Empire? In exercising those functions, how many Republicans did you cause to be condemned by your advocacy?"

Of M. Briand: "Have you not, as lecturer, journalist, barrister, even as Deputy, counselled revolutionary violence, advising the opposing legal violence by arms and inciting soldiers to mutiny when ordered to fire on the people?"

Of M. Clemenceau: "Did you not start in active politics by sharing as Mayor of Montmartre in the events of 1871? (Year of the Commune.) Were you not mixed up with the massacre of the two generals (in the Rue des Rosiers that year)? In 1878 did you not demand amnesty for Blanqui? In 1898 did not you attack the army side by side with Zola?"

Some applause and disturbance in the court, quelled by the police, ensued, and one of the prisoners exclaimed: "Briand and Clemenceau were my teachers. The doctrines I am prosecuted for here I learnt from them. Did they not formerly continually preach violence?"

The demand of their counsel was refused and the trial began. One of the accused, in course of his interrogatory by the Presiding Judge, asked: "Did not M. Clemenceau in his 'Mêlée Sociale' write more violent phrases than our poster contains? A manifesto quite as violent as ours is signed by fifty Deputies of the unified Socialist group. They were not prosecuted. Yet we have spent two months in prison. Is this because all the republican jails are too small for all of our opinions?" The waiter, a lad of nineteen, said during his interrogatory: "The soldiers in the South have set a good example. Those who fired on the crowd are criminals. But the greatest criminals are those who ordered them to fire. It is Clemenceau, Briand and Guyot-Dessaigne who ought to be guillotined."

M. Albert Willm, one of the defending advocates, urged and read a letter of M. Briand as *Minister* protesting against prosecuting the signatories (not of this but) of the first anti-militarist appeal, and another advocate, M. Chesné, read newspaper articles by Clemenceau as journalist, contradictory of the acts of Clemenceau Minister. M. Bonzou in a final summary of the defense congratulated the Magistrature on having taken down from the prætorium the image of

Christ, "for it beheld too rascally procedures" there!

The jury had twenty-four questions submitted to them, and in forty-five minutes returned with a negative to all. The acquittal was received with applause from friends and relatives of the accused in court and with cries of "Vive the Red Flag!" The verdict may seem strange, so shortly following the mutinies at Béziers, Avignon, Agde and Lurzac,<sup>18</sup> and it astonished the legal world in the Palace of Justice, where, by nearly every barrister, a severe sentence was anticipated. But says a competent critic and auditor: "The jury by acquitting the disciples condemned their masters. The verdict is a stinger in the face for masters in socialism and anti-militarism, MM. Briand and Clemenceau, whose articles and speeches read to the jurors contained tenfold what the incriminated poster (that was immediately torn down) contained, bearing the signatures of their twelve feeble followers, prosecuted for pale reflections of teachings by "arrived Ministers of State."

J. F. BOYD.

Plymouth, England.

<sup>18</sup> On July 17, in the Twenty-fourth Colonial Regiment, quartered at Perpignan, a serious mutiny of three hundred soldiers led to their breaking out of the caserne and attacking civilians in the street, with whom they had quarrelled, with fixed bayonets, according to the *Temps* correspondent, though the official version minimizes the occurrence into a small soldiers' row.

#### A RECENT INDICTMENT OF IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the force and vitality of Burke's law, that "You cannot frame an indictment against a whole nation," the number of writers in the public press who attempt such a task is legion. Indiscriminate generalization is, indeed, the besetting sin of this period of restless typewriting activity. International hatred, interstate antipathy, class animosity, commercial rabies are all being sedulously nourished all over the civilized globe by the propagation of the deadly poison of the half-truth and the attribution of special wrong to whole communities, the class being held accountable for the sin of the individual. This is one of the most depressing symptoms of our age. We have only to look at the columns of the daily press to become aware of the mischievous effects of generalizing. Strikes and boycotts, frightful crimes of violence often being the deadly accompaniment, abound. The name of the capitalist enrages the labor union; the labor union is regarded by the capitalist as far more deadly in its influence than the upas tree. It is a reading age—at least more newspapers are

read now than ever before—and this fact does not bring the enlightenment that would abate class animosities, but rather adds to the inflammatory condition, since newspapers are printed rather to sell than to propagate a love of the verities of human existence.

It is an old form of iniquity. The Carthaginians were perfidious, in Roman eyes, hence they should be eliminated from a social system which would poison a Hannibal and starve a Jugurtha in a dark hole. The Greeks are liars; the Franks are foresworn, argued the followers of Mahomet, as an excuse for sweeping Greek and Frank from power and existence. When Henry II. sought for an excuse to seize the territory and government of Ireland he employed the Welshman Giraldus to report upon the character of the people and to use the half-truth method in the cunning task. Nothing could be more successful. The Irish at large were painted as a half-civilized people relapsing into barbarism. After having been for some centuries the light of the world, this was the very irony of cruel fate; and it was completely successful. But the race of Giraldus still flourishes, after the lapse of nigh eight centuries—and, to make it worse, they rank not as Welshmen, but as Irishmen.

One signing himself "A Catholic Irishman" recently was accorded nearly two columns of space in the New York *Evening Post* for a powerful arraignment of the Catholic population of Ireland, episcopal, clerical and lay. Clericalism he blamed, to put it briefly, for the whole unhappy condition of Ireland in the past—i. e., since the "Reformation" period—as well as in the present. The bill of indictment was framed without the least qualification. Mr. Darrow, summing up the case for the defense in the Western Miners' cases, was not a whit more severe than this "Catholic Irishman" in his fulminations against the Irish Bishops and clergy and his contempt for the flocks whom, according to him, they drive to their ruin. Now, the *Evening Post* is a paper of high standing—not quite so high now, perhaps, as when Mr. Lawrence E. Godkin was editor; therefore the unexpected attack may work some mischief by reason of the prejudice it cannot fail to inflame. Had Mr. Godkin been alive, it is safe to say that the letter would not have found a place, or else, if it did, that some of its propositions would not have been suffered to pass unchallenged, since the editor had a good knowledge of the state of affairs in Ireland, and since his father, the Rev. W. Godkin, an Episcopal clergyman, had been one of the commissioners selected to wind up the fiscal affairs of the Irish Disestablished Church—an institution for whose destruction the Irish Catholic Bishops and clergy are held responsible by the correspondent of the *Evening Post*. The Rev. M. Godkin knew well how utterly ridiculous and unfounded was such a charge, since, having been for many years

the Dublin correspondent of the *London Times*, he was intimately acquainted with everything that transpired in Irish national affairs during his period. He knew well that ever since the "battle of Carrickshock" and the passage of the Tithes Relief Act there had been no agitation whatever against the Irish Protestant Church, or the Irish branch of the Established Church, as it was officially known, because there was an end of the system of levying on farmers' stock and shopkeepers' stores for tithes and "ministers' money," since the responsibility for these taxes had been transferred to the landlords. These quietly added it to the tenants' rent, thereby avoiding odium and turmoil and enabling the Protestant clergy to pretend that there was no longer any tithe grievance to sustain the hostility of the Irish people to the "Establishment."

For the purposes of the writer's argument, it was necessary to show that there was really no grievance to the Irish Catholics in the maintenance of a Protestant Establishment—no substantial grievance, that is; only a sentimental one—in a country almost wholly Catholic. But in a country like this, where there is no difficulty about moving a house or even a church fabric bodily from one locality to another, such a literary feat as this line of argument demanded was a mere bagatelle. A little boldness in preliminary statement was nearly all that the enterprise required. The half-truth, like the cantilever principle, was serviceable to bridge the big gap between fact and fancy. So the writer wrote these sentences:

"The Irish Protestants being in a minority, of course their church was 'the church of a minority.' Like the lay holders of land in Ireland, the clerical holders traced back their endowments to the seizures of property which marked the politico-religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was enough for a cry that the church of the minority must be disendowed, and about thirty million of dollars were accordingly scooped up by the English Treasury in order to benefit Ireland. It so happened that the property of the Protestant Church had never been taken from the Irish at all, but was almost exclusively composed of the fat abbeys and prebends erected by the English Catholic Kings on the necks of the Irish clans during the four-century domination of Roman London over Celtic Ireland. But this little fact was never mentioned by the priestly orators of Maynooth and the priestly parliamentarians of Westminster."

This is certainly heroic treatment of an awkward historical dilemma. For whether it was by English Kings or by Irish Kings that the churches in Ireland were built, it was certainly the Irish clans who furnished the ground and the materials and at least the unskilled labor. Every principal ecclesiastical edifice in Ireland was

built before the coming of the English. We have yet to learn what English Catholic King built a cathedral in Ireland. Those in Dublin, Armagh, Cork, Limerick, Cashel and other cities were centuries old before Cambrensis was sent over to make out his fantastic report. O'Neills and O'Donnells in the North and O'Briens in the South had erected most of the great ecclesiastical buildings either prior to or during the English invasion. The Protestants seized the best of these in the time of the Tudor tyrants. The cathedral churches founded in the sixth century by the Irish Kings Laogare, Oilioll-Molt and Lughu VII., and which existed down to the time of the Abbé McGeoghegan, were Ardmach (or Armagh), Ossory, Emly, Ardagh, Elphin, Killala, Clogher, Kildare, Down and Connor. Subsequently there were built the cathedrals of Cork (St. Finn Barr's), Limerick, Cashel, Sligo, Tuam, Thurles, Ferns, St. Patrick's, Dublin; the Holy Trinity, or Christ Church, Dublin; Cloyne, Clones, Kilkenny—to enumerate only the principal ones. Many splendid abbeys, priories and conventual establishments were also founded in Ireland centuries before the English made their appearance, by pious Irish Kings and chieftians. A diligent search through Irish history fails to show any great cathedrals, abbeys or monasteries which were the foundation of English Catholic Kings, as asserted by the "Catholic Irishman." Even in Dublin, the seat of English government, the two cathedrals, St. Patrick's and Christ Church (otherwise called the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity) were erected originally respectively, by the saint whose name it bears, by the help of the native princes and people whom he baptized there, and by a Danish prince who ruled in Dublin during the period of Danish occupation in Leinster. The cathedral of Emly was founded, even before St. Patrick's advent, by one of his predecessors, St. Ailbe; and that of Cork by one of his disciples, St. Finn Barr, who brought Christianity to the natives of the Southern capital and the surrounding territory of the McCarty clans. The cathedral of Cashel was founded by the monarch, Aongus, whom Ailbe converted and baptized in the place adjacent to the famous rock called Gowlinvale (corrupted into Golden Vale). The primatial diocese of Ardmach was the first in which Patrick began the erection of a cathedral; and the last was probably the diocese of Dercon, in the country of the Dal-réida. The old historians declare that during his apostolate in Ireland he built, or caused to be built, three hundred and sixty-five churches. The ground for these was given freely by the owners of the soil. The first mention of a religious foundation by an Englishman in Ireland was that of the Priory of Kilmainham for the Knights Templars, by Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. A few years later the Monastery of Thomascourt, in Cork, was founded by the

first English viceroy, William Fitz-Adelm. Hugh de Lacey, the succeeding viceroy, founded two small chapels or priories for the Augustinians in the County Louth. The ruffian nobleman, John de Courey, founded several other houses for the same order—for, like most of the robber nobles of his time, he alternated fits of piety with fits of ferocious savagery; and Hervey de Monte Morisco (or Montmorris), in order to expiate the crimes of pillaging other churches in Ireland, in the course of his career of conquest, or robbery, founded the Abbey of Dunbrody, in Wexford. Philip de Wigorne, another viceroy, founded a priory for Benedictines in Tipperary after he had plundered the clergy of Armagh! The young prince John, in the midst of his debaucheries and petty guerillas in Ireland, found leisure to give another example of this peculiar versatility by building the priory of St. John the Evangelist, for Benedictines, at Waterford. A few other religious houses were founded by the English invaders; also the abbey of Little Tintern, in Wexford, by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; the abbey of the River of God, Westmeath, was founded by the Daltons, and a priory for Augustinians at Tristernach, in the same county, by Geoffry de Constantin; the priory of SS. Peter and Paul in Wexford, founded by the Roches of Fermoy, also for Augustinians, and the priory of St. John the Baptist at Naas, County Kildare, founded by the English lord of the soil. The Roches of Fermoy also founded the abbey called “De Castro Dei,” in County Cork, and Richard and Adam De Hereford founded the priory called the “Scala Coeli,” in County Kildare; in the same county Miles Fitzhenry founded a priory, and Thomas, the seneschal of Leinster, founded another in County Kilkenny. Near Finn, in County Meath, Simon Rochford, Bishop of Meath, founded a priory. These priories were all for members of the Augustinian order. There were abbeys for Cistercians also at Owny, in County Limerick; at Douske, in County Kilkenny, and at Beaubec, in Meath—founded respectively by Theobald Fitzwalter, founder of the Butler family; William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and Walter De Lacey. Richard Tuite, lord of Granard, founded an abbey for Bernardines of Clairvaux, near Granard, and Danish settlers founded the priory of St. Catherine, in the neighborhood of Waterford city. About the thirteenth century the Dominicans and the Franciscans came to help the Augustinians and the Cistercians in the religious work in Ireland. The Talbots, the Prendergasts, the Fitzmaurices, the Barrys, the Graces, the Walshes, the Butlers, the Dillons, the De Burgos and other Anglo-Norman settlers, founded many religious houses at a later period of the same epoch; but side by side with the names of these foreign founders we find those of the old Irish lords of the soil, the McCartys, the O’Reillys, the O’Briens, the O’Kennedys, the

O'Donnells, the O'Neills, the O'Flaherty's, the O'Haras, the Mac-Namaras all through the period of activity in religious settlement in Ireland prior to the Tudor *régime*. It was about this period that the Carmelites went to take part in the religious work of the country, and the Butlers and Dillons erected several houses for their accommodation. But a diligent search into the genesis of all these foundations fails to show that English settlers were more conspicuous for their liberality (at the expense of the Irish people) than the Irish lords of the soil of that period proved themselves to have been, or that they had any claim whatever to place against that of the Irish founders, whose zeal in erecting edifices for the worship of God and the training of students for the divine service had been constantly manifested during the six centuries previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion. There is not one syllable in Irish history to justify the belief that English Catholic Kings erected cathedrals in Ireland at any time. But there is plenty of evidence to show that the agents and dependents of such Kings frequently pillaged, burnt down and destroyed such cathedrals—as in the cases of Armagh and Cashel notably—and left the people to repair the injury as best they could.

So much for the false assertion that the Catholic Kings of England had founded fat abbeys and prebends on the necks of the Irish clans. As for the accompanying pretense that the real property of the Protestant Church had never been taken from the people of Ireland, it ought to be sufficient to ask where, if such were really the case, did that property come from? That property, when capitalized, sufficed to pay lump sum commutations or annual stipends to between three and four thousand rectors, incumbents and curates—many of whom performed the manœuvre popularly described as “commuting, compounding and cutting”—that is, taking flight to England or some other place where living was inexpensive and amusement cheap. After paying off this army of claimants in full, the capitalized wealth of this innocent ecclesiastical importation afforded a surplus of twelve or thirteen million pounds, which Mr. Gladstone got put safely away in order to meet future distress in Ireland, or other “national emergency,” as he declared. A large portion of this surplus still remains in the English treasury, after various grants in relief of distress, fishery grants and other bonuses, have been, from time to time, paid out of it. So that from its ability to meet all these demands, the huge amount of value which the original fund represented may be vaguely estimated. Every iota of this had been forcibly plundered from the Irish Catholic chiefs and people—for the chief and the people held the land as the tribe or clan, under the old Brehon law. Hence the attempt to show that the Established Church in Ireland represented no wrong inflicted



upon the Catholics of Ireland is certainly bold. But there is more still. As a consequence of Disestablishment, the writer says:

"Hundreds of Protestant ecclesiastical families, all resident employers of labor and consumers of local commodities, had to quit Ireland. Hundreds of places of Protestant worship were closed. Thousands of Irish Protestant families, deprived of the facilities for the exercise of their religion, tended every day to follow their pastors. Thousands of Irish Catholic employés of all kinds wandered to America for want of employment in their own land. That no element of grim jocosity should be wanting, while the clerical party were 'saving' these thirty million dollars of ecclesiastical funds as above mentioned, Ireland was being overtaxed by the Westminster Parliament to the tune of fifteen million dollars a year, as has been formally admitted by a committee of the House of Commons! That is to say, every pair of years, the English Government took out of Ireland the full equivalent of all that was stolen from the Irish Protestant Church under the lying pretense of an imaginary restitution."

It is difficult to believe that the foregoing was intended as serious writing, or, if so, that the writer possessed any reliable knowledge of the subject which he had in hand. There was no exodus of Protestant families on such a scale as he pictures, nor any such wholesale shutting up of churches. What really took place was something very different. Prior to the passing of the Act of Disestablishment a commission had gone into the question of plural holdings and superfluous churches, and found many glaring abuses. It found that in a large number of cases rectors had been charging the State—that is, the Irish taxpayers—for the services of curates for "chapels of ease," whereas they themselves performed the duties which these curates were supposed to perform, and drew the double salary, the curate being usually, or at least very frequently, a myth. Many of the "chapels of ease" had no need of the services of a curate, inasmuch as the "congregation" was limited to the verger or bell ringer and family, as in the case of the Dean of St. Patrick's and his "dearly beloved Roger." As soon as the fact that the government really intended to act on the report was made known, the pluralists took steps to man the depleted ranks of the Church. They advertised in the *Daily Express* and other "loyal" Protestant organs for clerical help, and they induced the Dublin University authorities (it was generally believed) to permit such modifications in the divinity examinations as would enable them to rush through a sufficient number of students to fill the gaps still left. When the battalions were complete the State was asked to pay for the whole corps. A large number of the new arrivals took advantage of the

golden opportunity, and summarily "commuted, compounded and cut;" so glaringly eager to do so that even some of the organs of dethroned Ascendency held them up to ridicule and denounced the operation which led up to the exodus as a public scandal.

But these exhibitions of fiscal wisdom were not by any means the only incidents that lent to Disestablishment the lightening touch of judicial comedy. In several instances the holders of benefices who claimed "compensation for disturbance" were placed in an awkward predicament. They held their benefices on false pretenses. A striking case in point was that of the obsolete Church of St. Nicholas Within, in Dublin. This church was founded as the result of a bequest made by a pious merchant, the condition being that one day in every year a Mass be celebrated for his spiritual benefit, after his demise. The holder of this benefice, at the time of Disestablishment, was the Rev. Tresham Dames Gregg, an aggressive polemical divine and writer. The church had long fallen into desuetude and disrepair. It had no congregation and no roof—only a portion of one sufficient to shelter the Rev. Mr. Gregg when he went through a sort of service one day in each year, in order to entitle him to draw his salary as minister. That service he did not attempt to show to be the Mass, as stipulated in the bequest, nor any sort of prayer for the testator's soul, but something that seemed to satisfy the Rev. Mr. Gregg's conscience as beneficiary. He contrived to have a couple of persons present as witnesses. For this ludicrous travesty of fulfillment he drew the handsome salary of four hundred pounds a year, and on this he claimed capitalization. The claim aroused some caustic and irreverent comment, but some substantial recognition was given it. Memory now fails to recall to what amount, but it was no trifle. The benefice of St. Audoen's Church, also in Dublin, was of similar foundation, but the edifice had a congregation and is still in practical use. What the incumbent did, as a substitute for the stipulated religious service was not very clearly explained.

In an obscure by-way of old Dublin, called Ormond Gate, may be found a memorial of the means employed in old times to implement defective title, in like cases. The original name of the place was Gormund's Gate. It had, by process of looseness in pronunciation, become transformed into Ormond Gate. Gormund was a mythical personage, invented by a resourceful lawyer of Elizabeth's time, to make good her claim to the confiscated estates of Shane O'Neill, Gormund being represented as a common ancestor of the Tudors and the O'Neills, a prince who had plenty of lands at his disposal. There never existed any such personage. But the myth answered all the purposes for which it was invented, and Elizabeth got the title she needed. So with the gentlemen who claimed compensation for the

curtailment of services which they had never rendered, and never could render, by reason of their creed pronouncing such services to be "damnable and idolatrous," and therefore illegal as a matter of course.

It is in the last degree unjust to the Irish hierarchy and clergy of that time to lay the responsibility for the obliteration of the State Church at their doors. They wanted nothing but the right of the people to live in peace, and since the tithe wars were terminated by the intervention of Parliament, this desideratum was an accomplished fact. Catholic and Protestant lived everywhere, save in Ulster, on the most amicable terms, the best of friends and neighbors in very many places. When Mr. Gladstone began his agitation for Disestablishment he sprang a surprise upon the whole of the people, Irish as well as British. The daring of the Fenian leaders, and the widespread disaffection in Ireland as a consequence of their propaganda, had thoroughly alarmed him. He began to seek for the causes of the discontent and disloyalty, and he looked in the wrong direction. The Irish sought for independence, but this palpable aim and object he either did not see or pretended not to see. He thought by removing grievances he might succeed in allaying discontent. The inquiry into the position of the Established Church which preceded formal legislative action was begun by Sir John Gray, a Protestant, proprietor of the leading Irish Liberal newspaper. Neither the Irish Bishops nor the Irish people asked for Disestablishment. Mr. Gladstone began it of his own volition. What the Bishops asked for most insistently—namely, facilities for the higher education of their people—he refused to give; what the people asked for, to the point of armed insurrection—namely, the restoration of their native Parliament—he at the same time ignored. When the Church was swept away the Protestants proved how dependent was their loyalty on material advantage by forming a Home Rule Union and inviting the Catholics to join them in seeking for a restoration of the right stolen from them by Parliament. Mr. Gladstone, years afterwards, in explaining in Parliament his reasons for introducing his famous Home Rule Bill, laid the responsibility for the rape of the Irish Legislature on the shoulders of William Pitt squarely and unequivocally. Now, here comes this anonymous "Catholic Irishman" denying that imputation by the Prime Minister who was the best-read historian of his day and who had all the State papers relating to the transaction ready to his hand. He puts the charge in the form of an inverted syllogism, thus:

"The Catholics passed the Act of Union."

This is the conclusion; then come the premises:

"In the first place, the whole of the present dependence of Ireland

upon England, the whole of its reduction to provincialism under the heel of Unionism, was the work, not of the Irish Protestants, but of the Irish Catholics, headed by their venerable Archbishops and Bishops, all in a row. The Irish Protestants, in fact, formed the patriot party, who never could have been overthrown by the corruption or the menaces of Pitt and Castlereagh, but for the 120,000 Catholic electors, recently enfranchised by the Irish Protestant Parliament, who followed like sheep their venerable pastors to vote for the destruction of the Irish Legislature. There is no longer an historical secret about the motives which led Archbishop Troy and Archbishop O'Reilly, and their four and twenty mitred coadjutors, to do the work of Mr. Pitt. It was as notorious that there was a market for venerable prelates in Upper Castle Yard as that there was a market for fat farm stock at Ballinasloe."

This neat capsule of historical medicine, made to be swallowed without a question by the unprepared reader, depends for its efficacy altogether upon the capsule covering. If any one be curious enough to go behind that and examine the component ingredients thus conveniently lumped, he will discover that Protestant authorities alone may be relied on to confute the audacious indictment. To begin with one of the most eminent—Sir Jonah Barrington. He was a member of the Irish Parliament for many years, and voted against the government when the question of union was first broached as well as when it was carried. He knew every man who voted for it, and the golden arguments that had converted him to the views of Castlereagh. He knew also all the loyal antagonists of the mournful scheme. He was familiar with what passed in Parliament, before the public eye, as well as with everything that transpired among the gossipers at the club houses and in the drawing rooms of Dublin society. In his invaluable work on "The Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," he lays the blame, primarily, for the destruction of the Irish Parliament on Henry Grattan. Of course, he holds Grattan in intention blameless, but his action, in withdrawing from Parliament because of his quarrels with his rival Flood, he considers to have been the beginning of the process of destruction. These quarrels resulted in a conflict between the Volunteers and the Irish Parliament; the government in London was delighted with the turn things had taken, and fomented and encouraged the break by every vile art of the rich and unscrupulous debaucher of conscience and honor. Pitt laid his plans deeply. He would never again permit the formation of an armed force that could defy England's usurped authority in Ireland; the plan for the dispersion of the Volunteers was laid simultaneously with one for the fomenting of an insurrection of the unarmed and untrained peasantry as an excuse for thrusting on the country the

overwhelming armed forces of the British Crown. Referring to the withdrawal of Grattan and Curran from Parliament, in the belief that Parliament had then become powerless to resist English force and fraud, Barrington observes that: "Never was any step more indiscreet, more ill-timed, or to themselves more injurious; that the cause of Ireland should lose two such advocates, at the very moment she most required them, was truly unfortunate. Mr. Grattan returned to Parliament when too late; Mr. Curran never; and his fine talents were lost to himself and his country forever."

As for the Machiavellian plan conceived by Mr. Pitt, Barrington summarizes in one crisp passage the leading features of the scheme and the methods employed by the arch-conspirator to insure its success. The country, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Westmoreland, had been for some years at peace. This did not suit the game of Pitt; so he sent emissaries from Dublin to Ulster to inaugurate a war of religion by starting the Orange Society. Then he allowed the formation of the Society of United Irishmen and the free passage of agents of the French Revolution, or men pledged to its principles throughout the country. Barrington says:

"His (Westmoreland's) recall, and the appointment and deposition of Lord Fitzwilliam, his successor, within three months, completed the train which Mr. Pitt had laid for the explosion. Having divided the country and obtained the means of packing the (Irish) Parliament through the Place Bill, he suffered some men to disseminate the French revolutionary mania; and . . . encouraged others to raise their loyalty into the region of madness."

By the simple artifice of bracketing the clergy and laity of Ireland together under the common term "Clericals," the anonymous assailant of both as traitors to their country produces, or seeks to produce, the impression that they invariably coöperated in policy and means of effecting political or religious ends. It is a transparent trick. An equal patriotism has warmed clergy and laity in Ireland, from the days of Columbkille down to this present time. But they each see their duty differently. The Bishops and clergy have the heavy responsibility of guarding their flocks from their two deadly enemies—crime and English provocation to crime. They beheld then the working of the fearful double-action engine of the plotting Minister. They saw their flocks being goaded into rebellion by means of the cruelty of the Orange yeomanry. They beheld the skies lit up with the glare of burning chapels and cottages, night after night, and thousands of people driven from their homes by Peep o'Day Boys, Hearts of Steel Boys and other anti-Catholic secret organizations. They knew, on the other hand, that the agents of the revolutionary movement were moving amongst the peasantry, getting them to

enroll themselves in the unarmed army and playing the game of the arch-enemies of their religion and their nationality. Were they to behold these infamies and remain supine under the awful knowledge? If they did they would be false indeed to God and country.

With the cold-blooded malice of the primeval serpent the government, while the storm of horrors it had let loose raged over the country, had its agents moving among the hierarchy and clergy showing how it was in their power to mitigate so fearful a situation, or prevent a recurrence of it, by using all their influence in favor of the mooted project of a Parliamentary Union. Promises of a measure of Catholic emancipation were made without qualification by the secret emissaries; the same promises were implied in the public speech made by Mr. Pitt in Parliament when introducing the ominous measure. But if some Irish prelates were impelled by the horror of the situation in their country and the prospect of a removal of the causes of bloodshed in the future, will that fact justify any conscientious writer in charging them with venality?

Barrington gives the names of all the representatives who were bribed to sell their country in his Black List. There is not a Catholic name in that list, because no Catholic sat, or could sit, in the Parliament which was solicited to betray the country.

It is a base charge that the Irish prelates sought a market or had a market in Dublin Castle. It is a fact that Lord Cornwallis offered them, through Dr. Troy, Catholic emancipation if they coöperated for the restoration of peace in Ireland. The text of the document is reproduced in John Mitchel's "*History of Ireland*." But at that time of bloodshed and horror, when men, wild with fear for the fate of the whole population, or maddened with daily outrages that might well excuse a saint for taking up a sword, what influence could any one prelate or priest hope to exert for peace beyond the limits of his own immediate locality? Until the measures which Lord Cornwallis was deputed to carry out had done their work—until the Rebellion was crushed in blood, that is to say—the words of the peacemaker must fall on heedless ears.

But if the Irish Bishops and clergy of that day, acting without any prompting or promises of Viceroy or Prime Minister, did take action to preserve the people from destruction, would not the circumstances have fully justified them? The horrors of the French Revolution were fresh in the public mind. Could they look calmly on the prospect of a repetition of such horrors on Irish soil? They were the official representatives of the Church whose altars were turned to stages for lewdness, whose temples were profaned by bacchanal orgies, whose priests and holy women were driven as sheep to the shambles. Mr. Pitt's French revolutionary agents were lead-

ing up to the preparation for such an orgie, while his Orange auxiliaries were making a recourse to such agents and their programme the only hope of the desperate Catholic peasantry. Truly no shepherds were ever placed in so direful a dilemma—or flock in such pitiable strait. Neither Barrington nor Mitchel—leaving out of sight such rabid historians as Musgrave and Maxwell—is qualified to pass judgment on the action of the Irish hierarchy and clergy at the heartrending hour of a nation's agony. It would take a judgment and a pen like Sienkiwicz's to convey a comparative idea of the working of that "impression of horror" which the earlier English generals were sent over to create by the savagery of their troops, and Cornwallis to utilize before allaying, as the great means to Pitt's great end.

On this subject volumes might easily be written, but this is neither the place nor the time for extended disquisition. It is enough to say that the pastors of the Irish people acted for the best. If they were deceived—as indeed they were—by English Ministers and Viceroy, theirs is not the blame. Let us now turn to the charge of traitorism in so far as it applies to the Catholic laity. Mr. Goldwin Smith is the only historian of weight that has undertaken to show that the Irish Catholic population was, as a whole, indifferent about the efforts to abolish the Irish Parliament and substitute the discarded rule of a British one. He asserts it, but seems to think his assertion to be sufficient. This is not the case by any means. We have the testimony of contemporaries and eye-witnesses of what really occurred, to refute his assertions.

In the first place, the people of Dublin, Protestants as well as Catholics, took the keenest interest in the debates which followed the development of the Union plot. They assembled in the streets leading to the Houses of Parliament, night after night, and by their cheers or their groans and hisses manifested their sentiments as the various champions of the Irish or English side passed into or out of the porticos. They burned Clare and Castlereagh in effigy on side streets. They attacked Clare's carriage and would have hanged him to a lamp-post, as he drove home one night, were it not for the timely arrival of troops. Armed soldiers kept them at bay, all through the closing days and nights of the struggle. The mob was with difficulty kept from storming the Chambers, at one period. At length, to drive terror into the people's breasts, the military authorities ordered a massacre—for martial law was still the rule—in the streets of Dublin. This was done during the closing hours of the great struggle. Without an instant's warning, troops were ordered out from the old Custom House. They took their stand on Essex bridge, and fired straight into the crowds assembled in Capel street,

killing many innocent and helpless people, including women and children.

In the provinces a similar system of terrorism was resorted to to prevent the circulation of petitions against the Union among Catholics. Sir Lawrence Parsons, member for Birr, told in Parliament how the freeholders and inhabitants of the locality had been prevented from holding a meeting to protest against the proposed Union by the military commander of the district, Major Rogers, who actually sent out a force with artillery to fire on the protesters if they dared to assemble. Many similar acts of terrorism are testified to by Barrington. In the metropolis itself the audacious game of intimidation was tried, but the effort was abandoned, on second thought, by Lord Clare, as being a little too daring a stretch of military despotism, with Parliament sitting in the very same street—for the place of meeting was the Royal Exchange, which is only a few hundred yards distant from “the old House on College-green.” The opposition to Union was intense. Those who composed it were the substantial trading class, the artisan class, both Catholic and Protestant, and a very large proportion of the professional classes. The meeting was, on sober thought, allowed to take place, and the leading spokesman at it was Daniel O’Connell, a young barrister who was afterwards to play a great part in the effort to undo the evil of the shameful transaction against which he then lifted up a potent voice. His speech on that occasion seems happily anticipatory of some such calumnies as those now flung out by the anonymous calumniator in the *Evening Post*. A few sentences from that remarkable fore-answer will give one an idea of its apposite force and point. The distinguished speaker said, *inter alia* :

“Every Union pamphlet, every Union speech imprudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning a measure which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of Anti-Unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and, at length, the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations. To refute a calumny directed against them, as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them and to declare that the assertion of their being favorably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain was a slander the most vile; a libel the most false, scandalous and wicked, that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people. It is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment not only of every gentleman who now hears me,



but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting and hated measure of Union were to draw upon us the revival of the Penal Laws, we would boldly meet a proscription and oppression which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages *may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic*, to seduce him from the sacred duty which he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a *sect* which would debase and destroy them as a *people*."

It is sufficient to add that while the petitions in favor of the Union were signed by nearly every felon in the Irish jails, on promise of pardon, every means to prevent petitions against it were used by the terrorizing government. But all this industry was futile. It is believed that the signatures *contra* ran up to over a million, while the numbers on the Union side were comparatively few. However, it is, at this period, not easy to get at the true facts on this point. But in O'Connell's speeches on Repeal the numbers in opposition, despite the pressure exerted to keep them low, was a point frequently emphasized. The broad fact stands out that the "Catholics" did not contrive or assent to the Union. The action of a few individuals is not a condemnation of the general body.

Another national crime charged against the Irish "Clericals" by this anonymous accuser is the destruction of Ireland's agriculture. It is put in this form:

"This was done by O'Connell's alliance with the English free-traders, who, for purposes of their own, wanted the free import of foreign corn. In spite of the opposition of the Irish landlords to a measure which must turn the corn lands of Ireland into ranches for sheep and bullocks, but who were unable to oppose O'Connellism since the disfranchisement of the rural democracy, the free import of corn was voted by triumphant majorities of English Whigs and Irish Clericals, and the venerable prelates in this manner presented a universal notice to quit against four-fifths of the farmers of Ireland."

It is straining an argument, surely, to hold any political leader responsible for all the effects of the policies for which he struggles. O'Connell was no prophet; he could not possibly have foreseen the effects that either the policy of Free Trade or the reduction of the elective franchise in Ireland would be likely to produce on the agricultural or political condition of the country in after years. Free Trade was a fiercely debated economical novelty in Great Britain—

none ever more fiercely. The lowering of the franchise was an experiment, indulged in for the purpose of achieving certain results in the way of giving the Liberator a number of followers upon whom he could depend to help him in carrying out his programme of Irish reform, civil and religious. It ought not to be forgotten that it was not very far back in history that the Irish Volunteers demanded Free Trade, with the notice of the demand suspended significantly from the muzzles of cannon on College-green. The agricultural resources of the American Continent were at that time little dreamed of, either by Irishmen or Englishmen. The competition of an immense country, where rent is practically unknown, with one where rack-rents were the rule, could never have been thought possible at the time when the debates over Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation were strenuous. We can all be very wise after the event. It was that competition that cut down rents in Ireland and started so many millions to cross the ocean and brought on the Land League and the Land Courts and all the machinery, in popular organization and legal procedure, which has been set in motion during the past thirty years in Ireland. Neither Bishops, nor clergy, nor laity, as Catholics, have had anything to do with these results; they were but helpless participants in a mighty economic movement as silent and as irresistible as that of a glacier.

But there is one fact that cannot be lost sight of, in the review of the many conflicting circumstances that brought about the downfall of the Irish Parliament. This fact is that it was not so much a religious antagonism that insured its ruin as a commercial policy. It was that cry of Ireland, "Free Trade, or else—" that aroused Pitt. The Irish Protestant Parliament had taken advantage of Britain's weakness to enforce a show of fair play for Irish industries, after the laborious efforts of the English traders, with the help of William of Orange, to crush them out of existence. England's impudent claim to be the "predominant partner" had been successfully resisted, and England's supremacy in Irish trade legislation was at stake when the Volunteers came forward with the demand for Free Trade spoken by adamant lips. It was a case of neck or nothing with the greedy predominant party, as it has ever since been down to the forcing of the war on the Transvaal.

Although O'Connell at one time protested, in his own characteristic way, against the *Times* italicizing some passages in his addresses, saying that he "did not speak in italics," John Mitchell disregarded the objection in reproducing the speech from which the extracts we have quoted are taken. Had O'Connell thought that italics would be employed, he doubtless would have been more careful to distinguish between "a sect" and a portion of the one true Church Universal.

But in the swift current of oratorical passion the most circumspect are sometimes hurried past their usual mental landmarks and lay themselves open to the charge of inconsistency in the use of definitive terms. There was soon to arise a controversy which was to prove that O'Connell was as keen on the claims of the Church to be more than a sect as he was on the bounds that were to be set on those claims when the national and ordinal rights of the Irish hierarchy, and the national and civic rights of the Irish laity were at stake. This controversy was the famous one known as that of the Veto. Those cavillers who, judging the attitude of the Irish Bishops toward foreign domination by the isolated action of a few prelates and peers during the insurrectional troubles, pronounce them to be habitually false to their country's national claims, must be covered with confusion when they discover how determined was the resistance of another generation of prelates, priests and laity to not merely the arrogant pretensions of England, but even the wishes of the Pope himself, acting through his representative, who sought to gain the friendship of the British Government by sacrificing the rights of the Irish priesthood in the selection of their Bishops.

A prisoner of Napoleon's, Pope Pius VII. was compelled to intrust the conduct of the most important business of the Church to the management of a representative, Monsignor Quarantotti. This dignitary undertook negotiations with the British Government, whereby in return for certain concessions to the Papacy the privilege of veto in the selection of Irish Bishops was to be accorded the British monarch. The idea originated, it may be thought, with Lord Castlereagh, who proposed it, as a condition of Catholic emancipation to the board of Maynooth College, composed of ten of the Irish prelates, including the Primates of Armagh and Dublin, Drs. O'Reilly and Troy. But the proposal was scouted by the majority of the Bishops at a meeting in National Synod, nine years later, in plain and unmistakable resolutions to the effect that "the Roman Catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rules by which they have hitherto been uniformly guided" in relation to the election of Bishops. These resolutions were signed by twenty-three of the Bishops, and dissented from by three others who had been assenting parties at the Maynooth Board meeting in 1799. Edmund Burke, a Protestant, was strongly opposed to the concession of the veto; so was Daniel O'Connell. The struggle over the question continued for several years, but in the end the determination of clergy and laity prevailed, and Monsignor Quarantotti retired from the contest a wiser and a sadder man.

More recently the Irish Bishops have proved on more than one memorable occasion that they are no King's men or Castle men, but

men of the people, by refusing educational measures offered for their acceptance which would give the British Government control of Irish education. They were the means, it may be here stated, of having the quietus given Mr. Birrell's simulacrum of an Irish Council Bill, because of its offensive provision debarring the Irish clergy from a voice in the National Council, so-called. They have profited well by past lessons in English perfidy and will certainly never sell their birthright for England's mess of pottage.

There are several other counts in the patchwork indictment of the anonymous accuser to whom this influential New York publication gave the hospitality of its columns. They are all of the same shallow character—mere rhetorical fustian such as one might expect to hear from the rear end of a peddler's wagon on a side street on a Saturday night, when working people have a leisure hour and their spirit of philosophic inquiry is roused or lulled, as the case may be, by the flow of something that stimulates to loquacity that may pass muster for logical oratory. The method of "lumping" facts so as to substantiate loose theories founded on rank prejudice may do for such followers of Demosthenes. But the scholar and the historian will not be satisfied with the pestle-and-mortar method of historical debate. Men and motives must be sorted and classified, and an intelligent line of study be constructed. In the long centuries of struggle through which Catholic Ireland has passed, her religious guides have been powerless to dictate the conditions of the country's fate, but they could at least uphold untarnished the faith that was handed down to them, for the salvation of the people. This was a higher duty than the proving of the truth of any commercial theory, or any other material consideration whatsoever, even though the one thing may have a most intimate bearing on the other. They could only seek for the maintenance of a great principle, leaving the material effects of its assertion to the disposition of an All-seeing Providence.

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Philadelphia.

## THE NEW SYLLABUS.

## SACRAE ROMANAE ET UNIVERSALIS INQUISITIONIS.

## DECRETUM.

LAMENTABILI sane exitu aetas nostra freni impatiens in rerum summis rationibus indagandis ita nova non raro sequitur ut, dimissa humani generis quasi haereditate, in errores incidat gravissimos. Qui errores longe erunt perniciosiores, si de disciplinis agitur sacris, si de Sacra Scriptura interpretanda, si de fidei praecipuis mysteriis. Dolendum autem vehementer inveniri etiam inter catholicos non ita paucos scriptores qui, praetergressi fines a patribus ac ab ipsa Sancta Ecclesia statutos, altioris intelligentiae specie et historicae considerationis nomine, eum dogmatum progressum quaerunt qui, reipsa, eorum corruptela est.

Ne vero huius generis errores, qui quotidie inter fideles sparguntur, in eorum animis radices figant ac fidei sinceritatem corrumpant, placuit SSmo D. N. Pio divina providentia PP. X. ut per hoc Sacrae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis officium ii qui inter eos praecipui essent, notarentur et reprobarentur.

Quare, instituto diligentissimo examine, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, Emi ac Rmi Dni Cardinales, in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitores Generales, propositiones quae sequuntur reprobandas ac proscribendas esse indicarunt, prouti hoc generali Decreto reprobantur ac proscribuntur:

I. Ecclesiastica lex quae praescribit subiicere praeviae censurae libros Divinas respicientes Scripturas, ad cultores critices aut exegeseos scientificae librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti non extenditur.

II. Ecclesiae interpretatio Sacrorum Librorum non est quidem spernenda, subiacet tamen accuratiori exegetarum iudicio et correctioni.

III. Ex iudiciis et censuris ecclesiasticis contra liberam et cultiorem exegesis latis colligi potest fidem ab Ecclesia propositam contradicere historiae, et dogmata catholica cum verioribus christianae religionis originibus componi reipsa non posse.

IV. Magisterium Ecclesiae ne per dogmaticas quidem definitiones genuinum Sacrarum Scripturarum sensum determinare potest.

V. Quum in deposito fidei veritates tantum revelatae contineantur, nullo sub respectu ad Ecclesiam pertinet iudicium ferre de assertionibus disciplinarum humanarum.

VI. In definiendis veritatibus ita collaborant discens et docens Ecclesia, ut docenti Ecclesiae nihil supersit nisi communes discentis opinionationes sancire.

VII. Ecclesia, cum proscribit errores, nequit a fidelibus exigere ullum internum assensum, quo iudicia a se edita complectantur.

VIII. Ab omni culpa immunes existimandi sunt qui reprobationes a Sacra Congregatione Indicis aliisve Sacris Romanis Congregationibus latas nihili pendunt.

IX. Nimiam simplicitatem aut ignorantiam prae se ferunt qui Deum credunt vere esse Scripturae Sacrae auctorem.

X. Inspiratio librorum Veteris Testamenti in eo constitut quod scriptores israelitae religiosas doctrinas sub peculiari quodam aspectu, gentibus parum noto aut ignoto, tradiderunt.

XI. Inspiratio divina non ita ad totam Scripturam Sacram extenditur, ut omnes et singulas eius partes ab omni errore praemuniat.

XII. Exegeta, si velit utiliter studiis biblicis incumbere, in primis quamlibet praeconceptam opinionem de supernaturali origine Scripturae Sacrae seponere debet, eamque non aliter interpretari quam cetera documenta mere humana.

XIII. Parabolas evangelicas ipsimet Evangelistae ac christiani secundae et tertiae generationis artificiose digesserunt, atque ita rationem dederunt exigui fructus praedicationis Christi apud iudaeos.

XIV. In pluribus narrationibus non tam quae vera sunt Evangelistae retulerunt, quam quae lectoribus, etsi falsa, censuerunt magis proficua.

XV. Evangelia usque ad definitum constitutumque canonem continuis additionibus et correctionibus aucta fuerunt; in ipsis proinde doctrinae Christi non remansit nisi tenue et incertum vestigium.

XVI. Narrationes Ioannis non sunt proprie historia, sed mystica Evangelii contemplatio; sermones, in eius evangelio contenti, sunt meditationes theologicae circa mysterium salutis historica veritate destitutae.

XVII. Quartum Evangelium miracula exaggeravit non tantum ut extraordinaria magis apparerent, sed etiam ut aptiora fierent ad significandum opus et gloriam Verbit Incarnati.

XVIII. Ioannes sibi vindicat quidem rationem testis de Christo; re tamen vera non est nisi eximius testis vitae christianae, seu vitae Christi in Ecclesia, exeunte primo saeculo.

XIX. Heterodoxi exegetae fidelius expresserunt sensum verum Scripturarum quam exegetae catholici.

XX. Revelatio nihil aliud esse potuit quam acquisita ab homine suae ad Deum relationis conscientia.

XXI. Revelatio, objectum fidei catholicae constituens, non fuit cum Apostolis completa.

XXII. Dogmata quae Ecclesia perhibet tamquam revelata, non sunt veritates e coelo delapsae, sed sunt interpretatio quaedam

factorum religiosorum quam humana mens laborioso conatu sibi comparavit.

XXIII. Existere potest et reipsa existit oppositio inter facta quae in Sacra Scriptura narrantur eisque innixa Ecclesiae dogmata; ita ut criticus tamquam falsa reiicere possit facta quae Ecclesia tamquam certissima credit.

XXIV. Reprobandus non est exegeta qui praemissas adstruit, ex quibus sequitur dogmata hitorice falsa aut dubia esse, dummodo dogmata ipsa directe non neget.

XXV. Assensus fidei ultimo innititur in congerie probabilitatum.

XXVI. Dogmata fidei retinenda sunt tantummodo iuxta sensum practicum, idest tanquam norma praeceptiva agendi, non vero tanquam norma credendi.

XXVII. Divinitas Iesu Christi ex Evangeliiis non probatur; sed est dogma quod conscientia christiana e notione Messiae deduxit.

XXVIII. Iesus, quum ministerium suum exercebat, non in eum finem loquebatur ut doceret se esse Messiam, neque eius miracula eo spectabant ut id demonstraret.

XXIX. Concedere licet Christum quem exhibet historia, multo inferiorem esse Christo qui est obiectum fidei.

XXX. In omnibus textibus evangelicis nomen *Filius Dei* aequivalet tantum nomini *Messias*, minime vero significat Christum esse verum et naturalem Dei Filium.

XXXI. Doctrina de Christo quam tradunt Paulus, Ioannes et Concilia Nicaenum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, non est ea quam Iesus docuit, sed quam de Iesu concepit conscientia christiana.

XXXII. Conciliari nequit sensus naturalis textuum evangelicorum cum eo quod nostri theologi docent de conscientia et scientia infallibili Iesu Christi.

XXXIII. Evidens est cuique qui praeconceptis non ducitur opinionibus, Iesum aut errorem de proximo messianico adventu fuisse professum, aut maiorem partem ipsius doctrinae in Evangeliiis Synopticis contentae authenticitate carere.

XXXIV. Criticus nequit asserere Christo scientiam nullo circumscriptam limite nisi facta hypothesi, quae historice haud concipi potest quaeque sensui morali repugnat, nempe Christum uti hominem habuisse scientiam Dei et nihilominus noluisse notitiam tot rerum communicare cum discipulis ac posteritate.

XXXV. Christus non semper habuit conscientiam suae dignitatis messianicae.

XXXVI. Resurrectio Salvatoris non est proprie factum ordinis historici, sed factum ordinis mere supernaturalis, nec demonstratum nec demonstrabile quod conscientia christiana sensim ex aliis derivavit.

XXXVII. Fides in resurrectionem Christi ab initio fuit non tam de facto ipso resurrectionis, quam de vita Christi immortalis apud Deum.

XXXVIII. Doctrina de morte piaculâri Christi non est evangelica sed tantum paulina.

XXXIX. Opiniones de origine sacramentorum, quibus Patres Tridentini imbuti erant quaeque in eorum canones dogmaticos procul dubio influxum habuerunt, longe distant ab iis quae nunc penes historicos rei christianae indigatores merito obtinent.

XL. Sacramenta ortum habuerunt ex eo quod Apostoli eorumque successores ideam aliquam et intentionem Christi suadentibus et moventibus circumstantiis et eventibus, interpretati sunt.

XLI. Sacramenta eo tantum spectant ut in mentem hominis revocent praesentiam Creatoris semper beneficam.

XLII. Communitas christiana necessitatem baptismi induxit, adoptans illum tamquam ritum necessarium, eique professionis christianae obligationes adnectens.

XLIII. Usus conferendi baptismum infantibus evolutio fuit disciplinaris, quae una ex causis extitit ut sacramentum resolveretur in duo, in baptismum scilicet et poenitentiam.

XLIV. Nihil probat ritum sacramenti confirmationis usurpatum fuisse ab Apostolis: formalis autem distinctio duorum sacramentorum, baptismi scilicet et confirmationis, haud spectat ad historiam christianismi primitivi.

XLV. Non omnia, quae narrat Paulus de institutione Eucharistiae (I. Cor. xi., 23-25), historice sunt sumenda.

XLVI. Non adfuit in primitiva Ecclesia conceptus de christiano peccatore auctoritate Ecclesiae reconciliatio, sed Ecclesia nonnisi admodum lente huiusmodi conceptui assuevit. Imo etiam postquam poenitentia tanquam Ecclesiae institutio agnita fuit, non appellabatur sacramenti nomine, eo quod haberetur uti sacramentum probrosum.

XLVII. Verba Domini: *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt* (Io. xx., 22 et 23) minime referuntur ad sacramentum poenitentiae, quidquid Patribus Tridentinis asserere placuit.

XLVIII. Iacobus in sua epistola (vers. 14 et 15) non intendit promulgare aliquod sacramentum Christi, sed commendare pium aliquod sacramentum Christi, sed commendare pium aliquem morem, et si in hoc more forte cernit medium aliquod gratiae, id non accipit eo rigore, quo acceperunt theologi qui notionem et numerum sacramentorum statuerunt.

XLIX. Coena christiana paulatim indolem actionis liturgicae assumente, hi, qui Coenae praesse consueverant, characterem sacerdotalem acquisiverunt.



L. Seniores qui in christianorum coetibus invigilandi munere fungebantur, instituti sunt ab Apostolis presbyteri aut episcopi ad providendum necessariae crescentium communitatum ordinationi, non proprie ad perpetuandam missionem et potestatem Apostolicam.

LI. Matrimonium non potuit evadere sacramentum novae legis nisi serius in Ecclesia; siquidem ut matrimonium pro sacramento haberetur necesse erat ut praecederet plena doctrinae de gratia et sacramentis theologia explicatio.

LII. Alienum fuit a mente Christi Ecclesiam constituere veluti societatem super terram per longam saeculorum seriem duraturam; quin imo in mente Christi regnum coeli una cum fine mundi iamiam adventurum erat.

LIII. Constitutio organica Ecclesiae non est immutabilis; sed societas christiana perpetuae evolutioni aequae ac societas humana est obnoxia.

LIV. Dogmata, sacramenta, hierarchia, tum quod ad realitatem attinet, non sunt nisi intelligentiae christianae interpretationes evolutionesque quae exiguum germen in Evangelio latens externis incrementis auxerunt perfecteruntque.

LV. Simon Petrus ne suspicatus quidem unquam est sibi a Christo demandatum esse primatum in Ecclesia.

LVI. Ecclesia Romana non ex divinae providentiae ordinatione, sed ex mere politicis conditionibus caput omnium Ecclesiarum effecta est.

LVII. Ecclesia sese praebet scientiarum naturalium et theologiarum progressibus infensam.

LVIII. Veritas non est immutabilis plusquam ipse homo, quippe quae cum ipso, in ipso et per ipsum evolvitur.

LIX. Christus determinatum doctrinae corpus omnibus temporibus cunctisque hominibus applicabile non docuit, sed potius inchoavit motum quemdam religiosum diversis temporibus ac locis adaptatum vel adaptandum.

LXI. Dici potest abseque paradoxo nullum Scripturae caput, a primo Genesis ad postremum Apocalypsis, continere doctrinam prorsus identicam illi quam super eadem re tradit Ecclesia, et idcirco nullum Scripturae caput habere eundem sensum pro critico ac pro theologo.

LXII. Praecipui articuli Symboli Apostolici non eandem pro christianis primorum temporum significationem habebant quam habent pro christianis nostri temporis.

LXIII. Ecclesia sese praebet imparem ethicae evangelicae efficaciter tuendae, quia obstinate adhaeret immutabilibus doctrinis quae cum hodiernis progressibus componi nequeunt.

LXIV. Progressus scientiarum postulat ut reformatur conceptus doctrinae christianae de Deo, de Creatione, de Revelatione, de Persona Verbi Incarnati, de Redemptione.

LXV. Catholicismus hodiernus cum vera scientia componi nequit nisi transformetur in quemdam christianismum non dogmaticum, id est in protestantismum latum et liberalem.

Sequenti vero feria V. die 4 eiusdem mensis et anni, facta de his omnibus SSmo. D. N. Pio Pp. X. accurata relatione, Sanctitas Sua Decretum Emorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit, ac omnes et singulas supra recensitas propositiones ceu reprobatae ac proscriptas ab omnibus haberi mandavit.

PETRUS PALOMBELLI, S. R. U. I. *Notarius.*

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## DECREE OF THE HOLY ROMAN AND UNIVERSAL INQUISITION.

WITH truly lamentable results our age, intolerant of all check in its investigations of the ultimate causes of things, not infrequently follows what is new in such a way as to reject the legacy, as it were, of the human race and thus fall into the most grievous errors. These errors will be all the more pernicious when they affect sacred disciplines, the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, the principal mysteries of the faith. It is to be greatly deplored that among Catholics also not a few writers are to be found who, crossing the boundaries fixed by the Fathers and by the Church herself, seek out, on the plea of higher intelligence and in the name of historical considerations, that progress of dogmas which is in reality the corruption of the same.

But lest errors of this kind, which are being daily spread among the faithful, should strike root in their minds and corrupt the purity of the faith, it has pleased His Holiness Pius X., by Divine Providence Pope, that the chief among them should be noted and condemned through the office of this Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.

Wherefore, after a most diligent investigation, and after having taken the opinion of the reverend consultors, the Most Eminent and Reverend Lords Cardinals, the General Inquisitors in matters of faith and morals, decided that the following propositions are to be condemned and proscribed, as they are, by this general decree, condemned and proscribed:

1. The ecclesiastical law, which prescribes that books regarding the Divine Scriptures are subject to previous censorship, does not

extend to critical scholars or students of the scientific exegesis of the Old and New Testament.

2. The Church's interpretation of the Sacred Books is not indeed to be condemned, but it is subject to the more accurate judgment and to the correction of the exegetes.

3. From the ecclesiastical judgments and censures passed against free and more scientific (*cultiore*) exegesis, it may be gathered that the faith proposed by the Church contradicts history and that the Catholic dogmas cannot really be reconciled with the true origins of the Christian religion.

4. The magisterium of the Church cannot, even through dogmatic definitions, determine the genuine sense of the Sacred Scriptures.

5. Since in the deposit of the faith only revealed truths are contained, under no respect does it appertain to the Church to pass judgment concerning the assertions of human sciences.

6. In defining truths the Church learning (*discens*) and the Church teaching (*docens*) collaborate in such a way that it only remains for the Church *docens* to sanction the opinions of the Church *discens*.

7. The Church, when it prescribes errors, cannot exact from the faithful any internal assent by which the judgments issued by it are embraced.

8. Those who treat as of no weight the condemnations passed by the Sacred Congregation of the Index or by the other Roman congregations are free from all blame.

9. Those who believe that God is really the author of the Sacred Scripture display excessive simplicity or ignorance.

10. The inspiration of the books of the Old Testament consists in the fact that the Israelite writers have handed down religious doctrines under a peculiar aspect, either little or not at all known to the Gentiles.

11. Divine inspiration is not to be so extended to the whole Sacred Scriptures that it renders its parts, all and single, immune from all error.

12. The exegete, if he wishes to apply himself usefully to Biblical studies, must first of all put aside all preconceived opinions concerning the supernatural origin of the Sacred Scripture, and interpret it not otherwise than other merely human documents.

13. The Evangelists themselves and the Christians of the second and third generation arranged (*digesserunt*) artificially the evangelical parables, and in this way gave an explanation of the scanty fruit of the preaching of Christ among the Jews.

14. In a great many narrations the Evangelists reported not so much things that are true as things which even though false they judged to be more profitable for their readers.

15. The Gospels until the time the canon was defined and constituted were increased by additions and corrections; hence in them there remained of the doctrine of Christ only a faint and uncertain trace.

16. The narrations of John are not properly history, but the mystical contemplation of the Gospel; the discourses contained in his Gospel are theological meditations, devoid of historical truth concerning the mystery of salvation.

17. The Fourth Gospel exaggerated miracles not only that the wonderful might stand out, but also that they might become more suitable for signifying the work and the glory of the Word Incarnate.

18. John claims for himself the quality of a witness concerning Christ; but in reality he is only a distinguished witness of the Christian life, or of the life of Christ in the Church, at the close of the first century.

19. Heterodox exegetes have expressed the true sense of the Scriptures more faithfully than Catholic exegetes.

20. Revelation could be nothing but the consciousness acquired by man of his relation with God.

21. Revelation, constituting the object of Catholic faith, was not completed with the Apostles.

22. The dogmas which the Church gives out as revealed are not truths which have fallen down from heaven, but are an interpretation of religious facts, which the human mind has acquired by laborious efforts.

23. Opposition may and actually does exist between the facts which are narrated in Scripture and the dogmas of the Church which rest on them; so that the critic may reject as false facts which the Church holds as most certain.

24. The exegete is not to be blamed for constructing premises from which it follows that the dogmas are historically false or doubtful, provided he does not directly deny the dogmas themselves.

25. The assent of faith rests ultimately on a mass of probabilities.

26. The dogmas of faith are to be held only according to their practical sense, that is, as preceptive norms of conduct, but not as norms of believing.

27. The Divinity of Jesus Christ is not proved from the Gospels; but is a dogma which the Christian conscience has derived from the notion of the Messias.

28. Jesus, while He was exercising His ministry, did not speak with the object of teaching that He was the Messias, nor did His miracles tend to prove this.

29. It is lawful to believe that the Christ of history is far inferior to the Christ who is the object of faith.

30. In all the evangelical texts the name *Son of God* is equivalent only to *Messias*, and does not at all signify that Christ is the true and natural Son of God.

31. The doctrine concerning Christ taught by Paul, John, the Councils of Nicea, Ephesus and Chalcedon, is not that which Jesus taught, but that which the Christian conscience conceived concerning Jesus.

32. It is not possible to reconcile the natural sense of the Gospel texts with the sense taught by our theologians concerning the conscience and the infallible knowledge of Jesus Christ.

33. It is evident to everybody who is not led by preconceived opinions that either Jesus professed an error concerning the immediate Messianic coming, or that the greater part of His doctrine as contained in the Gospels is destitute of authenticity.

34. The critic cannot ascribe to Christ a knowledge circumscribed by no limits except on a hypothesis which cannot be historically conceived, and which is repugnant to the moral sense, viz., that Christ as man had the knowledge of God and yet was unwilling to communicate the knowledge of a great many things to His disciples and to posterity.

35. Christ had not always the consciousness of His Messianic dignity.

36. The Resurrection of the Saviour is not properly a fact of the historical order, but a fact of merely supernatural order neither demonstrated nor demonstrable, which the Christian conscience gradually derived from other facts.

37. Faith in the Resurrection of Christ was in the beginning not so much in the fact itself of the Resurrection as in the immortal life of Christ with God.

38. The doctrine of the expiatory death of Christ is not Evangelical but Pauline.

39. The opinions concerning the origin of the sacraments with which the Fathers of Trent were imbued and which certainly influenced their dogmatic canons are very different from those which now rightly obtain among historians who examine into Christianity.

40. The sacraments had their origin in the fact that the Apostles and their successors, swayed and moved by circumstances and events, interpreted some idea and intention of Christ.

41. The sacraments are merely intended to bring before the mind of man the ever-beneficent presence of the Creator.

42. The Christian community imposed (*induxit*) the necessity of baptism, adopting it as a necessary rite, and adding to it the obligations of the Christian profession.

43. The practice of conferring baptism on infants was a discipli-

nary evolution, which became one of the causes why the sacrament was divided into two, viz., baptism and penance.

44. There is nothing to prove that the rite of the Sacrament of Confirmation was employed by the Apostles; but the formal distinction of the two sacraments, baptism and confirmation, does not belong to the history of primitive Christianity.

45. Not everything which Paul narrates concerning the institution of the Eucharist (I. Cor. xi., 23-25) is to be taken historically.

46. In the primitive Church the conception of the Christian sinner reconciled by the authority of the Church did not exist, but it was only very slowly that the Church accustomed itself to this conception. Nay, even after penance was recognized as an institution of the Church, it was not called a sacrament, for it would be held as an ignominious sacrament.

47. The words of the Lord: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained" (John xx., 22, 23) do not at all refer to the Sacrament of Penance, whatever the Fathers of Trent may have been pleased to say.

48. James in his Epistle (v., 14 and 15) did not intend to promulgate a sacrament of Christ, but to commend a pious custom, and if in this custom he happens to distinguish (*cernit*) a means of grace, it is not in that rigorous manner in which it was received by the theologians who laid down the notion and the number of the sacraments.

49. The Christian supper gradually assuming the nature of a liturgical action, those who were wont to preside at the supper acquired the sacerdotal character.

50. The elders who filled the office of watching over the gatherings of the faithful, were instituted by the Apostles as priests or Bishops to provide for the necessary ordering (*ordinationi*) of the increasing communities, not properly for perpetuating the Apostolic mission and power.

51. It is not possible that matrimony could have become a sacrament of the new law until later in the Church; for in order that matrimony should be held as a sacrament it was necessary that a full theological development (*explicatio*) of the doctrine of grace and the sacraments should first take place.

52. It was foreign to the mind of Christ to found a Church as a society which was to last on the earth for a long course of centuries; nay, in the mind of Christ the kingdom of heaven together with the end of the world was about to come immediately.

53. The organic constitution of the Church is not immutable; but Christian society like human society is subject to perpetual evolution.

54. Dogmas, sacraments, hierarchy, both as regards the notion of them and the reality, are but interpretations and evolutions of the Christian intelligence which by external increments have increased and perfected the little germ latent in the Gospel.

55. Simon Peter never even suspected that the primacy in the Church was entrusted to him by Christ.

56. The Roman Church became the head of all the churches not through the ordinance of Divine Providence, but through merely political conditions.

57. The Church has shown herself to be hostile to the progress of natural and theological sciences.

58. Truth is not any more immutable than man himself, since it is evolved with him, in him and through him.

59. Christ did not teach a determinate body of doctrine applicable to all times and to all men, but rather inaugurated a religious movement adapted or to be adapted for different times and places.

60. Christian doctrine in its origin was Judaic, but through successive evolutions became first Pauline, then Joannine and finally Hellenic and universal.

61. It may be said without paradox that there is no chapter of Scripture, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, which contains a doctrine absolutely identical with that which the Church teaches on the same matter, and that, therefore, no chapter in Scripture has the same sense for the critic and for the theologian.

62. The chief articles of the Apostolic Symbol had not for the Christians of the first ages the same sense that they have for the Christians of our time.

63. The Church shows itself unequal to the task of efficaciously maintaining evangelical ethics, because it obstinately adheres to immutable doctrines which cannot be reconciled with modern progress.

64. The progress of science requires a remodeling (*ut reformentur*) of the conceptions of Christian doctrine concerning God, Creation, Revelation, the Person of the Incarnate Word, Redemption.

65. Modern Catholicism cannot be reconciled with true science unless it be transformed into a non-dogmatic Christianity, that is, into a broad and liberal Protestantism.

And on the following Thursday, the fourth day of the same month and year, an accurate report of all this having been made to our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X., His Holiness approved and confirmed the decree of the Most Eminent Fathers, and ordered that the propositions above enumerated, all and several, be held by all as condemned and proscribed.

PETER PALOMBELLI, Notary of the H. R. U. I.

## Book Reviews

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IRELAND UNDER ENGLISH RULE, Or, A Plea for the Plaintiff. By *Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., LL. D.* Vol. I., xxv. + 333 pp. Vol. II., iv. + 358 pp. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, 1903.

The volumes were reviewed in these pages on their appearance, but a supplementary notice will not be superfluous in view of the recent failure of the Irish Council Bill to satisfy the legitimate hopes and purposes of the people of Ireland. This failure merely accentuates the prophetic words of Dr. Emmet: "England has never yet undertaken to grant any apparent concession to Ireland without interpolating somewhere a saving clause which in application lessened the full benefit expected" (Vol. I., p. 13). After many years of struggle and of waiting, the Liberal party has once more regained power in the House of Commons, swept thither on the full tide of an enormous majority. At last, it was reasonably expected, the many pledges, hopes, promises, enticements held out to the Irish party in order to retain and increase their support of the Liberal ambitions and the Liberal candidates, would now receive their adequate fulfillment, or that at least such a decided measure of reform would be introduced into Parliament as would indicate very substantially the purpose of the English people to enter resolutely upon the path of reconstruction and rehabilitation of Ireland and its national aspirations. The Irish Council Bill was introduced by Mr. Birrell for this purpose. On the surface it did not appear satisfactory; but, with a seasoned patience which belies all the taunts of English Tories and Orange traitors, to the effect that Irish statesmen were creatures of excitement and emotionalism, the bill was received by Mr. Redmond, the leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, with a quiet statement marked by reserves, indeed, but expressing the intention of taking its provisions into the most serious consideration and with the most favorable attitude of mind which the circumstances of the case would permit. A vast meeting of representatives of the Irish people scattered over the whole earth was held in Dublin, this present year, to express a common judgment of the acceptability or the non-acceptability of the measure. The closest consideration was bestowed upon it by men representing the judicial temper acquired by successful enterprise in all the lands of earth—men prominent in professional and commercial life. With a wonderful unanimity the measure was rejected. Why? Was not even a half loaf better than none? Assuredly—unless the half loaf were stone, and not bread. But is it conceivable that, at this late day, with the record (behind the bill) of pledge and conciliatory oratory by Liberal statesmen; with the



experience of the centuries, studied now as never before, of English misrule in Ireland; with a fuller knowledge of Irish character and its martyr-like tenacity of purpose, its supreme but practical idealism; with the whole world—so long a disgusted but helpless witness of English paltering, misapprehension, selfishness, obduracy—looking on; with the memories of Gladstone to cheer them on—is it possible that English statesmen would now offer once again a stone when the people asked for bread? A “concession” was attempted by the Council Bill. But a concession was never yet granted, says Dr. Emmet, prophetically, without an interpolation somewhere of “a saving clause which in application lessened the full benefit expected.” We must amend Dr. Emmet’s phrase summing up his deep study of Irish history, and make it plural—“saving clauses.” A hasty glance, even, at the splendid arraignment which Dr. Emmet makes (he styles it merely a “Plea for the Plaintiff,” but his earlier word, “Indictment,” would have applied perfectly) of English misrule in Ireland, would lead us to expect some such miserable subterfuge as we find in the Irish Council Bill. This bill was intended as a “concession” to the hopes of Ireland. It pretended to give a limited measure of Home Rule. It therefore established an Irish Council to consist of eighty-two members elected by the people (here is a “concession”) and twenty-four members appointed by the King for the first term and thereafter by the Lord Lieutenant (here is a “saving clause”), while the Under Secretary for Ireland was to be a member *ex-officio*. Now, looked at a little closely, what does this mean? The Lord Lieutenant appoints the twenty-four; if he were himself elected by the people and answerable for his official actions to the people, this would not mean much. But he is appointed by the King! In addition to this, he has the absolute power of veto; he appoints the chairmen of all committees; he is practically an absolute monarch, or the representative in Ireland of an absolute majority in the English Parliament. He can withdraw any measure proposed by the Council, even though presented with a unanimous concurrence of its members. Now, add to his twenty-four appointees the Orange members elected, and observe that a change of merely eight votes in the Council from the eighty-two elected members could blight the aspirations of a whole people. The Council bill confers these prerogatives on the Lord Lieutenant. A worthy concession, truly, to Ireland. But these are not the only saving clauses. The pampered, useless, highly salaried officialdom under which an already impoverished land has for so long been suffering must be carefully provided for. However the Council think to remove such an abuse, the official darlings of English patronage must not come to grief. If the Council should dismiss any of them, the

Lord Lieutenant may, at his option, pension them for life at any fancy figure he may elect. In this way there would be saddled upon the country the salaries both of those officials who would do satisfactory work and of those who should be dismissed for unsatisfactory work. But enough of this recent demonstration of the correctness of Dr. Emmet's historical conclusion; and now to his work itself.

It is a Plea for the Plaintiff, in the course of which the heart-rending story of Ireland is reviewed for seven centuries and a half, down, that is to say, to the Union with England in the last year of the eighteenth century. While it was essential for such a plea that its author should thus review the long history, the two volumes are by no means a history, but rather, like Palma's "Praelectiones" or Parson's "Studies in Church History," a series of monographs embodying a summary of the historical facts in certain epochs, together with a well-reasoned philosophical and judicial conclusion from those facts. Histories of Ireland, large and small, we have in sufficient number. We also have the brief but admirably conceived "plea for the plaintiff" contained in Charles Gavan Duffy's "Bird's-Eye View of Irish History," which is at once a history and a plea drawn from or based upon that history. Monographs well-nigh innumerable, also, we have on special epochs or special phases of that history. But what Dr. Emmet has attempted so successfully to accomplish in his extensive work is to present impartially the significant facts of Irish history, with something like those documentary illustrations which the French style *mémoires pour servir à l'histoire*, with analyses of the important controverted documents, and finally with inferences drawn from both facts and documents in support of his main thesis, which is a plea for the plaintiff, Ireland, or an indictment of the accused, England. This plea or indictment is very briefly and succinctly stated in the preface to Volume I. (10 pages), together with an account of the projected work as first conceived and executed by Dr. Emmet, of the rejection thereof by every (non-Irish and non-Catholic) publisher to whom he sent the work, of the amplification made possible during the five years which elapsed from that first rejection until the publication of the present work. The story thus told in the preface is very interesting and enlightening. Dr. Emmet wished to plead his cause, not before a Catholic or an Irish audience, where its value and correctness are already properly appreciated, but before the hostile, or indifferent, or ignorant public at large; and he therefore determined to seek a publisher representing such a public:

"The manuscript was submitted to several prominent American publishers and, while the writer was courteously treated, it was returned, with a single exception, without comment beyond the statement that the subject was not a desirable one. The exceptional com-

ment was to the effect that 'were the statements made in the work as authentic as those in the Bible, no publisher, with any thought to his future, would dare print such an array against England, when at that time the disposition of the people throughout the country was so friendly towards her.'

To pity or plead for "the under dog" may be an attractive task; but it depends upon one's auditory whether or not it is a promising one. England is so well fortified by diplomacy, by literature, by so-called history, by commercial interests, by geographical prominence through her colonies in every part of the globe, and—last but not least—by social prestige, that a defense of Ireland is not (however grateful and gracious a task) a promising brief to hold. But it is vastly encouraging to find, in the course of the pleading of that brief, that public sentiment the world over is gradually but surely coming to the pleader's side, and that, even in England, its foremost men are either listening with interest or have become, in many cases, ardent champions of the plea. And works like that of Dr. Emmet will advance such a plea in those places where it should most of all be heard.

In the introduction Dr. Emmet notes the fact that "During the last four centuries Ireland has been in a chronic state of unrest and, previous to the late movement to gain by constitutional measures Home Rule for the country, scarcely ten consecutive years passed without a protest on the part of the people in the guise of some outbreak or disturbance." The reason for this is obvious—that "Ireland has never prospered under English rule," and that it was the consistent and determined purpose of England, throughout all the long period embraced by the author's inquiry, "that Ireland should *not* prosper, and that the labor of the people and the resources of the country should be utilized only so far as both could be used to the profit of the English people themselves." Not only was Ireland's perpetual protest illustrated by the various rebellions and plottings recorded in her history, but as well by the ominous fact that, as he remarks, "hundreds of thousands of the best men of Ireland have, in successive generations, either been driven into exile, fallen on the battlefield, suffered imprisonment until both body and mind had become shattered, or sacrificed their lives 'after due process of law'—and all this for the principle of self-government. In the struggle to gain control of the land and its form of government no sacrifice was considered too great, for Ireland is the only country in the world where the people have been deprived of both these rights." That England should have been able to carry on, for so many centuries, so forbidding a plan of campaign, a course so ruthless at once and so selfish, without encountering the united protest of humanity,

was largely due to her systematic repression of the true expository efforts of historians. She would not let the facts be properly stated. She suppressed evidence against her as well as suborned testimony in her favor. "It is a well-known fact that the circulation of works in Ireland written in Irish interests has been suppressed by persecution of the author or seizure, and generally such works were burned by the hangman. Moreover, the English Government has never been backward in having a suitable version published from time to time for the outside world, and has generally managed by some bribe, of title or position, to have it done as though on the authority of some individual. No writer has attempted to trace the persistent efforts made by the English Government in the past to keep her own people in ignorance of Irish affairs. That the Irish people should be kept in ignorance as far as possible and that the children in the national schools should not be taught the simplest fact in relation to the history of their own country may be good policy from the English standpoint. But to falsify Irish history and suppress the truth to the extent done through the influence of the English Government can never be justified." Dr. Emmet next refers to the notable absence of crime in Ireland and the splendid reverence a plaintiff still will have for the orderly processes of any equitable system of law, even when a judgment is passed against his claim.

The other interesting matter found in the introduction we shall pass over in order to sketch briefly the contents of the work. Chapter I. treats (30 pages) of the Irish language and the early civilization and the traditions of the Irish people. Chapter II. (25 pages) deals with "the alleged Bull to Henry II." The chapter is especially valuable for bringing into one place the text of the alleged bull (translated into English), together with the able comment of the Abbé MacGeoghegan on it; the passage from Lingard's history accepting it, by implication, as authentic; the alleged Bull of Alexander III. (English translation), affirming that of Adrian, with the comment thereupon of MacGeoghegan; the passage from Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" accepting the authenticity of Adrian's bull; and, throughout all these quotations, the comment of Dr. Emmet himself. Lingard and Lanigan are for its authenticity; MacGeoghegan and Emmet against it. But, as the author properly states, "the literature on this subject is voluminous and cannot be condensed into reasonable limits, if an attempt be made to show that this Papal bull was a forgery." Dr. Emmet does not meet the question as to whether, even if the bull be a forgery, the donation may not nevertheless have been actually made by Adrian to Henry, as John of Salisbury (who does not mention the bull "*Laudabiliter*," but does refer to a "*letter*" of investiture, and also the "*ring of gold*")

wherewith the investiture might be made, both of which he declares he had received on his visit to Adrian)—and John is a highly credible witness when speaking of facts in which he played a part—declares. If the “*Laudabiliter*” be considered a forgery, it does not follow thence that the passage referring to the receipt by John of a “letter” (quite another thing) and a ring is an interpolation by some other hand, as MacGeoghegan, together with “the learned” believes. A statement here of the opinions of historical authorities *pro* and *con* in respect of the genuineness of the “*Laudabiliter*” would have been additionally valuable in the chapter. Chapters III.-XV. (inclusive) deal with the confused story of oppression and resistance down to the passage of the Act of Union. The remaining chapters (XVI.-XX.) of Volume I. are more general in their scope, and give summarized views which historically include the century following the Union of 1800. Thus (page 274) we have a list of the various Coercion Acts passed in the interest of the landlord. It is an instructive as well as a saddening list. Also, such general questions are treated as “the government of Ireland for a century,” “the true condition of Ulster, its morals and prosperity,” “famines in Ireland,” with their concomitant loss of life and emigration; and, finally, the unjust discrimination which Catholics have had to suffer even to the present day. In the second volume the twelve chapters also deal with general considerations, including “the financial relation of Ireland to England,” the land question, the poverty of the Irish people, the Land League movement, the United Irish League and “what is to be accomplished by union of the Irish people.” One of the great values of these treatments is found in the laborious and happy selection and quotation from prominent writers whose views are often merely stated in too summary a fashion. Dr. Emmet has made his work not merely a splendid Plea for the Plaintiff, but a plea well documented by worthy authorities, so that the two volumes constitute a considerable armamentarium for the accuser of the misrule of England in her sister island. For this reason the extensive appendix to Volume II. (pages 183-257) will be highly appreciated by the readers of the work. Following this (pages 259-328) is the diary of Thomas Addis Emmet while acting in Paris as the secret agent of the United Irishmen, May 30, 1803, to March 10, 1804. This is a reprint from “*The Emmet Family, with Some Incidents Relating to Irish History,*” etc., which was privately printed in New York in 1898, and is here reproduced in view of the very limited circulation of the fuller work on “*The Emmet Family,*” etc. More than a word of commendation should be passed on the very full bibliography (7 pages) and the scientifically elaborate index (31 pages).

The purpose of the great labor undertaken by Dr. Emmet, and too briefly indicated in this summary review notice, was not the vulgar one of stirring up racial hatred or of prolonging any centuried antipathies. The work has a less popular, a severer aim: "The object of the author has been to trace certain causes and effects and to show, what is self-evident in the abstract, that no result can be produced without an adequate cause. As the chief proposition it will be shown that Ireland has only prospered under English rule for a brief interval—when at least Irishmen managed Irish affairs, although these were conducted by a minority, with the added disadvantage that fully eight-tenths of the population of Ireland at that time were disfranchised on a religious test. The logical deduction then presents itself that Ireland has never prospered because of misrule on the part of the English Government." The indictment lies not against the English people—for no individuals are censured as such, and many Englishmen and English women are very amiable and just, and the author has no quarrel with them—but against the mistaken policies and points of view entertained by successive English Governments. Dr. Emmet's indictment appears even more justified by the recent abortive effort of English statesmanship in the puny offspring known as the Irish Council Bill, which alone, almost, would seem to be a compendium of that long story which so fully illustrates how impossible it is for the affairs of Ireland to be administered at Westminster or from Westminster. In brief, Dr. Emmet presents an unanswerable plea for Home Rule for Ireland.

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**HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NORTH AMERICA, COLONIAL AND FEDERAL.** By *Thomas Hughes*, of the same society. Text Vol. I., "From the First Colonization Till 1645." Royal 8vo., pp. xiv.+656. With maps, facsimiles and exhaustive index. Cleveland, Ohio: The Burrows Brothers Company.

We find before us the beginning of a historic of great value. It has a twofold interest—it contains the history of the great sons of Ignatius in this country, and the history of this country in the great sons of Ignatius. Only those who have studied carefully the history of the society and the history of the country carefully and with the proper facilities know the important part which the Society of Jesus took in the work of colonization and civilization. The number of such persons is small. To many the will was wanting; to others the way. Many through prejudice, indolence or ignorance would not or could not see; others had not the means. Even so-called historians closed their eyes, sometimes wilfully, to the full truth when Catholic churchmen led the way, or else they passed over the most

important events in which they were prominently concerned in a manner out of all proportion to the occasion.

In recent years a healthy change has gradually been made, but only by the publication of works dealing specifically with the part which Catholic churchmen took in the formation of this country. We have such a work in the "Jesuit Relations," which the Burrows Brothers Company brought out so splendidly a few years ago, and we have another example in the work before us from the same enterprising publishers. The book is intensely interesting as well as highly informing. It is edited by a man who is enthusiastic, zealous and scholarly, and who brings to his work an equipment which guarantees the best results.

The present volume describes the first era of North American religious history, after the colonization of Newfoundland, Virginia, New England and Maryland. The central subject is the work and progress of the Jesuit missionaries who accompanied the Maryland pilgrims to St. Mary's City in 1633. The history continues till 1645. The volume of documents, which is to follow, gives the text of originals in Jesuit and other archives, whence the whole body of this volume is derived. These originals comprise the correspondence of the Jesuit General in Rome, drawn from his own autographic register, letters of Papal envoys and others in the Vatican and Propaganda, and other documents of the time in the Jesuit archives of Europe and America.

The publishers expect to have the second volume ready in the spring of 1908.

It was intended originally to complete the work in two volumes, but that intention has already been changed, and now it is impossible to say how many volumes the work will demand. The readiness of the makers of the book to extend it to completeness speaks well for its ultimate value. It will be of the highest value not only to students and historians, but to all intelligent readers, and especially to those who are particularly interested in the America of the seventeenth century.

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**GESCHICHTE DER PAEPSTE** seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive, bearbeitet von *Ludwig Pastor*, k. k. Hofrat, v. o. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität zu Innsbruck und Direktor des oesterreichischen historischen Instituts zu Rom. Vierter Band. Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance und der Glaubensspaltung von der Wahl Leos X. bis zum Tode Klemens' VII. (1513-1534). Zweite Abtheilung: Adrian VI. und Klemens VII. Erste bis vierte Auflage. (XLVIII. u. 800.) Freiburg, 1907, Herdersche Verlagshandlung. Price, net, \$3.75.

With great pleasure we announce the appearance of Part II. of Dr. Pastor's fourth volume of his "History of the Popes." In this

volume he deals with the pontificates of Adrian VI. and Clement VII. As the book came to hand at the last moment, we have had time to read only the narrative of Adrian's reign; hence we shall reserve the second Medicean Pope for treatment in our next issue.

Although the story of the last non-Italian Pope is one of singular pathos, and though he was destined to fail in every one of his high aims, yet we can imagine the satisfaction it afforded the historian to come again upon a Pontiff of purely spiritual character, after being obliged to deal with the worldly-minded Popes of the Renaissance period. Previous writers, notably Hoefler and Lepitre, had already cleaned away the baseless charges with which the malignity of contemporary Italians had loaded the memory of one of the saintliest of the Popes; but Dr. Pastor, by a fresh ransacking of archives, was so lucky as to find a great deal of valuable materials, and he has written a history of Adrian worthy of the subject and of the writer.

Was Adrian's career, after all, the downright failure it is usual to pronounce it to have been? True, he cannot be said to have actually succeeded in achieving any one of the three great objects which he set before himself. These were: First, the conclusion of peace among Christian Princes for the purpose of a concerted defense of Christendom against the aggression of the Turks; second, the reform of the Roman court; third, the extinguishment of the religious conflagration in Germany. During his short reign Rhodes fell after a gallant defense; Lutheranism advanced with giant steps, while at Rome but little was accomplished in the way of extirpating inveterate abuses. For all that, and though Adrian, like his Divine Master, was fated to be "sorrowful even unto death," yet his untiring efforts and, yet more, his saintly character, were of immense advantage to the Catholic cause. He kept together and inspired with his own rugged courage the ever growing band of earnest Catholic reformers and blazed the path by which future successors in the Papacy achieved ultimate success. Demosthenes, with infinite scorn, derided those who make the success of the moment the standard of human merit. "The brave man," he says, "wraps himself round in his fortitude, as in a mantle, and leaves the issue of his efforts to the immortal gods." These words apply with peculiar force to the career of Adrian of Utrecht.

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THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN FRANCE, 1900-1906. By *J. Napier Brodhead*, author of "Slav and Moslem." B. Herder, St. Louis, and Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London. Price, net, \$1.35.

The religious situation in France continues to engross the attention of the civilized world; and the more men consider, the more their



bewilderment grows at a condition of affairs which perplexes Catholics and non-Catholics alike. We have received more light on the subject from this little book of Brodhead's than from the immense number of communications which have filled the religious and secular journals. The writer is keen-sighted and wields a facile pen. He has enjoyed exceptional opportunities of studying the French problem, as he has resided over thirty years in that country. He began his appreciation of the struggle seven years ago, when the infidel government began its first insidious assaults upon Christianity; and he may be said to have prophesied the whole course of the combat till the end. No phase of it escapes his vigilant eye. His style is a model of terseness and strength. As instances, take the following short paragraphs, written in 1901:

"It is a notorious fact, well established by Taine, that the French Revolution, with all its saturnalia of carnage and nameless tyranny, was the work of a handful, some ten thousand in all, and even many of these were foreigners. They carried all before them, and I fear that history will repeat itself.

"France's great misfortune is, I repeat, that respectable people will not, as a rule, touch politics, or soon give them up in disgust, while denaturalized Frenchmen and naturalized foreigners do nothing else for a living."

No greater service could be rendered to the Catholic cause than the circulation of this valuable book among the American people.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- INSTITUTIONES PHILOSOPHICAE** auctore *C. Willems, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I., pp. 605, price 9 marks; Vol. II., pp. 680, price 10 marks. Treviris ex Officina ad Stm. Paulinum (Paulinus Duruckerel), 1906.
- CURSUS BREVIS PHILOSOPHIAE** auctore *Gustavo Pécsi, D. D., Ph. D.* Vol I. (Log. et Metaph.), pp. 327. Esztergour (Hungaria). Typis Gustavi Buzarovits, 1906.
- DE SACRAMENTO EXTREMÆ UNCTIONIS TRACTATUS DOGMATICUS** auctore *Joseph Kern, S. J.* Ratisbonæ et Neo-Eboraci (New York): Pustet & Co., 1907. Pp. 412, price 4 marks.
- ON GREGORIAN RHYTHM.** I. The Old Manuscripts and the Two Gregorian Schools. By *Alexandre Fleury, S. J.* (Translation by Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.) II. Rhythm as Taught by the Gregorian Masters Up to the Twelfth Century and in Accordance With the Oriental Usage. By *Ludwig Bonvin, S. J.* New York: Reprint from *The Messenger*. Pp. 46. 8vo.
- MEDITATIONS ON CHRISTIAN DOGMA.** By *Right Rev. James Bellord, D. D.* With an introductory letter from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third edition. Two vols., 12mo., pp. 369 and 363. Convent of Mercy, Callan, County Kilkenny.
- THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST.** By *Jesse S. Hildrup.* With thirty-five illustrations from photographs. Oblong octavo, pp. 100. Chicago: A. C. McClure & Co.
- THE SPIRITUAL CONFERENCE.** Translated from the Annecy Text of 1895, under the supervision of Abbot Gasquet and the late Canon Mackey, O. S. B. 12mo., pp. 406. Burns & Oates, London; Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.
- SHORT SERMONS.** By *Rev. F. P. Hickey, O. S. B.* With introduction by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

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# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XXXII.—OCTOBER, 1907.—No. 128.

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## THE FRENCH CLERGY DURING THE REIGN OF TERROR.

OUR American readers are aware that a few months ago, in May, 1906, Pope Pius X. raised to the altars of the Church a group of Carmelite nuns who, on July 17, 1795, were beheaded in Paris by order of the revolutionary government. A brief account of these holy women, who met their fate with a simple and cheerful courage that is inexpressibly touching, appeared a few months ago in the pages of the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*. The Carmelites of Compiègne were condemned to death as "fanatics," a term that, in the revolutionary language of the day, meant that they had remained faithful to the religious practices to which in happier days they had bound themselves by a solemn promise. Their beatification, besides being of special interest on account of the dramatic circumstances that accompanied their sacrifice, had a graver import, inasmuch as it distinctly proclaimed the fact that the French Revolution was not merely a social upheaval, but a religious persecution, when men and women perished for their faith.

Although hundreds of royalist prisoners suffered with a Christian courage that we cannot but reverence, they are not, in a literal sense of the word, martyrs, but simply victims of certain social conditions. The case is altogether different, both as regards the nuns who, like the Carmelites, were executed because they were faithful to their religious vows, and the priests who perished in consequence of their uncompromising rejection of a schismatical oath. The "cause" of these last, to use a technical expression, has lately been brought forward before the Roman tribunals, and there seems every reason

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to believe that ere long a new group of beatified martyrs belonging to the epoch of the Revolution will be publicly honored.

The French priests who suffered for the faith during the Reign of Terror, as the years 1792, '93, '94, '95 have justly been called, may be divided into several classes. There are those who, rather than take the oath, left their country and accepted a life of exile, poverty and peril in foreign lands; many of these venerable confessors did good work for God in the countries where they found a refuge, and more than one English mission now flourishing owes its foundation to an "émigré" priest from Normandy or Brittany. Then there are those who, having declined to take the oath, nevertheless remained in France, being unwilling to desert their flock. Several hundreds of these devoted confessors were ruthlessly murdered in the Paris prisons on September 2, 1792; others perished on the scaffold during the bloody years that followed; others, again, were imprisoned on board ship off the little island of Aix and there died by inches of hunger and misery.

As a rule, the French clergy came out of the ordeal nobly, a fact that has its significance when we remember that during the eighteenth century vocations to the priesthood were occasionally prompted by policy or convenience. Fidelity to God's grace, combined with the ennobling influence of adversity, did its work, and even commonplace characters rose to a marvelous pitch of heroism when called upon to choose between martyrdom and apostasy.

In the present sketch we purpose to tell the story of two groups of these confessors of the faith—those who were brutally murdered in the prisons of Paris in September, 1792, and those whose more lingering agony was spent on floating prisons off L'île d'Aix.

At the present moment the story of the martyrs of the French Revolution has a peculiar significance. The French priests of the twentieth century are going through a trial of unusual severity, and the example of their predecessors cannot but be beneficial to men who have to face poverty and persecution in the present and possibly trials even heavier in the future. Moreover, it seems probable that ere long the martyred priests of 1792, whose "cause" is pendant at the present moment before the ecclesiastical tribunals, will be raised to the altars of the Church, and if only for this reason, a brief account of the future "beati" must appeal to the faithful children of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

Almost from the outset the policy of the government that in 1789 assumed the direction of affairs in France was distinctly irreligious in its tendencies. The well-meaning, but weak-minded King, Louis XVI., was unfit to cope with the advanced party, whose power soon became overwhelming; but who knows whether even the clear intel-

lect and strong will of Louis XIV., his magnificent ancestor, could have withstood a movement that was the logical result of many complex and long standing causes?

In 1790 the government passed a law that abolished monastic vows. The following year it ordered the confiscation of the property belonging to religious men and women throughout the kingdom. About the same time it caused a scheme to be drawn up known as the "Constitution civile du clergé," the ultimate object of which was to create a schism between the French clergy and Rome. The "Constitution civile" denied the Pope's right to confer spiritual jurisdiction upon the Bishops, and it obliged any priest holding an official position to take an oath of fidelity to "the nation, the law, the King and the Constitution."

The French Bishops, most of whom instinctively rejected the oath, appealed to the Holy See for a decision that would enable them to shape their course with unerring certainty, and in answer to their appeal a brief was issued, dated March 10, 1791, where Pope Pius VI. emphatically declared the "Constitution civile du clergé" to be "sacrilegious and schismatical," and commanded the priests who, through ignorance or through weakness, had consented to accept it, to retract their adhesion without delay, under pain of excommunication.

Thus the question was once for all definitely solved, and the Bishops and priests of France had but one course open to them if they wished to remain in communion with Rome—an uncompromising rejection of the oath, whatever might be the costs.

The determined action of the Pope and the courageous attitude taken up by the clergy seemed to exasperate the government, and during the summer of 1792 it decreed that the priests who declined to take the oath should not only, as they had been so far, deprived of their posts, but immediately imprisoned.

In consequence the prisons of Paris were, during the month of August of that fatal year 1792, filled with hundreds of priests, among whom were several Bishops, many religious, superiors of ecclesiastical seminaries, "curés" and "vicaires," young seminarists and old men, whose life of active labor had long since been brought to a close by age and infirmity.

In some prisons, for instance, at "La Force" and "l'Abbaye," the company was not purely clerical; together with a large number of ecclesiastics were officers of the King's Swiss Guard, magistrates, lawyers, courtiers and even ladies who had belonged to the Queen's household, but at "les Carmes," with one solitary exception, all the prisoners were priests.

The government, after filling the prisons to overflowing, appeared

somewhat at a loss how to dispose of its pensioners. The "guillotine," which some months later was to be permanently erected on the Paris "places," had not as yet made its appearance, and there seems to have been a vague idea of condemning the captives to exile; but gradually the plan of a wholesale massacre grew up in the minds of the men in power. The history of the Revolution has been of late years thoroughly sifted, and it has been ascertained in consequence that the massacres of the month of September, 1792, were not the result of a popular outbreak, but the natural sequence of a carefully prepared design. A writer, M. Lenotre, who has made this fraction of history the object of his special study, seems to have solved the problem. Although the written order is not forthcoming, he has gathered sufficient evidence to prove that the massacres were prepared and commanded by the "Commune," or Municipal Council of Paris, and hypocritically countenanced by the government. The minds of the people were gradually prepared and worked up to a

state of excitement bordering on frenzy. They were informed that not only were the frontiers of the country threatened by the allied armies which the "émigrés" had joined, but also that a graver peril menaced them from within.

The seizure of Longwy by the Prussians was made use of by Danton, the chief promoter of the massacres of September, to serve his purpose. He ably played upon the alarm created by the prospect of a foreign invasion, and in a fiery proclamation he informed the inhabitants of Paris that before marching against the Prussians they must begin by destroying the enemies who, within their walls, were working to enslave the country. All those who have had occasion to realize how easily moved to terror are the ignorant and uncultivated will understand that from its very vagueness Danton's sensational proclamation was all the more calculated to impress the mass of the people. The existence of a vast conspiracy, organized by the "aristocrates" and by the "piêtres réfractaires," as the faithful priests were called, was openly hinted at in the newspapers, and in order to complete this impression of terror the gates of the city were closed and extraordinary measures were taken, apparently to ensure the safety of the citizens.

While the people were gradually working up to the required point, the organizers of the massacres quietly recruited men who for six francs were willing to undertake the bloody work. Large pits were secretly dug in some of the outlying cemeteries to receive the bodies. Maillard, the chief actor in the drama, was instructed to provide his helpers with cudgels and to have plenty of vinegar at hand to wash the blood-stained ground.

At last all was ready. The inhabitants of the city were terrified by hints of a deadly but ill-defined peril, and even the best among them were sufficiently impressed to lose all sense of justice. Hence the indifference with which peaceable "bourgeois" witnessed scenes of blood which, had they been in their sober senses, would have roused their disgust and indignation. Upon others extreme fear acted as an incentive to crime; it lead them to join in the murder of prisoners who were, they had been told, the movers of a "vast conspiracy" that was to reduce France to slavery.

Secure, then, in the active coöperation of some citizens, in the indifference of others, Danton and his colleagues deemed that the time for carrying out their plan had come. On the 2d of September, at midday, a cannon was fired from the Pont-Neuf, a large black flag was hoisted on the Hotel de Ville, the alarm bells rang from the church steeples and within the crowded prisons the priests prepared for death.

One of these prisons still exists, almost unchanged since that fatal day. In the rue de Vangirard, beyond the palace of the Luxembourg, on the left bank of the Seine, stands a large gray building with an Italian looking church. This, before the Revolution, was a convent of Carmelite monks, who built the church in 1620 and who occupied the adjoining monastery till 1792, when their property was confiscated and their community broken up by order of the government.

The empty monastery then became a prison, and early in August that same year over a hundred priests were confined in the church, where no preparation had been made to receive them. When their pitiable condition became known the faithful Catholics who lived in the neighborhood hastened to send them beds, mattresses, coverings and to provide food for those whose means did not permit them to buy provisions, for the revolutionary government declined to feed its prisoners.

In spite of the discomfort of their surroundings, over one hundred men being huddled together in an ordinary sized church during the sultry August days, the confessors of the faith never failed in patience and courage, and the story of their life in prison during those weary weeks of waiting reads like an episode of the early Church.

At first they were forbidden to leave the building, but in consequence of the great heat the air within became almost unbearable, and the doctors having remonstrated with the authorities, they were allowed twice a day to walk in the adjoining garden.

From the outset they adopted a rule of life in common. Every hour of the day had its occupation; the office books passed from one



group of priests to another; prayer, meditation and conversations, of which the favorite theme was the glory and happiness of martyrdom, filled up their time. The very few priests who survived the 2d of September are unanimous in describing the peace and superhuman cheerfulness of these men who were living in the shadow of death. Among them were representatives of almost every diocese in France—eleven vicars general, twelve “curés,” eleven ex-Jesuits, eight other religious, thirteen Sulpicians, professors, chaplains, young seminarists, sturdy parish priests from Normandy and the northern provinces whose lives had been spent in the quiet sphere of their country parishes; others from the south, who brought into the motley assembly the brightness of their sunny temperament. At the head of the chosen band were one Archbishop and two Bishops, men of illustrious birth, who to the courtesy of the “old régime” united the truly apostolic spirit of pastors of souls. The Archbishop, Jean Marie du Lau, had been appointed in 1775 to the See of Arles. He refused to seek safety in flight, and when his friends urged him to leave France he replied: “We must die at our post.” On account of his superior rank and infirm health his fellow-prisoners were eager to surround him with every attention in their power, but he declined to accept even a mattress for his own use until every priest in the church was provided for, and through long weeks of uncertainty and suspense his calmness, quiet dignity and unruffled patience supported his companions. The Bishops of Saintes and Beauvais were brothers, belonging to the noble house of La Rochefaucauld. The elder, Francois Joseph, Bishop of Beauvais, seems to have been of a gentle and lovable disposition, but sternly resolute when his principles were at stake. He had from the outset opposed the “Constitution civile du clergé” and done his best to infuse his own spirit into his clergy. His brother, the Bishop of Saintes, was a man in the prime of life, whose chief characteristics were his intense devotion to his elder brother and his cordial kindness to his fellow-sufferers. He was a voluntary prisoner, having refused to be parted from the Bishop of Beauvais when the latter was arrested. “I have always been intimately united to my brother,” he said, “and cannot let him go to prison without me.”

As time went on, the reports that were brought to the prisoners of the anarchy that reigned outside made them realize still more clearly the fate that awaited them, but their cheerfulness was not impaired. The Abbé Fronteau, one of those who finally escaped, says that he does not remember a single instance of regret or discontent. The same witness adds that as the danger became more pressing, “each one begged for the grace of God, renewed the sacrifice of his life and continued his usual exercises in peace.”

Their untroubled calmness came solely from their absolute resignation to the will of God, for they had by this time no doubt as to the fate that awaited them. So convinced, indeed, were the three Bishops that the end was drawing near that they commissioned their servants, who called every day to receive their orders, to settle their outstanding debts, so that none should suffer by their death.

On Sunday, September 2, Mgr. du Lau presided at meals, as usual, with his accustomed gentle dignity, and towards 4 o'clock the prisoners were turned into the garden for their daily walk; but one and all felt that momentous events were at hand. From the outside came the sound of the "*Marseillaise*;" men were hurrying to and fro, the church bells were tolling and over the excited, throbbing, terror-stricken city hung the awful menace of a mysterious peril.

Suddenly the quiet garden was invaded by the paid assassins. The Archbishop of Arles was standing close to his vicar general, who afterwards escaped. "I believe they are coming to kill us," the latter exclaimed. "Well, *mon cher*," was the prelate's quiet answer, "if our time has come, let us thank God for allowing us to die for so good a cause." A few seconds later the Archbishop was literally hacked to pieces under the eyes of his companion. The Bishop of Beauvais, who was kneeling before a little shrine at the extremity of the enclosure, was disabled from a gun wound. Other priests fell here and there mortally wounded till the voice of Maillard, the organizer of the massacres, interrupted the man-hunt, in which his subordinates were taking a fiendish pleasure. "This is not the right way to work," he said, and the surviving priests were ordered back to the church, where they took up their station between the communion rails and the altar, the Bishop of Beauvais lying on a mattress on the ground, his devoted brother by his side.

In a tiny passage that still exists leading from the church into the garden, Maillard instituted a kind of mock tribunal, and when these preparations were completed, the priests were ordered to come out two together as their names were called out. They then passed before Maillard or his deputy, Violette, and were offered life and liberty if they would take the schismatical oath. This they one and all declined to do. In consequence they were hurried down a double stone staircase that leads into the garden and made over to the blood-thirsty ruffians, who, armed with swords and cudgels, stood waiting for their prey!

The savage shrieks of the assassins were distinctly heard by the survivors, whose ranks were thinning rapidly. They knelt round the altar; not a murmur passed their lips, only the whispered sounds of the prayers for the dying and dead were heard within the church. When "*Pierre Louis de la Rochefoucauld*" was summoned the Bishop

of Saintes promptly rose from his knees, affectionately embraced his brother, who lay helpless, and, his lips moving in prayer, passed on to his doom. Then came the turn of a "vicaire" of St. Roch, the Abbé Guilleminet, by whose side knelt his intimate friend, an officer, the only layman present. Like the Bishop of Saintes, Count Régis de Valfouds was a voluntary victim. He had accompanied his friend to prison and had steadily refused to escape when, a few days before the massacre, he was secretly informed that not being a priest, he might, if he choose, avoid the fate that awaited his companions. Closely united in life, the priest and the soldier went to meet death side by side. The "abbé" was reciting his office and his friend held a volume of the Holy Scriptures.

One of the last to be summoned was the Bishop of Beauvais. Hearing his name called out, he said: "I am quite willing to die, but, 'messieurs,' I cannot walk or stand. Will you therefore have the kindness to carry me?" And, strangely enough, the soldiers in answer to his courteous speech, lifted him almost tenderly in their arms and handed him over to the bloody ruffians, who in the space of two hours dispatched over one hundred victims.

After lying on the ground for a whole night many of the dead bodies were carried to the cemetery of Vangirard, where they were hastily buried in a large pit. Others were thrown into a well in the garden itself, where they were discovered in 1867. After a minute and careful examination, conducted by an eminent surgeon, it was ascertained that the skulls and bones, so unexpectedly brought to light, bore the marks of violent blows sufficient to cause death. Another curious testimony confirmed the fact that these remains belonged to the martyred priests. There was some difficulty in finding the exact place of the well, in which, according to a long established tradition, the bodies of many of the victims had been thrown. After a long and fruitless search the disheartened workmen were about to retire, when an old man made his way into the garden. Taking one of the workmen by the arm, he led him to a certain spot that had hitherto escaped notice. "They are there," he whispered, and, having refused to give his name, he hurriedly left the place. The search was immediately resumed, and this time was successful.

What haunting memories of a guilty past the sight of the quiet enclosure may have raised in the mind of one who perchance belonged to Maillard's band of "travailleurs," as they styled themselves!

Almost by miracle a few priests contrived to escape. Some scaled the walls, others were, strangely enough, saved by the lookers on. It is to these that we owe the account of the faithfulness with which,

one and all, the confessors declined to take the schismatical oath and preferred death to apostasy. Among those who were saved almost miraculously was M. de la Pannonie, the vicar general of Arles, who was standing by Mgr. du Lau when the latter fell mortally wounded. He afterwards made his way to England, where he gave Abbé Barruel, the first historian of the martyred priests, much valuable information.

There are few spots in Paris more impressive than "les Carmes." In spite of the changes wrought by time in other places, this remote corner of old Paris is comparatively untouched. The church where the prisoners prepared for death, the narrow passage where they confessed their faith, the stone staircase down which they were hurled, the garden that was drenched with their blood, all these are unchanged and the twentieth century pilgrim finds himself face to face with the memories of a tragic past among unaltered surroundings.

In a crypt beneath the church are kept the skulls and bones that were found in the well and also the blood-stained pavement of a little oratory, now destroyed, but where several confessors, the Bishop of Beauvais among others, were wounded during the first scene in the drama.

Although the building and garden of "les Carmes" are more especially connected with the martyrs of 1792, one hundred and fourteen of whom reaped the palm of victory within its precincts, the process of beatification that has been lately started likewise includes the priests who on that same day were butchered in other prisons of Paris.

Seventy-five of these confessors, among whom were many Lazarists, ex-Jesuits and Capuchins, were murdered at the Seminary St. Firmin, that was used as a prison; twenty-six others perished at "L'Abbaye" and a few at "La Force." Like their brethren at "les Carmes," they proved themselves steadfast in their refusal to take the oath, submissive and resigned in presence of a hideous death.

We are told that at "L'Abbaye" over sixty priests were confined in a large room that was part of the great Abbey of St. Germain des près, of which only the church now remains. Suddenly the voice of the jailer was heard through the closed door: "The abbey is invaded by the people; the priests are being murdered!"

Instinctively the captives threw themselves on their knees. The "curé" of St. Jean en Grève, one of the parishes of Paris, alone remained standing. He was a white-haired old man, bent under the weight of years. With extended hands he gave his companions a last absolution. Then, with a strong voice, he began the prayers for the dying and the words, "Depart thou, Christian soul," echoed

solemnly through the crowded room, where men full of life and strength were waiting for the end!

However cruel, humanly speaking, was the fate of the priests who on the 2d of September, 1792, were literally hacked to pieces in the Paris prisons, their sufferings were comparatively short. After a brief period of imprisonment came a sharp struggle, crowned by a martyr's death. A more lingering agony awaited those who, having declined to take the schismatical oath, were condemned to imprisonment on board the ships laying at anchor off Rochefort, close to the little island of Aix, that, out of reverence for these holy confessors, might fitly be called "the Isle of Saints." In a narrow space several hundred priests were packed together during one year and more. They were deprived of their books of devotion, forbidden to pray aloud, separated from the outer world by the sea that surrounded their floating prison. The ships on board which they were confined had formerly been used for the slave trade. The cabins were narrow, and the foul air at night was even harder to bear than the cold and wet of the open decks during the day. One of the survivors, M. Labiche de Reignefort, belonging to the Diocese of Limoges, has vividly described the life that he and his companions led on board the vessel called "les deux Associés." They had already spent several painful months in the prison of Rochefort, but their worst sufferings began when in the spring of 1794 they were removed on board ship.

On reaching the vessel they were robbed of their money, watches, knives and extra clothing. A Capuchin monk who had concealed a crucifix among his belongings afforded his jailers a subject of hideous mirth. The crucifix was reviled and insulted, and finally the head was cut off by one of the officers present.

At night four hundred prisoners were packed into a narrow space under the deck, where barely forty persons might have been lodged in comfort. The couches were so close together that the sleepers disturbed each other at every turn, and though the ceiling was very low, several rows of wooden boards were placed one above the other to serve as beds.

The darkness, heat, stench, foulness and vermin of this horrible place were such that a medical man from Rochefort who came to inspect the ship exclaimed: "If four hundred dogs were shut up here even for one night, they would either die or go mad."

At the end of a few weeks every species of disease broke out among the prisoners, over a hundred of whom died in the space of three months. Scurvy and erysipelas were of common occurrence. It often happened that during the night more than one prisoner died simply from want of air, and when once the cabin door was closed

and locked no power on earth would induce the jailers to open it before the following morning. A priest of good birth and great holiness, M. de Montjourieal, was attacked by a malady named "pediculaire," the result of his filthy surroundings. Vermin bred under his skin, and in consequence he was separated from his fellow-sufferers. He bore this cruel and humiliating torture with extraordinary patience and died peacefully in the wretched hut where he lived alone.

The sufferings that the priests endured during the day were scarcely less painful than their misery at night. They were left on deck from 7 in the morning till nightfall, exposed to the sun, rain or wind, as the case might be, with no shelter and, worse still, no occupation. Their office books had been taken from them, but some of them succeeded in saving a few tattered pages of their Breviaries, and these poor remnants they treasured as though they had been "pearls and diamonds" of great price. Their jailers employed them to sweep, wash and clean the decks and cabins. Even the old and sick were forced to work, while their hard taskmasters continued to insult and abuse them.

The food was not only bad, it was dealt out in such small quantities that some priests seem to have gone mad from hunger. Being so closely packed together day and night, it became almost impossible to undress, and as they had no change of clothes, the unfortunate prisoners' wretched garments by degrees fell to pieces.

The slightest remark or criticism, or, worse still, any attempt to procure extra food, was severely punished. Once seventeen priests were put in irons because, with the captain's permission, they had drawn up a petition to the civil authorities at Rochefort. Another was condemned to the same punishment for a fortnight because he begged some fruit from a sailor. A priest named Roulhac, having jokingly remarked that a hundred resolute men might easily take possession of the ship, was immediately shot. The captain, whose fiendish cruelty towards his prisoners made him seize every opportunity of adding to their sufferings, often reminded them that those who ventured to perform any external act of worship should have the same fate.

In some respects these weary months of squalid misery, humiliation and want were harder to bear than the short, sharp trial that the martyrs at "des Carmes" had to face, but the confessors whose story we are telling bore the ordeal bravely. Many were released by death. When their condition became desperate they were removed from the ship into small boats that were used as hospitals, and where some of their brethren who volunteered to act as infirmarians attended upon them as best they could. It was impossible to

obtain the necessary remedies or even to screen the dying priests from the sun or protect them from the rain, and the only service their companions were able to render them was to speak to them of the home to which they were hurrying and to speed them on their heavenward journey. Some of the prisoners had concealed about their persons a vial of holy oils and were thus able to give their dying brethren the Sacrament of Extreme Unction; but these cases were extremely rare; the sailors acted as spies, and in order to curry favor with their chiefs, were ready on every occasion to denounce the unfortunate captives.

The doctors who occasionally came from Rochefort to inspect the sanitary condition of the ships performed their mission as hastily as possible, their one thought being to escape from the foul atmosphere. We may imagine how gladly, under such conditions, the confessors who were attacked by illness hailed the approach of their deliverer—death. Altogether about six hundred priests perished in the course of a year, some in the open boats, others in a so-called hospital on "L'île Madame," a tiny islet at the mouth of the river Charente, where a few tents had been hastily erected.

The account given by our author of the last moments of these holy men is inexpressibly touching. Nothing, he says, could equal the gentleness, resignation and sweet patience with which they endured the neglect and discomfort of their surroundings. There were among them priests of all rank and age—venerable canons whose lives had been spent in the dignified seclusion of some quiet cathedral town, parish priests accustomed to the fresh air and active life of their country villages, religious of different orders, men of gentle birth and refined habits, to whom the loathsomeness of their prison must have been trying beyond words. One and all faced their weary martyrdom with unflinching heroism.

Among those who died in the boats was a Capuchin monk, Father Sebastian, who was looked on as a saint by his companions. He breathed his last on his knees with clasped hands. M. Pertinaud de Jourgnac, vicar general of the Diocese of Limoges, continued, although he was himself seriously ill, to assist and console his neighbors. One of the priests had made a rough cross with two bits of wood, and this M. de Jourgnac held before the dying confessors. At last his own strength failed and he lay down by their side; but even then he continued to exhort and encourage them, till at last he was heard to murmur, "In pace in idipsum, dormiam et requiescam," and his happy soul winged its flight to heaven. A priest who was present and who gave M. de Labiche de Reigneftort an account of this holy death, added: "Never can I thank God sufficiently for having permitted me to witness the end of a saint."

At first the dead bodies were thrown into the sea, but in many cases the current brought them back to land and the inhabitants of the coasts having complained of the danger caused by the presence of so many decomposed corpses, it was decided that they should be buried on the island of Aix. This small islet lies near the larger islands of Ré and Oleron. It is now holy ground, and there is a plan afloat of raising a church on its hallowed soil in memory of the confessors of the faith who were there laid to rest.

Their burial was conducted with an utter lack of respect or even decency. M. de Reignefort tells us that when a priest died in the boats his remains were promptly removed and a certain number of his companions were told off to carry them to the island. This was no easy task. In many cases, horrible to relate, the bodies were decomposed before death, and the survivors had the utmost difficulty in conveying them safely to their place of burial. Often they had to wade knee deep through the water before reaching the sandy beach that served as a cemetery. When, as frequently happened, three or four priests died the same day, their companions went to and fro, often without food, for hours together.

It was when engaged on this painful task that the prisoners first heard of the fall of Robespierre, an event that promised better days. It was at the end of July, and they were on their way to the ile d'Aix to bury the dead when one of the soldiers who were appointed to guard them whispered: "Keep up your courage; your fate may change any day. Robespierre has been guillotined."

Some months passed by, however, before the surviving priests were restored to freedom. At the end of October, 1794, out of nine hundred prisoners only two hundred and seventy-four were still alive. The others lay at rest in the "ile d'Aix" or in the "ile Madame!" Want, hunger, foul air and ill use had done the work of extermination almost as rapidly as the guillotine.

During the winter of 1795 the sufferings of the survivors were intense. The weather was extraordinarily severe and they were left the whole day on the open decks, exposed to the wind and rain, often drenched to the bone, with no possibility either of changing their clothes or warming their benumbed limbs. Many of them fell into a state of stupor from excess of suffering and, says M. de Reignefort, it seemed as if isolation and misery had robbed them of their faculties.

As time went on, however, they realized that their rough jailers' demeanor was becoming less inhuman, and from this they rightly concluded that the change brought about by the fall of Robespierre was at last producing some effect on the policy of the government. One day they were, to their amazement and joy, given two office books and permitted to pray in common. No material benefit could



have afforded them greater consolation, and their spirits, crushed by suffering, revived when they resumed the pious habits of the past. One or two priests were appointed to read the psalms aloud, the others joined in, and towards evening the sound of the "Ave Maris Stella" and other hymns was wafted across the sea from one prison boat to another. Surely these hymns of praise and pleading that rose from the little band of martyred priests must have ascended straight to the throne of God!

At last, on February 2, 1795, the captives were informed that orders had been received from Paris to convey them to the town of Saintes, on the mainland; but some days elapsed before their removal could be carried out. Several towns on the coast where they were appointed to land refused to receive them. The state of misery, sickness and filth to which they were reduced seems to have inspired repugnance and alarm. In the end the little band of prisoners, about two hundred in number, landed on a lonely spot on the banks of the Charente. Some rough country carts were provided for those who could not walk; the others plodded as best they could through the mud and rain to a large village, where they were shut up for the night in a desecrated church.

One of the priests, M. Michel, tells us that although the sky was dark and dismal, the rain falling heavily, in spite of fatigue and hunger, these first hours of comparative liberty seemed exquisitely delightful. The priests were still prisoners, but the sense of space, after the horrible confinement of their floating prison, made them feel almost free. The next day, February 8, they arrived at Saintes. They presented a pitiable picture. Clad in rags, unkempt, dirty, weakened by long suffering and in many cases, says M. de Labiche de Reigneftort, too much crushed by all they had undergone to be in full possession of their faculties, the confessors made their entrance into the little city, where their arrival was eagerly expected. The conduct of its inhabitants affords a bright example of generosity. They flocked to meet the prisoners, many burst into tears at the sight of the miserable procession, but one and all were eager to help and to relieve. By orders of the authorities the new arrivals were lodged in an old convent and the citizens were "in the name of humanity" permitted to assist them. "Hardly had we arrived," says our informant, "when crowds of men and women of all rank invaded the house, bringing us linen, clothes, furniture, money and eatables." The sick were put to bed and tended by a doctor, who cared for them "as if they were his relations or his intimate friends." "In fact," adds M. de Reigneftort, "the reception we met with at Saintes would have made up for all we had previously suffered had we not founded our hope and consolation on higher motives."

Many of the released prisoners never recovered from the sufferings they had undergone and died soon after their deliverance. The others who, after an interval of rest, were able to resume their priestly occupations, bore to their dying day the marks of their severe trials on board ship. A letter that lies before us as we write these lines tells us how these venerable confessors, on whose brow suffering had set its seal, lived and died in odor of sanctity. They were, as a rule, singularly guarded and reticent on the subject of their past sufferings and adhered with scrupulous fidelity to the resolutions that they had made when on board their prison house. These resolutions, which were drawn up by the captive priests almost immediately after their removal to the ship "*les deux Associés*," have been handed down to us by one of their number, M. de Reignefort, whose valuable testimony we have so often quoted.

The "Resolutions" are divided under several heads. They were adopted by all the priests with earnest good will and kept with a faithfulness that speaks volumes for their spiritual perfection. These holy confessors thought that their priesthood obliged them to practice a renunciation more delicate and complete than the patience demanded of ordinary Christians. Hence their scrupulous anxiety to avoid the merest shadow of self-seeking. They bound themselves during their imprisonment to relinquish the hope of being set free, and in order to avoid all occasions of spiritual unrest, to avoid asking for news of what might be going on outside their prison. All their thoughts and feelings were to be concentrated on the acceptance of God's holy will. They were to live cordially and affectionately united, eager to help one another and with the one object of serving God by patience and mutual charity. In the event of their being one day set free, they promised to refrain from exaggerated demonstrations of joy and also to avoid over-eagerness in the recovery of their lawful belongings—books, property, money, etc. They also bound themselves to avoid bitterness or vainglory if obliged to speak of their past trials; never to discuss the faults or weaknesses of their fellow-sufferers; in fact, to keep silence as far as possible on the terrible ordeal of their lives on board the slave ships.

So faithfully, indeed, did they observe these resolutions, that the story we have just related is comparatively little known even in France. This is owing in a great measure to the humble and scrupulous reticence with which the surviving priests avoided the subject of their sufferings. Happily, M. de Labiche de Reignefort deemed it his duty to tell the harrowing tale; but he did so with a charity and a humility that prove him to have been a worthy member of the heroic band.

Within the last few years the exertions of a devoted "*curé*," M.

l'Abbé Mauseau, whose life is spent within sight of "L'île d'Aix," have brought to light much unpublished information on the subject, and the researches that have been lately set on foot with a view to the beatification of the martyred confessors have revived the half-forgotten memories of their passion and death. At a moment when the French priests of the twentieth century have to face persecution, the example of the martyrs of 1792 has a peculiar significance, for although their methods are different, the politicians of 1907 are inspired by the same spirit as those of 1792. Under present circumstances the memories that linger round the gray walls of "des Carmes" or the lonely islet of Aix are fraught with meaning; they bring home to the harassed French clergy lessons of endurance, fidelity and devotion that will surely help them to "fight the good fight" under different and less painful conditions, but with the same brave cheerfulness as their glorious predecessors.

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## THE RELATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO THE ART OF MUSIC.

**A**MONG modern writers on music the less learned, but more pretentious, look with something akin to disdainful compassion at the efforts made by mediæval church musicians to discover the laws that governed music and to turn them to practical use. It is nearly always overlooked by such writers that time—time that covers the rise and decay of generations—is necessary for the development of an art, and that one of the greatest means (if not the only one) to attain success is by a painfully slow process of experiment. Were this experimenting, or groping as it is contemptuously called when applied to the work of the mediævalists, found to end in failure there would be sufficient reason to find fault. Fortunately, success is so evident that one must admit that our modern art of music is entirely based on their labor and toil. Many seem to forget that there is just as much groping to-day in the field of electricity—to take but one example—as there was in that of music during, say, the eleventh century.

It is an easy matter to criticize the early workers in music; to see their faults and suggest how they could have improved their methods. But were we placed in the same position, surrounded by the same difficulties and handicapped to the same degree that they

were, yet at the same time bringing into play the opinions and standards of taste of the twentieth century, the results for art would be a dreary blank.

Nowadays there is neither time, taste nor ability (apparently) to produce a real work of art. Simplicity of conception is mocked at; nothing will pass muster that is not a conglomeration of all schools, signalized by a strong admixture of ugliness. The composer, should he seek for immediate success, must jumble together all possible sounds, discordant as well as concordant; must press into his service every instrument he can think of. And we know what the result is of all this vulgarity. Stupid paintings of mere mechanics are exhibited and lauded to the skies by a coterie of personal friends or by dealers who in one way or another possess influence. If a canvas be made to sell at a "white sale" the name of the workman who turned out the daub is made, and he is ranked (for the time being) among artists. The musical monstrosities have even a larger circle to inflict punishment on. Most of us recall with feelings of awe the cacophony of which accident or necessity made us unwilling listeners.

Mediæval artists and musicians appeared to have been in touch with the ideas and sentiments of the people. They were not searching after transcendental effects (a modern catchcry meaning nothing), but kept to simplicity and unity of idea, and thus produced works of art. Still this simplicity of purpose was probably one of the great causes why so many abuses crept into church music. The principle was stretched so far that the popular specimens of peoples and the correspondingly low order of verse to which they were sometimes allied were pressed into the service of the Church, not with any idea of contempt for religion, but through something like a want of recollection or foresight of the abuses that could possibly crop up from such introduction. It was merely going too far with the practice the Catholic Church has ever had of turning to the use of religion everything that could possibly be utilized of the peoples and races among whom the faith has been planted. With most of the mediæval musicians true religious feelings guided them in their work, and the compositions they left after them bear marks of an earnest endeavor to make the most of the means at their disposal. Exceptions may possibly leap up in the memory. But it would be unfair to apply like criteria of perfection to the works of all those who devoted themselves to music. Some minds were warped by the continual struggle against the canons of art then accepted; others were striving after effects previously unheard of; others, again, had not perhaps the touch of genius.

During all the centuries, from the fifth onwards, the monastic

orders were devoting their energies to the spreading of knowledge—the classics, the arts and sciences. Music in particular occupied a great part of their daily lives. The Divine Office, with its psalmody and hymnody, was chanted in choir at different portions of the day, and there were the various festivals with their proper chants for the Mass when a veritable feast of church song was given. Such continual practice of singing could not but have a far-reaching effect on the art of music. But the want of a clear, ready notation that would make easy the task of learning the chants not only prevented any material advance in the art, but caused the religious to fall back on a merely traditional method of teaching, and was, moreover, I believe, one of the great reasons why we find no clear references by mediæval writers to minute particulars about singing. It had, besides, one great danger attached to it—the corruption of the chants through a defective memorizing of them. For any one who has a knowledge of folk-music (to which church song is in some ways similar) is aware that where melodies of a people are transferred from one to another by memory only, as most are, the varieties of ways in which a melody can be played or sung is very great and a defective memorizing gives rise to many corrupt versions. It was a similar case with the chants of the Church up to the Middle Ages. A considerable store of chant had come down from time immemorial, and from sources unknown. Living traditions of how it was to be sung were in existence; its melodies were treasured in the memories of those whose duty it was to teach their brethren the song of the Breviary and the Missal. We can almost construct a programme of their labors—the laws that governed the blending of one or more voices had to be discovered; an easy and an accurate system of notation had to be worked out; the best and purest version of the chants had to be sought for and adopted.

But this meant work of a not at all easy kind, and it is the constant application to it that we may attribute the preservation of European music. Without the labors of the monks music could scarcely have made the slightest advance, if we consider the continual disturbed state of the nations. The monastic orders were like members of a great family with kindred in every corner of the civilized world, all in touch with each other in one way or another; all having the same end in view; all thirsting for knowledge; all exchanging with each other what was known of the sciences and arts, and handing on to succeeding generations the results of their labors, the doctrines of their greatest teachers and the works of their most learned and skilled men.

The first attempts at notation were nothing more than setting down a series of mnemonics by choirmasters to enable them to

remember the exact melodic figures, the rise and fall of the chant on the different syllables of the text, just as Blessed Notker Balbulus invented his Sequences to help in recalling the neumes of the Alleluia. Whether this method of keeping the chants in mind was in imitation of the ancient Greek methods or was an original idea on the part of the monks may be questioned. It matters not; for the figures used in the mediæval chant were by far more complex than those of the Greeks. This may be seen by comparing the Greek fragments discovered in recent times—the Hymn to Helios, the Hymn to Nemesis, the Mymn of Delphi—and corresponding mediæval chants.

It is not an easy thing to determine to whom credit is to be given for first suggesting musical notation in Christian times. If we pass over the claims (now recently denied) made for the antiquity of the notation in the *Codex Amiatinus* that was brought by Ceolfred, abbot of St. Peter and St. Paul's monastery at Jarrow, to Gregory II., about 716, foremost among those who laid the foundations of our modern notation come the monks of St. Gall, in Switzerland. This monastery, founded by an Irishman, contains on its rolls more than one honored name in music. The notation that the monks employed there is known as the Romanian, it being generally acknowledged up to quite recently as the work of a Roman chanter named Romanus. This person, so the story goes, was sent from Rome by Pope Adrian in 789 at the request of Charlemagne. In company with another chanter, one Petrus, they set out for Gaul, where they were to teach the Roman traditions of chant. When they arrived at St. Gall Romanus fell ill and remained at the monastery while Petrus pursued his journey. The system that Romanus either invented, or possibly brought with him from Rome, was a really remarkable one. It embraced symbols to denote the raising and lowering of the voice; marks of rhythm and intensity, with certain letters to modify the various symbols used. He moreover changed the form of some of the neumes. The system, although having good points in its favor, was rather complicated, and good results could only be achieved when it was employed by choirmasters of exceptional ability. We cannot doubt that the monks of St. Gall must have found it a great help, for they made use of it during a long period.

In other places attempts were made to invent divers kinds of notation. St. Odo (died 947) is credited with a system based on the letters of the alphabet. It is thought that he was successful with it, but how far so we know not, as his work is lost. The Antiphonary of Montpellier, discovered by M. Danjou and dating from the eleventh century, contains two kinds of notation—alphabetic (in which the first fifteen letters of the alphabet are used) and neumes.

Then came an attempt to make the neumes more useful by writing them at different heights above the text in order to show the rise and fall of the intervals. A modification of this, involving the use of dots and points, was used in Southern France and the part of Spain adjoining, and hence has been termed the Aquitanian notation. Another invention in the same field that revolutionized the art of music was the introduction by some unknown genius of a single line above the text set to neumes. In this innovation lay the germ from which our perfected modern scale developed. The new departure immediately commended itself to the monks, who saw the possibilities that could arise from it, and no time elapsed before another line was added. This step considerably simplified the chants and made the more perfect rendering of them a comparatively easy thing. In the process of time a further development took place. This was the introduction of the Guidonian system, where to the already existing two lines two more were added.

Meanwhile the development of the one line system was going on in another direction. A staff notation was being tried. This consisted of a number of lines and spaces, the latter alone being used to represent certain notes. In front of the spaces, at the beginning of the stave, the letters T and S were placed, signifying tone and semitone. The syllables of the text were written in the spaces, ascending or descending as the melody demanded, thus giving a means of finding the pitch. To Hucbald, a monk of St. Amand, who died in 932, according to Fétis, the honor of this invention was given. But of late it has been denied him, and with the new school of critics the inventor is nameless. Closely allied with this Hucbaldian stave is one invented by Hermann Contractus (1013-1054), a pupil of the monks of Reichenau. The system of Hermann is much more elaborate than the Hucbaldian, for he used a series of letters both singly and in combination. Like the Romanian it was too complicated to be of any general use, and did not acquire popularity.

While the monks were wrestling with this difficult problem of notation and the means of facilitating the rendition of the chants, they were also working out an elementary system of harmony that finally developed (by slow degrees, it is true) into the system we now have. If the history of the past were accurately known we should most likely find that musicians owe much to many an unhonored name among those who in the quiet of the cloister spent their lives working to get at the secrets of music that lay hidden behind an apparently impenetrable veil; facing and conquering what must have then looked to be appalling difficulties, until they found a method that would be simple, easy and useful. The probability is

very strong that the work of men like Romanus, Hermann, Guido d'Arezzo, Hucbald or St. Odo was but the reflex of equally great ability and knowledge of many humble souls hidden away from the world's gaze in the monasteries. To those great unknown honor should be freely paid by us who have profited by their silent, secret labors.

Those who were endeavoring to formulate laws that governed the combination of sounds were working on virgin soil, which caused the progress to be necessarily slow. Any one who studies those efforts of the monks must express admiration at the deliberate and full, though somewhat tedious, manner in which they prepared their treatises. But in order to avoid falling into a captious critical mood when looking over these early works on harmony, we cannot keep too clearly before us the enormous difficulties then besetting the subject. Who the first was to devote his abilities to *Organum* or Diaphony we know not. The treatises *Musica Enchiriadis* and *Scholia Enchiriadis*, for centuries attributed to Hucbald, but now by Dom Morin to St. Odo, abbot of S. Pons de Tomieres, Provence, contain the earliest scientific attempts at explaining and giving rules for harmony in two, three and four parts. The Hucbaldian treatises are remarkable for the ingenuity with which their author works out the *Organum*, and for his display of erudition throughout. It seems not at all improbable that the author was applying his scientific knowledge and reducing to rule the methods of part-singing then in vogue in many monasteries. And it is not unreasonable to assume that the writer was urged on by the necessity of formulating rules based on practices observed by his brethren in their magadizing. It appears much nearer the truth to hold that some rough method of harmony was known and practiced long before *Musica Enchiriadis* was written. Of this, however, substantial evidence is wanting, but a few words of Scotus Erigena in his work *De Divisione Naturae* show in a vague way that in his time (circa 840 A. D.) some kind of harmony or blending of the voices was in use. But I think it just as possible to go farther back and interpret the words of Platina concerning Pope Vitalian's supposed introduction of the organ into the Church at Rome, and interpret the words to mean a blending of voices, or what is technically known as *Organum*—which most likely amounted to nothing more at that time than the effect produced by boys and men singing in unison.

The few references and treatises on music that we have are only the salvage of those which existed, but disappeared in the burning and pillaging of many monasteries. Most people have no idea what treasures of learning were destroyed during those troublous times. The greatest vandals and destroyers of all sources of knowledge



were those who wanted to spread the light of the Gospel, as they said, in the sixteenth century. To them it mattered not how great a loss to humanity the destruction of literary and scientific works would be; anything and everything found within the walls of a monastery, the citadel of Poprey, were given to the flames. Considering to what an extent this vandalism went, no one can be surprised at the limited evidences of learning that have come down to us concerning music. But what we have, such as the materials gathered by Gerbert in his *De cantu et musica sacra* and his still more remarkable *Scriptores ecclesiastici*, etc., leaves with us the idea that the labors of the mediæval ecclesiastics in the cause of music were unceasing.

After Hucbald and St. Odo came Guido d'Arezzo. He was a Benedictine, was born about 990, and early became famous as a teacher of music. We can scarcely estimate what Guido did for the art. So far as can be gathered he was so humble and pious that it was by great persuasion only that he could be dragged into publicity to teach his theories. This desire of retirement is the principal cause why his claims to a place of honor in the history of music are so keenly debated. In recent years attempts have been made to strip him of all the honor that writers have paid him for centuries. There is a modicum of truth in the statements of some of his modern adversaries, but the genius of the man is too evident to allow his place in history to have been entirely false. The results of his oral teaching at Pomposa and at Avellana are practically unknown. All our certain knowledge of his work is obtained from his *Micrologus*; from a letter to a Pomposian monk; from another short work entitled *De artificio novi cantus*, and an instruction *De mensura monochordi*. But his abilities were thought so much of that throughout Europe his fame spread far and near. When common gossip becomes the vehicle of knowledge it is a difficult thing to tell where the truth begins and ends. It happened so with the musical reputation of Guido. The enthusiasm of his contemporaries for his talent and virtues so carried them away that the stories they circulated concerning his work caused exaggerated assertions of his abilities to grow apace with the spread of his fame. The inevitable has happened. The tide has turned and endeavors are now being made to strip Guido of every leaf of laurel and relegate him as a pretentious charlatan to oblivion. This mode of treating him can never be accepted by honest historians, for Guido stands apart, a giant born out of time; an exceptionally gifted man, and one who did incalculable good for music.

We shall not be far out if we say that to him we owe the origin of the F and C clefs, the principles on which our stave is based, for

if he did not actually invent the system (and his words seem to show this) he perfected it and made it acceptable to his contemporaries, and, what is of greater value, capable of being used by every one; the use of solmization, an ingenious method of teaching the gamut by the joints of the thumb and fingers (hence called the Guidonian hand); very probably, also, the division of the scale into hexachords, from which sprang the future glory of fugue under the sixteenth century masters. For a pioneer in the field these are works not to be despised.

Coming after him are some remarkable writers on music, all helping to advance the art. However small may have been the additions made to it by some of them, they each and all hold places of honor in history. With the *Ars cantus mensurabilis* of Magister Franco mensurable music may be said to have begun. Who this Franco was has occasioned not a little difference of opinion among historians. But the one now prevailing is that he was Franco of Paris, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who flourished about the middle of the eleventh century, writing his work on mensurable music somewhere about 1060. In history the author has been generally called Franco of Cologne, but there seem to have been two writers of the same name, the work of one being attributed by mistake to the other. There were others, such as Hugh di Vercelli (1212), the Benedictine William of Odington, or of Evesham (circa 1300), John de Muris (circa 1320), Tinctoris, born about 1434; Zarlino (1517-1590), who did considerable good for music by gradually paving the way for modern theorists and composers. But one cannot help comparing their voices to an echo of the living voice of music that was heard in private within the walls of innumerable monasteries.

Walter de Odington by his work *De speculatione mustcae* showed himself to be a man of deep culture and a musician of no mean parts. His work on music is of great value for a study of rhythm, derived or based on poetic measures, and it shows the importance attached to this branch of music by his contemporaries. Another Englishman, Simon Tunsted, a Franciscan of Oxford, wrote a treatise on music entitled *De quatuor principalibus*, about 1351, which also is of considerable value for the manner in which it treats of measured music. The Englishman, Hothby, Carmelite and doctor of music, likewise did service for the art by his works, one termed *Ars musica*, another *Calliopea legale*, and two treatises on counterpoint, all of which he wrote at either Ferrara or Florence. Just a century later than Tunsted Tinctoris was born in Brabant, in 1434. He may be said to have covered the entire field of musical knowledge by his many works, among which is the first Dictionary of Music ever published. Zarlino's *Institutioni armoniche*, published in 1558,

with two volumes that could be called appendices, *Dimonstrazioni armoniche* (1571) and *Supplimenti musicali* (1588), caused great discussion on account of the author putting forward claims for the Intense Diatonic system of scale demonstrated by Claudius Ptolemy, 130 A. D. For this Zarlino was fiercely attacked, but not worsted in the fight. It tells how clearly the man saw the truth of his theories when now after four centuries nearly all that he advanced is followed in practice. But in his own day his adversaries did not hesitate to use the most violent and opprobrious terms towards him. Like all men of great mind and foresight, he recognized the shortcomings of his contemporaries and advocated a system which he believed would be of greater benefit to music.

If we argue that these children of the Catholic Church were the guardians of the art throughout the ages; that only for their labors of love music would indeed be in a bad state to-day, some one may object that after all their work by no means shows what the attitude of the Church itself was. But that attitude is very clear. From the time of St. Paul's admonition to the Colossians (iii., 16) and Ephesians (v., 19) to cultivate song, the Catholic Church has ever shown a love for the art. She encouraged it in every possible way, and under her fostering care it progressed. Those who have read history cannot but be struck with the many tokens of esteem and honor that the Popes showered on men gifted in music. And it is principally by reason of Papal patronage that the works of the great composers have been kept from perishing. It is well worth remarking how some of those who wholly and solely devoted their lives to music were treated by the ecclesiastical authorities.

Hucbald, it is said, was persecuted by his uncle, the Abbot of St. Amand, and driven from the monastery. Yet it is a strange thing that the expelled monk was immediately received, and apparently given the mastership of music at Nevers, going from thence to St. Germain d'Auxerre, and later on returning to his own monastery of St. Amand to take charge of the music there. The story of persecution bears on its surface the appearance of a fabrication and of being unworthy of credence. A precisely similar story is told in connection with Guido d'Arezzo—that he also was driven out of his monastery. In those far-off times, though monks suffered occasionally from overbearing superiors, there were easier and by far more effective means of venting the spleen of jealousy than by driving a religious out of a monastery. But apart from this it is striking that both men found remarkably good positions at once in other monasteries. Guido wound up his career by becoming abbot of Santa Croce, at Avellana, after being honored by a call to Rome by Pope John XIX., who begged him to remain in the city and teach

music. Hugh di Vercelli was a Bishop of high repute; Simon Tunsted became provincial of the Franciscans in England; Tinctoris was a priest and became a canon of Nivelles after he had served as chaplain to the King of Naples; Zarlino was thought so highly of by the authorities of the Church that he was chosen Bishop of Chioggia (his native town), but the Doge and Senate of Venice, where Zarlino was organist of St. Mark's, not wishing to lose him, made such strong opposition that he relinquished the see; Genet, called Il Carpentrasso, was consecrated Bishop and honored by Leo X. in a very special way. Instead, then, of marking out those who devoted themselves to music as the objects of persecution, the Church gave them her patronage in a marked degree.

The history of composition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries centres round the Pontifical Chapel and the basilicas of Rome. Thither went those who were musically gifted, and so far as I can ascertain no one with talent had ever to leave the Papal dominions for want of regard or patronage. The modern history of music since the old condition of things was overturned by the sixteenth century revolt is very different. Formerly the patrons—the Sovereign Pontiffs—were men of learning, the illustrious of their age. Their love of learning was so great that they gathered around their court all the best minds of the Christian world. Nothing but the highest aims of art were considered worthy of being followed, and artists vied with each other in seeking the sublime and beautiful. Modern patrons, on the other hand, are to a considerable extent very different—men who help on music by setting the lowest standards of taste and by creating names for composers who should never have been heard of. If such men be not the patrons, then the composer falls back on that will-o'-the-wisp guide known as public opinion. To be a popular composer pays infinitely better than to work for art's sake, which was the aim of the great masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The patronage of the Popes was imitated in the various centres of learning and in the great episcopal sees throughout Europe. Rome was naturally looked on as the centre of all learning, as it was of Christianity, and the approbation of the Pope was sought by all who wished to succeed in a musical career. There was so much intellectual activity in the Eternal City that it was almost impossible for a gifted man to escape notice and, as a natural sequence, assistance throughout his career from the Pope and Cardinals. Hence it was that an unknown country youth like Palestrina wended his way to the city and worked for recognition. For whole generations a stream of musicians went from the Netherlands, from all parts of Italy and Spain. Few names are more honored in the history of

music than those of Dufay, Josquin des Pres, Orlando di Lassus, Morales, Vittoria, who had come to Rome from afar. Some musicians went there of their own accord to seek aid; others were invited. Whenever the fame of a composer reached Rome it was not long before he was called to the city by the Pope. This was the case with Josquin des Pres, whom Sixtus IV. bade come to raise the standard of music in the Pontifical Chapel. John XIX. had previously done, as we have seen, the same with Guido d'Arezzo. Bardi, one of the originators of opera, was summoned from Florence by Clement VIII. Urban VIII. took Allegri from Fermo. Jomelli was summoned from Naples and became the protégé of the Cardinal Duke of York (1740). And Corelli lived nearly all his life in the palace of Cardinal Ottoboni, who was continually working for the good of art and assisting artists in every possible way.

The well-worn calumny that the Church is the foe of all knowledge; a tyrant, curbing every attempt at advance in science and art, has not even a shadow of foundation in the history of music. It will be found, moreover, that not only in music and art—in its widest application—but in every pursuit of learning the Church has encouraged and rewarded legitimate research. Its very constitution as a corporate body, however, brings painting, sculpture and music more prominently in view. And it will be found that there is no nation, no society, no collection of men, under whatever term you may wish to class them, that has done so much for the arts as the Catholic Church. Epitomizing our knowledge of the history of music, we can say that, while it lay in the power of the Popes, whenever a talented musician was discovered he became the recipient of the highest honors and the most lucrative posts that the Pontiffs had at their command. The positions of honor did not, perhaps, bring with them the same ease and luxury that many of the present day give. But on this point there is a curious anomaly staring us in the face. While the mediæval musicians were for the most part content with little more than the necessities of life, so long as they felt that as musicians they were held in esteem and honor, our moderns put the position and honor of their calling in the secondary place and look for the material advantages.

Looking back over the centuries, no student of music who is not blinded by prejudice of the grossest kind can help feeling grateful for the part the Catholic Church has always played towards the art. The Popes were not alone in showing their love for it. The Bishops in their various sees, having before them the example of the Pontiffs and of that great lover of music, St. Ambrose, their canonized fellow-Bishop, freely gave their patronage and pointed out the use the art could be turned to for the benefit of religion. In Gaul the Bishops

did all they could to obtain the purest form of chant and had schools of music erected in connection with their cathedrals. In England, where a love of ecclesiastical music was very strong, the ecclesiastics of the north vied with those of the south to acquire musical knowledge. Across the sea was Ireland, traditionally the land of song, with monasteries dotting it all over and the chants of the Church heard from morning till night; where Bishops could be seen (as Giraldus Cambrensis tells us) in the twelfth century going on their journeys harp in hand; where there was a proverb that "poor indeed is the church that has not music." In all countries the Church was helping on the cause of the art.

Then grew up gradually those schools of composition which had their first inspiration in the pure strains of Church song and in the *Scholae Cantorum* of early times. And that song in its turn owes in no small degree its perfection to the work of the Hellenistic Popes from St. Agatho (678) to Zachary (752); to the zeal of St. Gregory, and to lovers of music like St. Isidor of Seville; Amalarius, the Deacon of Metz, who flourished about 830; Aurelian of Reome (circa 850), or Regino of Prum (915). We can never fully account for what these and other workers did for music. Some were laying the foundations of church chant by obtaining the purest versions of what already existed; by casting aside what was corrupt and recording the true forms of it. Others, again, were devising systems of notation, or endeavoring to unravel the mysterious laws that caused one combination of sounds to be tabooed and another to be acceptable and agreeable. Others were devoting themselves to composition in its highest branches. In one way or another work was continually going on. And the workers were encouraged by remembering that they were following in the footsteps of those who not only had the approval but the blessing of the Church on their work.

Sooner or later historians of music must see that the work done by the mediæval Church deserves close attention, and that the minutest investigation will yield rich results. Those who will make an honest endeavor to pierce into the so-called Darkness of the Middle Ages will lift their heads from the pages of history amazed at the injustice done to those times by men who claim to be heard in the interests of truth. And they shall become filled with admiration and wonderment at the labors and successes of the children of the Catholic Church during those times when the corner-stone and foundations of our modern art of music were laid, truly and well.

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## FRENCH MISSIONERS IN INDIA.

WHILE an anti-Christian government in France is waging war upon the Church and striving, by a process of starvation and spoliation, to extinguish Catholicism in that country, it is a singular instance of the irony of history that the very religious orders which the intolerant faction who hold the reins of power at the Elysée Palace are despoiling and dispersing enjoy the fullest freedom of action in dominions under the sway of a professedly Protestant power like England.

The work of the French Capuchins in India is a very timely object lesson in civil and religious liberty, full of point and pertinence at this moment. The territory ecclesiastically assigned to the mission confided to the Capuchins of the Province of Paris belonged, ten years ago, to the Archdiocese of Agra. In the second half of the sixteenth century Agra, which in the reign of Akbar received almost favorably the preaching of the Blessed Rodolph Acquaviva and his companions, had, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, become the see of an immense Vicariate Apostolic. Thibet-Hindostan comprised the whole valleys of the Ganges and the Indus and extended from Sindli to Bengal and from Himalaya to Barbada, or the entire of North India, with its population of 108,000,000 souls—a region too vast, assuredly, for the handful of Capuchin missionaries whose labor was almost sterile. Agra, Patna and the Punjab had been detached therefrom before the erection of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in 1886 by Leo XIII., when Agra was made an archiepiscopal see, with Allahabad and Lahore as suffragans. From these three dioceses, still too large, were further detached three Prefectures Apostolic—Allahabad and Bettiah, Lahore, Kashmere and Agra and Rajpootana.

At the time when Propaganda was contemplating this last subdivision the Parish Capuchins were already missionaries abroad. As chaplains of the French Embassy at Constantinople, they had made the chapel of St. Louis a centre of religious attraction to the European colony and founded the native seminary, now so flourishing. In July, 1890, that portion of the Archdiocese of Agra called Rajpootana was exclusively confided to the fathers of the Paris Province, with the special objects of Christianizing the infidels and preparing the way for the formation of a native clergy. The military occupation of India by the English was almost continually bringing into these immense districts some priests, scattered over the province of Agra, and whole regiments of Irish soldiers, to whom they acted as chaplains. Missionary work, properly so called, was

necessarily neglected. The number of missioners increasing, such a state of things was no longer permissible, and Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, said so distinctly to the French Capuchins chosen for the mission. Towards the close of 1890 three priests and two lay Brothers left France, and, after receiving at Rome the Pope's blessing, embarked for India, which they reached on November 21, applying themselves at once to the study of the native dialects, customs of the country and methods of evangelization.

The mission of Rajpootana comprises three great natural divisions—the tableland of Malwah to the south, perhaps the most fertile land in India, producing two successive harvests, one in October and another in March; Oriental Rajpootana, to the east of Arawah, with mountainous forests rich in pastures and fertile valleys, and Western Rajpootana, with its immense sandy plains, extending from the most arid zone of the globe, which they touch to the west, to the foot of the Arawah, where they become arable. The population of the mission then consisted of 14,000,000 inhabitants, including about 800,000 Mohammedans, 6,000 Protestants of different sects and 2,000 Catholics.

Of the seven great ethnographical families now recognized in India, four occupy the mission field—the Dravidians, regarded as descendants of the primitive inhabitants and who are found in the oldest geological formation of the peninsula; the Indo-Aryans, whose physical features and social characteristics differentiate them from the rest of the Indian people, and whose remote ancestors are assumed to have immigrated *en masse* from the tablelands of Eastern Persia and Beluchistan; the mixed type of Aryo-Dravidians and the Scytho-Dravidians.

In 1890 the mission only counted one native station, Jeypoor, in charge of an old Italian priest, Father Conrad; not but that there were other stations and other priests, Father Patrick,<sup>1</sup> an Irishman, looking after the Eurasian and Goanese population at Ajmere, while the garrisons of Nassirabad, Nimach and Mhow absorbed the activity of three military chaplains. The enterprising and energetic Father Pius of Benevento obtained from the government a site and grant for a church at Mhow dedicated to the Sacred Heart. The mission also owes to him the residence of the missioners, the chapel of St. Anthony and the Catholic cemetery; and at Indoor, where a

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<sup>1</sup> Presumably the late Rev. P. J. Knaresboro, O. S. F. C., a native of Kilkenny, and formerly of the Irish Capuchin province.

<sup>2</sup> Founded at Angers in 1871 by Father Chrysostom, O. S. F. C., under the auspices of Mgr. Freppel. They now number forty-three in Rajpootana, including thirty-two choir Sisters, and have three residences—Mhow, Ajmere and Marlapoor. The first superioress at Marlapoor, Mother Mary Paul, died of cholera during the great famine of 1900.



detachment of troops from Mhow necessitated the regular visit of the chaplain of that station, a church and presbytery.

By a decree of Propaganda Rajpootana-Malwa was on March 17, 1892, erected into a Prefecture Apostolic, and by a further decree of April 10 the Very Rev. Father Bertran de Dangeul, of the Province of Paris, was nominated Prefect Apostolic, thus officially establishing the mission of the French Capuchins in India.

Father Bertran from the start secured the valuable assistance of the nuns of St. Mary of Angels, Angers,<sup>2</sup> who, after their arrival in November, 1892, opened boarding and day schools for English-speaking girls and free schools for poor children, similar schools for boys being established at the missionaries' residence. This Christian population consisted of poor people from Goa and Madras, often sunk in vice and ignorance.

As soon as the missionaries had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the native language they traversed the neighboring villages and fraternized with tillers of the soil. The Bhil race seemed to offer the most promising field of missionary labor. They came in contact with these primitive people on the uplands of Piplia and Manglia, to the south of Mhow, and several times shared with them their meagre allowance and slept in their mud hovels, celebrating on the morrow the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in the rocky wilds of the Vindhya. Provisionally established at Manpore, they sought to find a firmer foothold at Garaghat, a few miles from thence, in a picturesque place facing the mountains and on the edge of precipices, below which foaming torrents pour down in resounding cascades. But this had to be abandoned. It was very picturesque, but very solitary—admirably adapted for a Carthusian monastery, but inadmissible as a missionary centre. They had to push farther afield, and met with resistance from the Bheel tribes; and when malaria seized the missionary, after a year's prospecting, they gave it up.

In January, 1896, Father Bertran sent another missionary, Father Charles, to attempt a new foundation in the Bheel country. After scouring the country for a month, living under a tent, he finally fixed his post at Thandla, a small native village a few miles from the Bajrauggarh station, where he lived for two years with his companion, Brother Meinrad, in a small house in the midst of the bazar or marketplace, much frequented by the Bheels, scattered over a radius of twenty miles around. They were years of great privations. The father went from village to village catechising, while the Brother dispensed medicines and acquired a reputation as a great doctor among the natives; so that Thandla will long cherish the memory of the "Dokra-Doctor," or Old Doctor, as they called him. He was a favorite with the Brahmins as well as with the lower castes; went

everywhere, and wherever he went visitors crowded to his dispensary. His popularity, for he was very well liked, counted for much in the establishment of the Thandla mission; he was so good, so gentle, so willing to please everybody. The natives had almost as great a veneration for him as for the Divinity; for to them patience and placidity are the acme of virtue, Europeans in general being so *ghussawala*, so impetuous—their ideal of the profane man, the sinner!

After two years, through the intermediary of the political agent of Sirdarpore, Father Charles obtained a piece of ground at the entrance of the village, sufficiently out of reach of people's importunity and yet in proximity to visitors, upon which he built at little cost a small chapel and a maisonette with a veranda. Up to that time he had not made any conversions. They left the missioners at peace, which was something. Somewhat dreaded as *Franghis*, they found them useful, as they cured diseases, but remained deaf to their preaching. "It is very true what you say! (*Khari bat! Yah to salû*)" they would say; and they stopped there. These formal expressions in the mouth of a Hindoo are not even approvals, as one might think; they do not even theoretically imply adhesion. It is the natural and unemotional exclamation which spontaneously escapes the lips of an Indian who hears a story. The word "true" has not absolutely the same meaning to him as to us. One would think so, to see him docile and attentive; he remains candidly indifferent, unconcerned; he is not touched. One might say that he hides his thought under the words he employs. Who could say if he has even a thought?

A year passed thus without any glimpse of hope. That made three years. Still an enormous result had been reached. The missioners had gained the sympathy and veneration of the poor. The lower castes, less proud and consequently less removed from God, willingly drew near the father, and a day came when the latter felt himself repaid for all the privations endured and the weariness of long waiting.

In 1896 the French nuns opened a day school at Ajmere, the capital of Rajpootana, where, as teachers, they have acquired a well merited reputation in North India. In four years seven of these excellent religious, unrelaxing in their labors in the class room, the orphanage and in the fields, sacrificed their lives for the salvation of the Indians.

At some distance from Ajmere, on the road to Nasirabad, after passing the vast railway works to which every morning throng thousands of native workmen, is met the village of Singachauri. On the outskirts of this village, on an eminence overlooking the valley, Father Daniel, who then had charge of the Catholics of Ajmere,

built, in 1894, a rather primitive construction, serving at once as chapel and school, in which he gathered his catechumens—people from the surrounding villages—having undertaken the evangelization of all the environs of Ajmere and chosen Singachauri, with Madar and Ladpoora as points of concentration. His efforts at first appeared crowned with success. The number of catechumens was rapidly increasing, the neophytes displayed docility; in a short time he had nearly one hundred baptized. Then came trial—the usual trial at the beginning of an Indian Christian settlement. The heads of the caste, at first indifferent to a nascent movement, become watchful when it becomes marked, hostile if it threatens to become general. Then it is a question of choosing between Christ and caste, communion with foreigners or society with one's neighbors, friends and tribe. Many dropped off, and this defection led the prefect to think that the continual presence of the priest in the midst of pagans was an indispensable condition to their conversion. Consequently a new priest, just arrived in India, was sent to Ladpoora, the second station on the railway from Ajmere to Jaypoor (1896). He built himself an earthen hut, which he thatched, learnt the language of the country and lived on the native dietary. He would soon have died of it, for, undermined by fever, debilitated by an absolutely rudimentary diet, he had to leave after about a year and went to recruit his health at Mhow.

A native seminary was begun in the following year, 1897, at Jeypoor and placed under the direction of Father Paul. Like every other missionary work, it was a difficult undertaking, demanding much patience and reliance upon God.

About the same time Providence opened up another field of action for their zeal. Famine had made its appearance in the eastern portion of the mission. The prefect immediately sent priests to the poverty-stricken districts to baptize the children and gather together the orphans; and then went to France to beg for them, returning in December, 1897, to find a hundred orphaned boys and girls at Mhow, Ajmere and Jeypoor.

The year 1898 saw the completion of the Churches of St. Ann at Ratlam and of the Immaculate Conception at Ajmere, and 1897 the establishment of the first colony of children orphaned by the famine at Maupoor, the chief place of a small British reservation in the midst of the native state of Indoor. The chapel, dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, was blessed on his feast, June 13, and the future village which was to grow up around chapel, orphanage and their dependencies, received in advance the name of the Virgin's Village—Mariapoor.

At this epoch the missionary labors of the French Capuchins began

to bear fruit in conversions. A lad of thirteen, belonging to the caste of weavers, asked to be baptized. Of an adventurous and mettlesome disposition, he seemed to fear nobody. He was instructed and, with his parents' consent, received baptism and took the name Paul. He became a sort of apostle in his way. His relatives and others of his caste gradually followed his example, and soon Father Charles counted twenty adult converts, ostensibly Christians and frequently approaching the sacraments.

While these conversions raised the hopes of the missioners and the outlook seemed encouraging, the horizon was darkened by the great famine of 1899-1900, which blighted the land and deprived the prefect of some of his most valuable auxiliaries. Brother Meinrad, Father Charles' companion, died of exhaustion at Thandla in September, 1900; Mother Paul, superioress of the girls' orphanage at Mariapoor, and Brother Francis, a tertiary at Mhow, succumbed to cholera. Three other missioners and a nun stricken with the same disease miraculously escaped death. The fathers baptized thousands of dying and gathered together a large number of children; but many of the latter did not survive the severe privations they had endured.

During the great famine the Capuchins acquired a rather considerable site quite near Ladpoora, where they established an orphanage for fifty boys, to which they gave the name of Josepoora, and where they had suffered much from the summer heat in the midst of the jungle without any habitation to shelter them by day or night.

A few months after this foundation Father Daniel, a pioneer of the Capuchin mission in the country of the Rajas, who had labored so zealously for the conversion of the native race in the environs of Ajmere, died on March 25, 1902, from tuberculosis. He was like a Franciscan of the primitive type come to life again, reproducing in these modern times the simple habits and methods of working of the Umbrian friars of the thirteenth century; going about on foot, accompanied by a catechist, carrying over his shoulder a little brown cloth sack containing his breviary, some of the simplest remedies, an illustrated catechism and water for baptisms. He also took with him an accordeon, would pause by the side of some well near a village and sing something in Hindostany, accompanying himself. He thus drew around him the peasants, who, resting on their heels and passing the pipe from mouth to mouth, listened to the music. When this was over the missioner, after reflecting for some moments, explained the Catholic doctrine with the aid of the illustrated catechism. He afterwards sent for the sick and needy, giving medicines to the former and alms to the latter. The sun would meanwhile have ascended the horizon and be shedding its scorching rays down into

the jungle. It being impossible to return to Ajmere without exposing himself to the risks of isolation or fever, he installed himself under a tree and shared his modest meal with some peasant, just as St. Francis did of old with the wayside beggar. At evening he wended his way back to Ajmere, thoughtful, with downcast eyes, telling his beads, as was his usual wont. Some days before the Christmas of 1897 he was seized with a spitting of blood, which revealed tuberculosis. He still labored for two years longer at Mhow and two years at Indoor, always leading the same mortified, zealous life, until, without any agony, he calmly expired. His death, which deprived the mission of a venerated apostle, was followed by the retirement of Father Bertran, worn out with care, weariness and sickness, after laboring unrelaxingly for ten years, traversing twenty times the large mission field from north to south during the terrible famine year (1900), present everywhere where drouth, destitution or disease made themselves felt, raising the courage of his missionaries, guiding them with his counsels, supporting them under trials and inspiring them with his example, until the work proved too burdensome for his enfeebled constitution. As soon as a temporary sojourn in a healthier climate effected a slight improvement he hastened to return to the field of battle, ready to still combat for the diffusion of the faith and the extension of the kingdom of God; but his malady, assuaged, not healed, reappeared in a more dangerous form, and, submitting to the Divine will, he resigned his charge into the hands of the Vicar of Christ, declaring himself incapable any longer of fulfilling its obligations.

His successor in the prefecture, Father Fortunatus, of Tours, in an interesting work<sup>3</sup> on the origin and present condition of the Capuchin mission in Rajpootana, gives us his impressions and experiences of missionary work in India, which are very informing. He says there is not much to be expected from baptized adults. "Intelligence seems atrophied in those savage brains; even memory no longer exists, no more does will; slaves of custom, they are incapable of acting from personal initiative; their minds cannot grasp things which are outside the reach of the senses; they are led by instinct, and truly one hardly knows how to reach their souls. No doubt, God must be easier with them, but still they must be sincere, and it is never very clear that a pagan adult is so, although I have an idea that they may go farther in duplicity without being very culpable, once their mind is moulded in this fashion. In short, when they have been baptized, one can hardly do more than await their last illness; as they always die very resigned and the thought of

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<sup>3</sup> "Au Pays des Rajas. Les Débuts d'une Mission Par le Père Fortunat de Tours, Préfet Apostolique de la Mission du Rajputana." Paris, 1906.

God scarcely dismays them, there is room for hoping that their salvation is possible. It is otherwise with the children. There is the hope. The infant child certainly inherits from its parents, but one may form or, reform it if you will, not completely, at least to a very satisfactory degree. The experience of our orphanages demonstrates it. Their chief solicitude, then, at Singachauri was to improve the school. To reach that result Christian teachers were necessarily needed. The catechist, a Rajpoot, who up to that time taught the children, was no doubt baptized, intelligent, even fluent, but as far from the Christian spirit as the adults of whom I have spoken above. One could not count on him to direct pagan children towards Christianity. They knew that; but what was to be done? They had no one. Our nascent mission had not had time to also form serious catechists, and we had to use the instruments within our reach, such as they were. This explains a great number of the difficulties and disappointments of the first year.”<sup>4</sup>

The pupils are almost all of very low castes, as regarded in India, such as gardeners, wood-sellers, weavers and tanners, contact with whom is supposed to soil those of higher castes. The parents do not object to their children receiving religious instruction. The thirty-two children in the school at Parbatpoora, another village formerly Christianized by Father Daniel, are of a better caste and belong to an important clan in the country of Ajmere-Merwara, the Mhers or Mhairs, of the group of Sudras, from whom the regenerated—that is, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisya—cannot receive water, but whom they can approach and touch without contracting any contamination. At the time of the taking of Ajmere by the English in 1818, Merwara was a wild, unexplored country, inhabited by tribes of marauders who lived by pillage. In 1820-21 a regular expedition was sent to Merwara, when the district was conquered. In process of time a social transformation took place. These plundering bands abandoned their former villages, invariably perched on the tops of mountains, in inaccessible places—regular eagles’ nests, where they felt out of the reach of their fellows and wild beasts. They now settled down in valleys, took to work and applied themselves to agriculture. The Merwara clans claim to descend from Rajpoot chiefs who married daughters of the Minas, the primitive inhabitants of the country before the Aryan invasion. The Mhairs number nearly 22,000 and the Rawats, an allied tribe of the same origin, more than 32,000. These tribes were returned in the census of 1901 as of the Hindoo religion, but it is certain, as the official report remarks, that they are hardly slaves of Brahminical rites and customs, a fact which is some gratification to the

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<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

missioner. The Mhairs and Rawats appear to adore incarnations of Shiva under the names of Bhaironji and Mataji; but their religion is very undefined, and it is doubtful if it goes farther than the observance of certain marriage and funeral rites. They say, in a general way, that they adore Parmeshwar (the Supreme Being), but their ideas on the subject of religion are very few and very crude. If you persist in asking them what they precisely understand by Parmeshwar, they cannot express any clear idea. "What do we know of him?" replied a native thus questioned. "We have never seen him and do not know where he lives;" then suddenly adding, as if proud of his discovery or ready-wittedness: "The government—that's Parmeshwar." And all the tribe present applauded: "*Khari bat!* That's a fact!" Sometimes they will tell you that it is evil to lie and to steal; but they have only this notion of good and evil, that to be satisfied is good and to suffer is evil. "Sahib," they will say, "our stomach is empty, and that is ill; if it was full, that would be good. Beyond that we don't know anything." This is agnosticism in its naked simplicity, stripped of the learned verbage in which ignorance often hides itself among the cultured as well as the uncultured. With such notions, what can they conceive of a future of rewards and punishments? A vague idea of transmigration is found in some, but among the majority there is a total absence of any conception of moral responsibility and its consequences.

The Calai of Thandla after the first conversion in 1899 became Christians one by one. There were soon up to twenty-five baptized, faithful to their religious duties while continuing to belong socially to the caste. As they were scattered among almost all the families of weavers at Thandla, one might have said that the caste had become Christianized. This success, which lasted for four years, enraged the enemy of all good, and a terrible crisis came in 1903. On Sunday evening, September 5, the missionary heard that several Christians had gone to take part in a pagan ceremony organized by a *sadhu* or native Hindoo monk, their former *guru* or spiritual father. He at once proceeded to the place and found eight of his Christians present at the pagan festival. In compliance with his order they followed him to the mission residence, where they passed the night. The next day they assisted at Mass with arms extended in the form of a cross and voluntarily made an offering in expiation of their fault. But the caste, assembled in the afternoon, declared themselves offended by the priest's proceeding and forbade every one, under penalty of excommunication, to go to church. Excommunication is attended with terrible civil disabilities; it is interdiction from the home, from tobacco, water, food and marriage! It is being put outside the pale of the law and of society, banished from the only social

circle in which existence is possible. Loss of caste in this rigid sense of the word—as it is understood in the East, not in the West—you have no longer either relatives, brethren or friends; you are less than a pariah; you are a stranger to all, whom nobody would even think of helping in whatever necessitous position you were placed. Paul alone, the first convert, ventured to set at defiance the prohibition and continued to go to church. Through either weariness in bearing the Christian yoke, regret for their former pagan festivals or dread of expulsion from caste and being disowned by their families, all the other neophytes gave in. On September 21 the missionary held a two-hours' conference in presence of the assembled caste, but without any satisfactory result, as they all persisted in their decision. That evening violent hands were laid upon Paul by his old father and his kinsmen, who seized and struck him. Paul during the struggle cast off his turban and his tunic, saying: "Take what belongs to you," and took refuge with the missionary, pursued in his flight by the others, shouting: "Kill him! Fetch a sword! Go for the police!" The priest made his appearance on the scene and succeeded in appeasing these madmen. Paul had stood resolutely by the faith, like his name-saint, and made "a good confession before many witnesses." Almost every day he went to Mass. As to the others, it seemed to need a miracle to bring them back, and the intercession of Our Lady and St. Fidelis was sought to obtain their return. Their consciences were not at rest. Every night there were interminable theological discussions. "The father would pardon a homicide," they said, "but he won't allow the least superstition." At last a second neophyte, Michael, followed Paul's example, despite menaces and remonstrances from all sides. At the Sunday Mass, in presence of all the Bheel Christians, he publicly confessed his fault kneeling before the altar. A few timid backsliders put forward as an excuse for their moral cowardice that the missionary was too severe and forbade certain customs which they thought might be tolerated.

On November 7 the weavers outcasted the whole of Paul's family because they had not broken off relations with him. Then, seeing that rigorous methods were not successful, they tried a more insinuating way. "The caste does not want to ditch you from your religion," protested an old Hindoo ascetic to Paul; "all it asks of you is to cease to frequent the church on one or two Sundays until the prefect's arrival; then everything will be settled and the caste will proclaim religious liberty. Otherwise, note well, if you don't give in, we shall definitely abandon you and you will be out of caste forever. How long will you endure such a painful position? Will you, then, never need any one? Come, I beg of you, come back to



us with hands joined." That evening it required all the eloquence and moving tenderness of the father to repair in the souls of his dear neophytes the effects of such language. On the 20th the caste reassembled and there was an animated discussion for two and a half hours. Paul's eldest brother said: "My position is intolerable. The assembly is my father and mother; I beg of it, with head uncovered, to come to a resolution regarding mine and my brother's fate. Since he persists in going to church, if you don't wish to remove the prohibition in his regard, well, declare that he is no longer my brother; that he is dead to my family and caste. Break the rod!" Paul, being called upon to speak, exclaimed: "What have I done to be thus brought to trial? In what way have I broken the laws of our ancestors? Have I cut a cow's throat? Have I killed my father and mother? Have I committed adultery, because I go to church? I declare to you, I shall continue to go there, and no one in the world shall prevent me. It matters little breaking with you; as to leaving the church—never!" This bold declaration raised a storm. With a calm there came unanimity. They agreed to remove the prohibition to go to church, "For this stubborn fellow," they said, "is, after all, only a child."

It was next Michael's turn. "If you've removed the ban for Paul," he asked, "why not remove it for me?" Several cried out: "No!" and there were renewed vociferations. But the wisest intervened: "Why two measures?" they said. "If we allow it to one, we must allow it to the other." Then insults and threats were interchanged, and they were near coming to blows, when the indignant elders quitted the assembly without definitely deciding anything.

The next day there was another meeting and another attempt to shake Paul. "Take off your cross," they first said to him. "I shall never take off my cross," he replied. "Would the Rajah order it?" "At least abandon the church." "Never!" "Be it so. Go to church, but only on Sunday." "I shall go when I think fit, week-day or Sunday." They did not press their point.

Michael was called up. "Are you willing not to return to the church?" "No, I shall go when it pleases me. I wish to return to the caste, but I shall go to church." In presence of such resolute Christians, the fatigued assembly, wishful of having done with it, gave in. It was decided that Paul and Michael, while continuing to go to church, should be readmitted to the caste on paying a fine of three rupees. One of the most furious pagans said to Paul as he was going away: "You have conquered us; the assembly no longer amounts to anything; you have nothing more to do but to make us apologize."

The reason why the other native Christians did not display the

same firmness is ascribed partly to their timidity and to the yoke of the Gospel appearing too heavy to them, as if that of the caste was light!

The prefect, on his arrival a few days afterwards, effected a reconciliation between pagans and Christians, with a general permission to the latter to frequent the church. On the Sunday following a good portion were present at the service; towards Christmas all had returned, but many did not display the same assiduity as before.

"In the public discussion," says Father Fortunatus,<sup>5</sup> "we had to speak in general terms and simply claim religious liberty in the unity of caste. If we had to precisely indicate what the Christian religion could not tolerate and the superstitious rites we had to suppress among Christians, I don't think the pagans would ever have given in. It is when the occasion presents itself that the Christian observance can be introduced by actual practice more than by a loud-voiced declaration of principles."

One of the methods of propagandism employed by the Capuchins was to marry young Christians to girls of the same caste brought up in their orphanage. Their success in this direction was impeded by new difficulties which it required all the tact of the missioners to overcome, three newly married couples incurring formal excommunication and all Christian or pagan weavers being forbidden not only to go to church, but even to the father's residence until the ban was raised, and they were reinstated by payment of a ransom of eight rupees for each family. To bring about a Christian marriage outside of and against caste and then to get the latter to accept the newly married and validate the affair was an achievement; but to have a Christian marriage take place under the eyes of the caste and with its participation, although the bride was still an orphan stranger, was better. Moreover, they consented to forego all the superstitious rites condemned by the missioners. So, on November 12, 1904, a Christian marriage was openly celebrated at Thandla, and after the nuptial benediction and Mass the civil ceremonies took place without the Brahmin and offerings to idols.

After this there was a lull. The movement in the direction of conversions, which began some years ago, seems to have stopped. The baptized have come back to the church, a certain number, however, without heartiness or regularity; some even have not fulfilled their Easter duty. A great difficulty to them is the cessation of Sunday work; being extremely poor, the loss of a day's earning means much to them. Despite all these obstacles, the Christian idea is making headway among them, and Father Fortunatus would not be surprised if one day all the weavers of Thandla were converted.

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<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

The first Christian marriage among the Bheels took place on January 7, 1904, and drew together hundreds of the tribe for thirty miles round, curious to know what subsisted of the customs of their ancestors. Father Charles showed that the Church does not suppress innocent customs; he maintained some and transformed others, but retained enough to satisfy everybody. This priest has erected at Thandla a sanctuary to the Blessed Virgin in fulfillment of a promise he made when laid low with cholera in 1900, having received a site from the Rajah. It is hoped that this chapel, solemnly blessed on February 25, 1905, will become a place of pilgrimage for the Bheels of the surrounding country, dethroning the idols in which they now confide.

The Bheels, among the most warlike and predatory of the aboriginal tribes existing amid the mountain ranges of Central India, are a strange race. Wild and intractable as they were until reclaimed by Sir James Outram, after the Mahratta war, they have redeeming qualities and are very sympathetic, particularly towards children. "Our Lord ought to love them," writes Father Fortunatus, and then what has the future in store for them? There are more than 500,000 of these Bheels in our mission. Wild nomads; yes, but they are ignorant of the corruption and knavery of the cities. They are still, as a body, far from being incorporated in the hideous Brahminist army. Primitive they are, and it is that which at once captures the missionary's heart; living on nothing, almost naked, very simple, very timid, readily startled, like the antelopes of their jungles, whose nimbleness and fleetness they possess, freely imbibing the *daru* to put them in humor for dancing or give them the courage to take in hand some bad business; and, take them all in all, true, faithful, ingenious and bold. To sum up, when you have gained their approach and tamed them, so to speak, very susceptible of instruction, in which some display great quick-wittedness. Such they appeared to us. So they appeared, too, to the English officer. 'The tribes,' says the report on the census of 1901, 'who live in the wildest and most inaccessible parts of the country *never lie*. But their fellows who have come in contact with the civilization of the cities and small towns soon lose their old virtues. They erect their huts apart from the villages in order, they say, to protect their wives from too eager attentions of their neighbors. They have the greatest confidence in and the greatest respect for the *Sankar* (the British Government), and the English officer is generally sure that they will obey his orders and will not break their word.'"<sup>6</sup>

The building of the Church of the Rosary at Mariapoor, which is at once the conventual chapel of the nuns of St. Mary of Angels and

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<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

the parish church, was retarded by the appearance of the plague, to which so many fell victims during the monsoons of 1903 and 1904. But God visibly protected Mary's village; not a case occurred in it, while the scourge ravaged the country round about.

Despite the disquietude caused by such a situation, the mission work proceeded to develop. Every year new marriages were solemnized, bringing the number of Christian families at Mariapoor up to twenty-nine. The defection and departure of some of the converts convinced the prefect that the devil, by attacking the spiritual edifice raised with so much labor was seeking to be revenged for the public affront given him in his secular kingdom by the sudden appearance of a temple to the true God. The fugitives, however, with two or three exceptions, after frequenting the church and the sacraments where they found themselves, returned to the fold. But often in what a condition. "We had previously received their coming from their families, simple and docile. When they have rambled through the lanes of the bazars<sup>7</sup> and outskirts of the camps, were it only for a few weeks, what a change in their character, their ideas and their conduct! And despite one is not easily resigned at their loss. Prodigal sons, as soon as they come back, the father, who was looking out for their return, opens his arms to them and receives them affectionately. Then there are young married couples who must be helped, encouraged and directed. It is a difficult work. They must get through it as best they can by themselves; they can do so easily if they live soberly and do not make useless expenditures. But they are still mere children and cannot do without the father's assiduous supervision. Moreover, they have not before their eyes, like the young people of the villages, the example of their parents working laboriously for a meagre subsistence. They are Christians, they are the father's children, and can hardly resign themselves to the condition of extreme poverty which had been their lot if they had remained pagans. Orphans in other missions have been seen to let their lands to Mohammedans rather than work themselves content to lead an idle life. The crucial point is, then, that the perseverance of the new Christians and the final success of the work are intimately bound up with material well-being. They would have made very bad Christians morally if they had only been made materially indigent and mendicant, and they would only have been made mendicants if they had not been inspired with the love of labor and the spirit of thrift. Father Alexander has devoted himself wholly and solely to this phase of the work. Twenty-nine families—it is already quite a whole village. Last year (1905) our young farmers were not only able to pay back the advances that had

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<sup>7</sup> *I. e.*, market places.

been made to them, but have increased their stock. The one procured carts, others better bulls, cows, etc. Let us add that every family at the marriage receives a couple of oxen, the necessary farm implements, a house and some indispensable household utensils to the value, in bulk, of nearly 300 francs (£12). They have to pay rent to the government for three hectares of land (6 acres, 3 roods, 105 perches) allotted to them."

In the establishment of new mission centres or stations among the Bheels, a project conceived by Father Bertran in 1897 was realized a plan which the penury of the workers had retarded for ten years. Experience shows the necessity of increasing the missionary's sphere of influence as much as possible. If he entrenches himself in too restricted a corner or becomes a fixture, forming a kind of sacred cenaculum, shut out from the exterior world, through dread of the bad influence of the latter upon the privileged souls under his assiduous care, he goes outside the evangelical tradition. As a matter of fact, the influence of Father Charles already radiates for ten miles around Thandla. To establish on the confines of this influence a new centre of evangelization seemed opportune, and Jhabua was chosen. To the south of Thandla and belonging to the same native state, of which it is the capital, Jhabua is on the highway which connects Thandla with Mariapoor. It is a small town with about 4,000 inhabitants, built at the base of the mountains, in a very rough country, on the borders of artificial ponds. The missionaries have already gained the sympathy of the Bheels of the villages, and daily draw crowds by the renown of their medical skill and their winning ways. The first thing is to get the approach of these people, to gain the good-will of these pagans, and enter into their confidence, and then to bring them in contact with God; to suggest to them in their wants—and their needs are many—to have recourse to Divine Providence, so powerful and so loving in Its compassionate solicitude for humanity at large—in a word, to prayer—praying along with them; to inspire them with confidence as well as with fear of displeasing God by sin, with the desire to keep His commandments and to receive baptism. It ordinarily takes long to lead up to this, but the missionaries are not discouraged, for their hearts are in their work.

And their work has prospered. At Ajmere, the chief place of the Capuchin mission of Rajpootana, a city of 73,800 inhabitants, where the population has more than doubled since the construction of the railway in 1879 and the opening of the railway works, the Catholics increased more than any other creed during the ten years preceding the census of 1901, which returns them as numbering 776 in the English district of Ajmere—Merwara and totaling 889 in the

whole ecclesiastical district of Ajmere, which comprehends, besides Ajmere, Joudpoor, Soojat, Beywar and Erinpoora. Mhow, a great military camp provided with two chaplains salaried by the government, counted in 1901 36,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,800 were Christians; the residence of Indoor, which comprehends Indoor and Mhow, containing 2,578 Catholics, of whom 1,040 were natives. The rather considerable number of European Catholics was then due to the presence of an Irish regiment, which has since left. The Catholics at present number 1,358. In two months—August and September, 1903—the plague swept away a hundred Madrassians and Goanese. It ravaged Mhow with particular violence, its victims numbering 7,000.

Among all the Mhow Christians the Madras community attracts special attention from the point of view of its numerical importance, its social organization, analogous to that of the Indian castes, and the preponderating part the priests play therein. They are immigrants from the south, from Madras, Pondicherry and Bangalore. Socially they are pariahs whose contact sullies and whom every well-reared Hindoo avoids more scrupulously than he would fly from the vicinity of a person plague-stricken. Europeans are less exacting and employ them as coachmen, cooks and even hotel managers; *faute de mieux*, for castes not so low refuse to serve. They form, in certain southern missions, the most numerous fraction of the Catholic population, and, on the whole, give the priest who knows how to handle them firmly more consolation than many other Christians socially more honorable. The Capuchins at Mhow have about 380, most of them employed in the officers' and soldiers' kitchens. They are mostly the scum of the southern populations. The number varies very little despite the plague, cholera and small-pox, scourges which regularly afflict the people; the gaps are filled by fresh arrivals. It is noted that among these Madrasians are not found those numerous families which generally swell the poor and working class population. There are only, on an average, two, three and four children to each family. "And yet," comments Father Fortunatus, "we have not more than from thirty to forty Madrasians outcasted for disorderly living; which will not appear enormous if one thinks of the absolutely dependent condition of these poor people, the circumstances of their emigration, their immersion in a purely pagan *milieu* and their proximity to a military camp. The Madras community in Mhow is governed by customary usages which have the force of law within the purview of English justice, always respectful of liberties. The principal regulations of this code were set down on the arrival of our fathers in the mission and bear their signatures. As in every primitive social organization, the rule is theocratic, the

priest charged with the spiritual interests of the community becoming at the same time the almost chief, arbitrator and father. He is God's representative, God Himself, as they often say by an abuse of language which they borrow from paganism."<sup>8</sup> He is assisted by a council elected by a general assembly, but is himself the judge, the assembly when sitting as a court only filling a rôle analogous to that of our juries. The priest alone has the right to a chair, the others being seated on mats. The *panchayat*, over which he presides, is a regular court, whose decisions are recognized by the English courts and, if necessary, enforced by the municipal police. Crimes which affect one not belonging to the caste or the general public order (murder, etc.) are withheld from its jurisdiction. "Discussion generally assumes an animated character of which it would be difficult to form an idea; one would say rather a tumultuous sitting of Parliament than the calm, reasoned study of a judicial cause in the temple of Themis. When, however, the father thinks that they have vociferated enough to be satisfied, whatever may be the issue of the affair, he delivers judgment, and the record of the judgment is drawn up and signed by all who know how to write. As a token of peace and fraternity, the pipe and tobacco are handed round and the court rises. The penalties inflicted vary from exclusion from caste to a small fine, not to speak of different public penances, such as hearing Mass on Sundays in the porch of the church, carrying the cross around the church after functions, the bastonnade, etc. The amount of the fines is divided into three parts, one for the church, the other for the community and the third for the members present at the *panchayat*.

Exclusion from caste is a very severe penalty, all the family of the excommunicated participating in his disgrace. All social relations with other Catholics is forbidden. The delinquent dare not enter the church to hear Mass, but stands humbly at the door, and is not permitted to receive Holy Communion publicly. If he dies before being readmitted to caste, he will not rest with his brethren. Even if he has repented at the last hour and received the last blessings of the Church, the social stain which he has incurred and which has not been removed, will pursue him in death, and his tomb will remain unhonored. If he dies without the sacraments, pagan pariahs will carry his body into the jungle. It is a terrible malediction, which every one dreads like hell and the salutary fear of which weighs with all its weight upon consciences in favor of duty.

"To act upon these rude, violent, passionate natures, fond of show and of coarse if not guilty revels, but strongly attached to the faith of their baptism, it will be understood," says Father Fortunatus,

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<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75.

"that the priest must arm himself as much with energy as patience, and oftener assume the tone of command than that of persuasion. Gentle invitations and hyperbole, euphemisms and veiled reproaches would make no way in their hearts, because they would not be understood. It needs something plainer, more brutal. With them it is desirable, above all, to speak frankly and call a spade a spade. In reality, the fathers best remembered by them are those who strove to restrain them by the ascendancy of their vigor rather than win them by the kindness of their procedure. They are far from being insensible to care bestowed upon them, but this care, to be appreciated, should assume a certain form; and they recognize themselves that, like undisciplined children, they need a master who corrects and grasps them firmly."<sup>9</sup>

Father Fortunatus has high hopes of the future. The total population of the mission is about 10,800,000, including 11,801 classified as Christians in the census returns of 1901, the Catholics numbering 4,521. As soon as a religion is provided with an agency of proselytism strongly constituted the increase of the Christian population is much more rapid than that of the total population. While the total population of India only rose from 287,314,671 in 1891 to 294,361,056 in 1901, the Christian population during the same time increased from 2,284,380 to 2,923,241. There has been, it is true, an extraordinary diminution (nearly four millions) in Central India and Rajpootana, but it is attributable to the dreadful mortality of the famine years. The number of Christians, on the contrary, is sensibly increasing. "The increase of the native Christians," says the report on Central India, "clearly evidences the work of the missions during the last famine. As to the Catholics, whose number is superior to that of other Christians, either Europeans or natives, their augmentation comes chiefly from the presence of the Royal Irish at Mhow." "The increase in the number of Christians," says the report on Ajmere-Merwara, "is attributed first to the share contributed by the orphans gathered in the different Christian missions during the famine, then to the natural increase, and finally to conversions. Among the various denominations, the Catholics are the most numerous, which is due, in a certain measure, to the presence of the Connaught Rangers at Nasirabad." The report on Rajpootana likewise assigns as a cause of the increase of the Christians the famine work. The disappearance of the two Irish regiments, of course, at once lowered the number of Catholics in the mission, which, nevertheless, increased from 2,370 in 1892 to 3,266 in 1905. The largest number of conversions (607) was made in 1899. The mission registers a total of 54,200 baptisms, including

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<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77.



1,539 adult converts, up to 1902. The baptisms average 6,000 and the adult conversions 171 annually.

"It did not take twenty years (1885-1901) for our neighbors of Chotanagpoor (Diocese of Calcutta) to make 90,000 conversions in the midst of a race akin to our Bheels," says Father Fortunatus. "When the first shake is given the whole edifice of paganism crumbles. India is beginning to lose its affection for its old sects. Faith in the *deota*, it cannot be denied, is receding in proportion as European education advances. Caste still holds out. The example of a Rajpoot Prince very much in evidence outcasted he frequents the society of Europeans and eats at their tables (admired, nevertheless, and envied by all his less daring compatriots) is not unheard of. I do not speak of those petty Kings to whom the European adaptation is a means of procuring them more pleasure and of living more shamelessly. The former, already numerous, have no longer prejudices; they have only instincts. The Brahmins, in view of this undeniable fact that religious influence is slipping from them, having, moreover, long lost faith—if they ever had it sincerely—have realized that they had to change their front. They, guardians of Aryan orthodoxy, now, as students, cope with the English colleges, come out first at the examinations and push themselves forward into positions of honor, lucrative employments and even public offices. They do not trouble themselves about the people and the religious rôle they formerly assumed in their regard; but they make it a point to hold their positions in the new society which is being formed and to remain the first order, if not the first caste. It is told that during the Transvaal war one, persuaded that the end of British dominion was near, and foreseeing the Russians masters of India, went to the other side of the Himalayas to study the language of the future conquerors in order to retain, under the Slav régime, the important post he held from the English.

"The people, then, at some future time, perhaps rather near, will find themselves freed from the tutelage of the Brahmins and the pressure of the Princes; there will then be neither the skepticism of the first, nor the libertinism of the second. It is then they will turn an attentive ear to the lessons of Christianity; then, if we were masters of elementary education, it would be easy for us to engender Christian faith in the hearts of the children of the people. All the world, at some time, will demand education. What is called modern civilization is progressing here by giant strides under English influence. Japan has been still more prodigious, but India is following the example of Japan. If, then, education is demanded, it is for us to be ready, for us to seize the unique opportunity which offers and to present ourselves to the Indians as the teachers they are seeking.

What is lacking to us to enter on this path? Missioners, resources."<sup>10</sup>

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

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## THE MAGNIFICAT, ITS AUTHOR AND MEANING.

### I.

#### THE AUTHOR OF THE "MAGNIFICAT."

**J**UST three years before the nineteenth century closed, a French writer startled many people by a suggestion that our Lady's *Song of Praise* was really uttered by St. Elizabeth. As the century was ending, the supposition was repeated by a German Protestant of great influence. Then it was accepted by an English professor. And now, shielded by a few famous names, it has begun to win its way among the opinions of the younger men.

About twenty years before the end of the nineteenth century, two great English critics, Westcott and Hort, published an edition of the Greek Testament, in which they drew attention to the substitution of St. Elizabeth's name for our Lady's in certain Latin manuscripts. They themselves, as we all know, did not hesitate to reject the strange reading; but now it has found advocates able to reach larger audiences than those formed by students of Bible dictionaries and theological essays.

Therefore, I have ventured to write an account of the matter as clearly and as frankly as I can, and as far as possible, without technical signs and expressions. And relying on the evidence alone, I would not overburden the question at issue by multiplying references to modern books and opinions.

It is said that St. Elizabeth's authorship is proved by some copies, known to Origen, by the Latin translation of St. Irenæus, by three manuscripts of the Gospels in the Old Latin version, by a small Latin tract on the *Good of Psalmody*, by St. Luke's context, and by the suitability of the words to St. Elizabeth's condition. At all events, the question is clearly stated, and we can examine the evidence.

Origen's testimony in regard to the authorship is contained in the Latin translation made by St. Jerome at Bethlehem in the year of our Lord 389 and from the short homilies Origen had delivered

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<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84, 85.

in Alexandria about a century and a half previously. In the eighth of these the song is called the "Virginal Prophecy," and no less than five times it is expressly referred to our Lady. "Elizabeth," it reads, "prophesies before John. Mary prophesies before the birth of the Lord, the Saviour."

But the previous homily contains the sentences on which the objection is based. "It came to pass," runs the passage, "when Elizabeth had heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb and she was filled with the Holy Spirit. So there is no doubt that she, who was then filled with the Holy Spirit, was filled on account of her son. For the mother was not the first to merit the Holy Spirit; but when John, as yet enclosed in the womb, had received the Holy Spirit, then she also, after the sanctification of her son, was filled with the Holy Spirit. You will be able to believe this if you consider something like it in the case of the Saviour. As we discover in a considerable number of copies, Blessed Mary is found to prophesy. For we are not ignorant that, according to other copies, Elizabeth utters these words also. And so Mary was then filled with the Holy Spirit when she began to have the Saviour in her womb. For immediately upon her receiving the Holy Spirit, the builder of the Lord's Body, and when the Son of God began to be in her womb, she herself also was filled with the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the babe exulted in Elizabeth's womb, and she was filled with the Holy Spirit and cried with a loud voice and said: 'Blessed art thou among women.'"

Origen's argument, no doubt, illustrates the fallacy of false analogy, for the two cases differ greatly in regard to the nature of the children, the condition of the mothers and the mode of their miraculous conception. But his statement is immediately important on account of its reference to words uttered by our Lady and attributed by some copies to St. Elizabeth.

It has been suggested that when St. Elizabeth saluted the Mother of God as "Blessed among women," Mary, according to a considerable number of copies, answered, "And blessed is she that believed;" but other copies attributed these words also to St. Elizabeth.

If we assume that Origen really found the *Magnificat* ascribed to St. Elizabeth, it is difficult to tell why no other trace of such a reading is to be found in the manuscripts, versions and comments of Egypt and Syria among Catholics and heretics alike. And it is abundantly evident from his succeeding homily that no supposition of Elizabethan authorship was for one moment entertained by Origen himself, who, whatever his defects as a theologian, was certainly the greatest Biblical critic of his time and experienced in dealing with the evidence of manuscripts.

Regarding St. Irenæus, the proof of St. Elizabeth's authorship is of no greater value. Twice in his work *Against Heresies* he speaks of the *Magnificat*, but the passages only exist in a Latin translation made in the fourth century and apparently in North Italy. The place of its production will be found a matter of considerable moment as we review the evidence in favor of St. Elizabeth and find it limited to a comparatively small region near Milan.

St. Irenæus' first reference occurs in the tenth chapter of his third book. And in it he distinctly asserts that our Lady delivered the *Magnificat*, for he speaks of Gabriel's announcement to the Virgin, and asks, "Who reigns in the house of Jacob without intermission forever, except Christ Jesus our Lord, the Son of the Most High God, who promised by the Law and the Prophets He would make Himself the visible Saviour for all flesh, so He might become the Son of Man for this, that man also might become the Son of God? And on that account, and exultant, Mary, prophesying on behalf of the Church, was exclaiming, 'My soul magnifies the Lord.'"

The second reference by St. Irenæus to the *Magnificat* is in the seventh chapter of his fourth book. And in the Latin translation there is some manuscript authority for reading "Helisabeth" where the ordinary printed editions read, "Mary also said, 'My soul magnifies the Lord.'"

The passage tells of Abraham's exultation in seeing Christ's Day by the spirit of prophecy, and continues: "Simeon, of his seed, was really fulfilling the Patriarch's joy, and saying:

Now Thou sendest Thy slave away, O Lord, in peace,  
For my eyes have seen Thy salvation,  
Which Thou hast prepared in face of all peoples,  
A light for revelation of nations  
And glory of the people of Israel.

But the angels also announced great joy to the shepherds watching by night. But Mary also said:

My soul magnifies the Lord,  
And my spirit exulted in God my Saviour.

Considering, then, that the earlier passage refers the song to our Lady and implies the identity of its author and the Virgin, addressed by Gabriel, we are compelled to regard the occurrence of St. Elizabeth's name in the second passage as a mistake of the transcriber. And such a blunder will occasion us less surprise when we note how other fourth century copyists in North Italy altered their Latin texts.

Of the Old Latin Gospels there are three manuscripts which substitute "Elisabet" or "Elisabel" for "Mary" as the author of the *Magnificat*. They are among the representatives of a translation made originally in the region of Lyons or Carthage, and afterwards

carried to Italy. There is so much agreement among the copies of the Old Latin version that they are regarded as derived from a single work; and this must have been executed about the middle of the second century, for there are traces of it in the letter sent by the Church at Vienne and Lyons in the year 177 and preserved by Eusebius in the fifth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

Three years later the twelve Scillitan martyrs at Carthage confessed that they had not only the epistles of Paul, the just man, but also books which are understood to have been the Gospels; and having regard to the place and people, we naturally conclude that those volumes were in Latin. At the same Carthage, but twenty-eight years later, Tertullian was writing his work *On the Soul*, and he, who knew Greek and Latin, witnessed for manuscripts of both languages when he said in his twenty-sixth chapter: "Elizabeth exults; John within had impelled. Mary glorifies the Lord; Christ within had instigated."

St. Cyprian, who held Tertullian for his master, had been Bishop of Carthage for thirteen years at his martyrdom in the year 258. And his quotations from the New Testament enable us to form a standard, with which we may compare existing manuscripts. All the copies, which are described as Cyprianic and which contain the *Magnificat* passage, attribute the song to our Lady, and among these are such characteristic African copies as the Palatine and Colbertine manuscripts.

The Old Latin became more and more disfigured by alterations; and St. Augustine, in the second book of his *Christian Doctrine*, urged their correction by the Greek text. Yet still we find no African authority for ascribing the *Magnificat* to St. Elizabeth.

From Southern Italy we have Beza's famous manuscript in Greek and Latin. The Greek was evidently copied for church services, and the Latin represents sometimes a literal translation of the Greek and sometimes the Old Latin version as current in Italy. It belongs to the period after the death of St. Augustine, the latter half of the fifth century. In it the *Magnificat* is ascribed to our Lady, and as yet there is no trace of Elizabethan authorship.

The tradition at Rome was constant in favor of our Lady. There is no evidence whatever St. Elizabeth's name was substituted for our Lady's in any Old Latin manuscript at Rome, though the Italian copies became so corrupt that St. Jerome, when he made the Vulgate edition, complained to Pope Damasus there were almost as many forms of the text as there were copies.

As to the great editor and Biblical scholar himself, he had no doubt regarding the Marian authorship of the *Magnificat*, for in his first book, *Against the Pelagians*, he quoted the song as our Lady's,

and said that Mary called herself blessed, not by her own merit and virtue, but by the clemency of God, who was dwelling in her. And he himself, in his Vulgate edition of the Latin translation, preserved the reading, "And Mary says," as the introduction to the *Magnificat*.

Among those whom St. Jerome honored was Juvenius, the author of a poem on the *Gospel History*. This work, the first Christian epic, was composed in Vergilian measure and written probably at Rome during the peace which followed Constantine's victory in the year 323, for then, according to the author, the peace of Christ and the world's peace, preserved by Constantine, enabled him to weave an ornament of song for the glory of the Divine Law. He says our Lady remained with St. Elizabeth three months, and not about three months. In this and other statements he shows he is following the Old Latin version; and he witnesses to the reading of his own copy when he asserts the Marian authorship of the *Magnificat*. He, of a noble Spanish family, sang with fervor of the noble Jewish maiden and paraphrased the song in which she told God's will, that all nations and ages should account her blessed.

Following the track of the Old Latin version, we reach the north of Italy, and at last find some mention of Elizabethan authorship. St. Elizabeth's name is substituted for our Lady's in three Old Latin manuscripts. One, the Rhedigerian, belongs to the seventh century and would have little or no value in our present question were it not for its agreement with the two manuscripts of the fourth century. Of these the one is named from Vercelli and reads "Elisabet" instead of "Mary." The other is named from Verona and reads "Elisabel." Vercelli lies on the west and Verona on the east of Milan, where St. Ambrose was Bishop when these two manuscripts were copied.

The Verona copy is noted for wilful alterations of the text, and in its version of St. Mark's Gospel it represents the Gadarenes as requesting our Lord not to depart from their regions. If the Vercelli manuscript tells us *His parents* did not know of it when Jesus remained in Jerusalem, the Verona copy says that *Joseph and his mother* did not know of it. Then the Corbeien copyist, noting that the Verona Latin would mean Joseph and Joseph's mother, altered the text and made it say that Jesus remained in Jerusalem, and *Jesus and His Mother* did not know of it.

offer. When St. Augustine was there it appears he met a more

But it will be well to consider what evidence Milan itself may accurate form of the Latin New Testament than that in the ordinary copies of the Old Latin version. And this Italian edition is well represented in the Brixien and Monacen manuscripts, which name Mary as the author of the *Magnificat*.

St. Augustine himself had no doubt in regard to the question,

for in one of his sermons on St. John the Baptist he quotes the words:

Hungering ones, He filled with good things;  
And rich ones, He sent away empty,

And he adds: "See what is said by Mary herself, full of faith, full of grace, about to become a Mother and remain a Virgin."

And St. Ambrose, the great Bishop of Milan, who baptized St. Augustine in that city, was equally free from any difficulty in regard to the Marian authorship, for he explained why it is not said that Mary was filled with the Spirit, but that her own spirit exulted. "The Incomprehensible," said he, "was incomprehensibly operating in His Mother." So he not only witnesses to the belief of his time and to the evidence of his own manuscripts regarding our Lady's authorship, but he provides us with a refutation of those who to-day insist that the *Magnificat* must be included in St. Elizabeth's utterance, on the ground that our Lady's name must be an interpolation, because there is no mention of her being filled with the Holy Ghost. Certainly a history mechanically constructed would have been careful to append the phrase to every speaker. But the Gospel omits it in our Lady's case, and with how good a reason St. Ambrose has shown.

St. Augustine had a friend in St. Paulinus of Nola, near Naples; and he, in turn, had a friend in Niceta, a Bishop in Dacia, on the Danube. To this brave man, laboring among the Goths, is ascribed a little tract on the *Good of Psalmody*, which is said to uphold the Elizabethan authorship of the *Magnificat*. Twice he visited St. Paulinus, once in the year 398 and again in 402. So his testimony may be dated about the year 400, and it is the more interesting because he is now regarded as the author of the *Te Deum*. In his tract on psalmody there is a passage which runs: "And when the son of promise had been born, Elisabeth ceased not to magnify God from her soul." It is not, however, quite plain from these words that Niceta was intentionally referring to the *Magnificat*, for that had been uttered three months before John was born, and Niceta's reference is to the continual praise which followed the birth. A few lines further he adds: "With Elisabeth, our soul magnifies the Lord." Again, a difficulty arises, for the words may refer to the praise he has just described as following St. John's birth, and the sentence is omitted in five of the seven manuscripts containing the tract.

But assuming that Niceta was referring to the *Magnificat*, it is necessary to find the value of his testimony and to see whether it belongs to the small group of North Italian witnesses represented by the manuscripts of Vercelli and Verona, with the much later

Rhedigerian copy. For, if his evidence is not independent, then all the definite testimony to Elizabethan authorship is limited to a small district outside Milan and that at the close of the fourth century.

The question is not difficult to determine. At Constantinople, in the year 341, nearly sixty years before Niceta visited Italy, Ulphilas was consecrated Bishop for the Dacian Goths, among whom Niceta was afterwards to live and work. Having labored for about ten years in Dacia, Ulphilas was compelled to retreat into Moesia. About that time he invented the Gothic alphabet and translated the whole of the Bible, except the warlike *Books of the Kings*. And in his Gothic version we find the *Magnificat* prefaced with the words, "And quoth Mary."

As Ulphilas was the Apostle of the Goths in Dacia, it is evident that Niceta, if he really held the Elizabethan authorship, must have found that supposition elsewhere than in Dacia. And as the only manuscripts in which we find the view represented belong to North Italy, we are compelled to infer that Niceta learned it there on his way to visit Rome or St. Paulinus.

The testimony of Ulphilas is the more valuable because he was consecrated at Constantinople and returned to that city in the year 380, at the close of his career. The tradition he delivered to the Goths was therefore that of Constantinople. And so he becomes one of those who, on behalf of that city, witness to the Marian authorship of the *Magnificat*.

It is unnecessary to repeat the evidence of Niceta's contemporaries—St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Jerome. And were the question to be settled by the voice of Europe and Northwest Africa, there is overwhelming testimony of churches and manuscripts in favor of our Lady's authorship. But the East also has a right to speak, and it knows no hesitation in ascribing the song to her. Then, as we have traveled from Carthage to Rome, from Rome to Milan, from Milan to Dacia and from Dacia to Constantinople, we may continue our pilgrimage and hear the voices of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

As the East recognizes no difficulty at all in regard to the matter, little more is needed than a few references to representative men, manuscripts and versions. Asia Minor would be well represented by the Bishop of Cæsarea. He, St. Basil the Great, understood something of textual questions, for he had himself corrected a manuscript. And as to the *Magnificat*, there is a plain statement in the commentary on *Isaias* ascribed to him, and with reason. The volume was certainly written within a decade after the year 360, during the Anomœan controversy, and more than thirty years before Niceta visited St. Paulinus. According to the eighth chapter, no



one could deny Mary to be the prophetess in the Isaian passage, if he would only recall to memory the words she uttered prophetically. "For what does she say?" it asks, and then continues: "My soul magnifies the Lord."

Northern Syria is voiced by another of Niceta's contemporaries, Severian of Gabala. This man was left in Constantinople as deputy for St. John Chrysostom during the year 401. And though he was accused of betraying his trust, he was described as learned in the Divine Scriptures. In his sixth oration on the *Creation of the World* he declares that Mary daily hears all pronounce her blessed, she being indeed filled with the Holy Spirit. And he enjoins his audience to hear what the Virgin herself says in her prophesying. Then he continues, illustrating both carelessness of quotation and belief in the Marian authorship of the *Magnificat*:

Blessed is the Eternal, the God of Israel,  
Because He looked upon the lowliness of His slave;  
For, from now, all the generations shall call me blessed.

Edessa and the Syrian Valley of the Euphrates are represented by Tatian, St. Ephraim and the Syriac versions, and these are unanimous in witnessing to our Lady's authorship. There were three great editions of the Syriac version. The Old Syriac Gospels, in which the four histories are separate, was made in the first half of the second century. About the year 173 a *Diatessaron*, or Harmony of the Four Gospels, was made by Tatian, a disciple of St. Justin Martyr; and a commentary on this Harmony was written by St. Ephraim just two centuries later. The *Peshitta*, or Simple Edition, now known as the Syriac Vulgate, was made about the year 400 by a contemporary of Niceta. All these confirm the Marian authorship, her name being preserved in every Syriac manuscript, which contains the *Magnificat* passage of St. Luke's Gospel. And in the twelfth of his *Hymns on Blessed Mary* St. Ephraim writes:

All generations shall call me blessed,  
Says Mary, with exultation.

From Asia Minor and Syria we pass to Egypt, where our oldest Greek manuscripts were copied, and they, as all the Greek manuscripts, read "Mary" and not "Elizabeth." The Greek Fathers also have never a doubt on the subject. A few years before St. Augustine's death St. Cyril of Alexandria was commenting on the prophet *Aggaeus*, and towards the conclusion he wrote that the holy and spotless Virgin, still bearing Christ in her womb, inasmuch as she was also full of the Holy Spirit, cried forth such words as these, saying: "He has put down the powerful from their seat."

Before the time of St. Cyril, and about the middle of the fourth century, St. Athanasius, in his *Commentary on St. Luke*, having

praised the glory of the Holy Virgin and Divine Mary, Mother of the Word, declared that the bearer of the Lord and Ever Virgin, when she knew what had taken place in herself, said: "From now all generations shall call me blessed." And a century before St. Athanasius, Origen, as his eighth homily on St. Luke abundantly proves, had no doubt the song was our Blessed Lady's composition.

These writers are supported by the two Egyptian versions of the New Testament. And whether these were made in the second, or the third, or the fourth century, the disagreement of critics in regard to that question does not affect our conclusion that the Egyptian tradition also witnesses to our Lady's authorship of the *Magnificat*.

Should the world run its present course for fifteen centuries more it will not then be persuaded that Bacon composed *Hamlet*, though it may find the authorship attributed to him in a pamphlet by a German professor who taught at the end of the nineteenth century. Nor will it avail, though the change of title be supported by three German copies, two of them published in the nineteenth century and the third to be published three centuries hence. No, not even should the legal references and the player's recitation be declared more natural in the case of the Chancellor than in that of the actor, with little Latin and less Greek.

As yet we have not examined the difficulties arising from the context and from the words of the *Magnificat*. But before entering on these we may pause a moment to reflect upon the chorus of testimony which acclaims the *Magnificat* as the Triumph Song of the greater Miriam, and confesses our Blessed Lady as Poet Laureate of God.

## II.

### THE MEANING OF THE "MAGNIFICAT."

It is said that the context of the passage and the words of the song itself do not allow us to acknowledge our Blessed Lady as author of the *Magnificat*. When the objections are more fully stated they are found to be three.

In the first place, Mary is not said to be filled with the Holy Ghost; and therefore, it is argued, her name has been interpolated and the *Magnificat* is really part of St. Elizabeth's utterance. But St. Ambrose explained that God was bodily present within our Lady. And it is also morally certain that if the history had been compiled mechanically or our Lady's name groundlessly inserted, the scribe would have added that she was filled with the Holy Ghost, if only to make the narrative symmetrical in its reference to the various speakers. But the omission of these words in our Lady's case is

evidently reasonable and designed. She alone bore the very Fullness of the Godhead bodily within her; and of her alone, the evangelist does not add, that she was filled with the Holy Ghost.

The second objection is based on the expression, "And *Mary* remained with *her* about three months." For it is suggested that our Lady being the author of the *Magnificat*, it would be more natural to add, "And *she* remained with *Elizabeth*."

The repetition of our Lady's name is nothing strange, as the narrative has been interrupted. And according to all authorities, except the Egyptian versions and three Greek manuscripts made in Egypt, there is a similar instance in the middle of St. Luke's twenty-second chapter. Our Lord has been warning and encouraging His disciples, and the record of His words is followed immediately by the sentence: "And the Lord said, 'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan effectually asked for you, to sift you as wheat.'"

It is also to be noted that the pronoun employed in the sentence, "And Mary remained with *her*," is very freely used in Biblical Greek. And if we read the whole passage, we can see how well the expressions are balanced:

But Mary remained with her about three months,  
And she returned to her house;  
But for Elizabeth was fulfilled the time, that she should bring forth,  
And she bore a son.

But the full difficulty arises from the reference to the speaker by name and to the other person by a pronoun. The style of St. Luke's first and second chapters, except the preface, is not Greek, but Aramaic, and therefore nearly related to Hebrew in form of expression. Then, naturally, we turn to the Old Testament in search of similar instances. And in the third chapter of Genesis we find such a case. We read that the Lord God said:

Behold, the man has become as one of us,  
To know good and evil;  
And now, lest he put forth his hand,  
And take of life's tree also,  
And eat, and live forever.

Then immediately the speaker is indicated by name and Adam by a pronoun. We might have expected the words, "And *He* sent *Adam* forth from the Garden of Eden." But as a matter of fact, we find, "And the *Lord God* sent *him* forth," just as St. Luke's Gospel reads: "And Mary remained with *her*."

There is another instance in the Hebrew *Books of Samuel*, in the first book, known to the Greek and Latin translators as the *First Book of Kings*. In the tenth chapter Samuel's words are reported and followed by a sentence in which he is again named, while the other person is merely indicated by a pronoun. We read that Samuel said to Saul:

Speak to the young man,  
And he shall pass on before us.

And when the young man had passed on, Samuel added:

And thou, stand now,  
And I will cause thee to hear the word of God.

Then the passage continues: "And *Samuel* took the flask of oil and poured it on *his* head."

If we need a third example, we can find one in the twentieth chapter of the same book. There a speech of Jonathan is reported. Immediately afterwards he is mentioned again by name and the other person by a pronoun. We read that Jonathan again adjured David in his love for him, for he loved him as his own soul. Then follows the sentence: "And *Jonathan* said to *him*."

But it is well to have our attention drawn to the relation between the song and its context. St. Elizabeth is seen to become suddenly conscious that she is in the presence of her Lord's Mother. "Blessed art thou among women," she cries. And again she raises her voice: "Blessed is she who believed." It would indeed be strange if St. Elizabeth then added in reference to herself: "All generations shall call me blessed." Surely it was not for St. Elizabeth to sing of herself in a scene of which her Lord's Mother formed the visible glory.

The third objection assumes that the *Magnificat* is unsuitable to our Blessed Lady and her circumstances. This question cannot be solved except by examining the actual words and considering, not isolated phrases, but the whole passage, which, it is necessary to remember, is distinctly Aramaic in character, some of the expressions being translations into Greek words without Greek idiom. And the song itself is formed in couplets of parallel lines, after the manner of Hebrew poetry.

The aged mother had exclaimed:

Blessed is she, who believed,  
Because there shall be fulfilment of the things  
Spoken to her from the Eternal.

No doubt this name of God is often rendered "Lord," but it has no article, and therefore corresponds in Biblical Greek to the most sacred Hebrew word, expressing Essential Being or Existence. So, as David had sung:

The Eternal said to my Lord;  
and then glorified his Lord, who was also his Son; Mary turns to her Lord and Son within her, saying:

My soul magnifies the Lord;  
And my spirit exulted in God my Saviour.

In the last phrase there seems to be such a reference to her Son's

Name, Jesus, as that in Lia's naming of a child Asher, or happy, and saying:

In my happiness,  
For daughters shall call me happy,

or, as the Old Greek translation ran:

I am blessed,  
For the women shall call me blessed.

Much has been written to explain how Mary magnified the Lord. St. Ambrose, adopting the suggestion of Origen, urged that the soul is the image of Christ, and He of God, so that if a soul does anything just or religious, it magnifies that image of God to which it has been created. Yet it is hardly necessary to press so much detail into an expression of simple and joyous reverence, for the word is used in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where it is said the people magnified the Apostles on account of the signs and wonders wrought by their hands.

But in the distinction between her soul's rapture and the fully conscious exultation with which her spirit, in both intellect and will, greeted her Personal and Divine Deliverer, our Lady not only transcends the triumph of Anna's heart and mouth and Anna's joy in the salvation God had given, but she expresses an even closer communion with her Lord than that of which the thirty-fifth Hebrew psalm prophesied, saying:

My soul shall exult in the Eternal:  
It shall be glad in His salvation.

And the blessing of Mary shall be pronounced by others besides Elizabeth. It shall surpass Lia's in leaping from multitudes beyond the limits of Israelite women. Those, like Jahel and Judith, who were the blessed among women on account of a national triumph over temporal danger, yield their crowns to her whose triumph is for all the world and over supernatural foes.

Looking in upon her own soul, she sees nothing but her lowly condition and the favor of her Creator. Still she magnifies Him and exults:

Because He looked on the lowliness of His slave,  
For, behold, from now all the generations shall call me blessed.

It was not for her to say that God had looked upon her humility, for self-conscious humility is none. But she spoke in Aramaic, and to translate her word the Greek text uses that by which the Old Greek translation had rendered the Hebrew word for "affliction." Nor is the language too strong, for she is not thinking of Israel's Royal House. But in the Presence of her Creator, she feels as all must feel, and more, for she is more conscious of His glory.

Anna, the mother of Samuel, had promised her child to the Eternal of Hosts if He on His part would surely look on the afflic-

tion of His handmaid. And the Old Greek translation rendered her words as the "lowliness of Thy slave." But our Lady makes no condition, for, having all, she needs nothing except to tell that God has looked on her lowliness and that all generations shall bless her. And as she speaks her gladness is like that expressed in the thirty-first of the Hebrew psalms:

Let me exult and be glad in Thy mercy,  
Because Thou hast seen my affliction.

And the Old Greek translation mediates between the Hebrew psalm and our Greek Gospel by translating the psalmist's expression as "my lowliness."

The prophecy that our Lady's blessedness would be proclaimed by all has not caused its own fulfillment. All generations have, indeed, called her blessed; but the word was uttered as a natural expression of devotion to Mary and her Child. But from age to age there have arisen those who compelled loyal souls to adduce the prophecy in vindication of the title given as the spontaneous tribute of the heart. They who denied her glory ever went farther from the faith till they questioned her Son's title to their allegiance. But those who love her call her blessed, and her word confirms, but it could not originally have produced, that expression of honor and affection.

From her own soul she looked to God, the Creator of the universe, for He had called her and all things from nothing. And naming Him by one of His most sacred names, she says:

Because the Mighty One has done great things for me;  
And His name is holy.

The title of the Mighty One had been given to God, her Saviour, in the prophecy, characteristically Isaian, of the Child, on whose shoulder would be the principedom and who would be named Marvel, Counsellor, God, Mighty One, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace. And Mary is faithful to the tradition of her people, for, like Old Testament writers, she links the announcement of God's holiness with that of His power. So in the *Eighteen Benedictions* of the Synagogue, if the second says, "Thou art the Mighty One forever," the third adds, "Thy Name is holy." In truth, the God of Israel was not a blind force or the Mover of the starry heavens alone. As little was He a philosophical abstraction or the unknown quantity in Nature's equation, for His was the Moral Law, and He required Israel to sanctify His Name. And as Mary proclaims the Essential Holiness of the Name, which means God Himself, her Son will teach His disciples to pray that all men may live in the light of that truth. "Let Thy Name be sanctified," completes the confession. "His Name is holy."

There is more in Mary's utterance than in these words of Anna:

There is none holy as the Eternal,  
For there is none beside Thee;  
And there is no rock like our God.

For a moment it would seem that our Lady says less than the psalmist, who chanted:

Holy and feared is His name.

But she looks upon the field of human history, and there she sees not only those who fear God, but also a great principle at work and revealing the Eternal as even more than Power and Sanctity. He is the Mighty One and the Holy One,

And His mercy is unto generations and generations,  
To those who fear Him.

Though Power and Holiness and continual Mercy sum up, yet they do not transcend the revelation given to her people. The hundred and third of the Hebrew psalms had already declared:

The Eternal's mercy is from eternity and unto eternity  
Upon those who fear Him,  
And His justice to sons of sons,  
For those who keep His covenant.

And the first of the Synagogue's *Eighteen Benedictions* appeals to God as to One who remembers the piety of the fathers.

Mary's eyes have looked through the Overworld, and she will tell of a fuller revelation than that of Sinai and of a victory mightier than that another Miriam sang once by the waters of the Red Sea. It is a battle not with flesh and blood, but with evil spirits in heavenly places. And the Divine Child within her has come to fulfill the prophecy given in the fifty-first chapter of *Isaias*:

Awake, awake, clothe Thee with strength,  
Arm of the Eternal.

Awake, like days of old,  
Ancient generations.

Art Thou not He who hewed the Proud One,  
Wounding the serpent?

Though that song spoke of Egypt as the Proud One and under the figure of a Serpent, yet it contained that which could not be satisfied by even the fall of an empire. And Mary answers it, saying:

He wrought strength with His arm:  
He scattered proud ones by their heart's reasoning.

The hundred and eighteenth of the Hebrew psalms had chanted:

The Eternal's right arm is being exalted:  
The Eternal's right arm has wrought strength.

And in succeeding times Christian artists will carve a hand or arm

above baptismal scenes to symbolize God's power in the sacrament. But our Lady refers to that exercise of God's power described by our Lord when He said that He had beheld Satan, fallen as lightning out of the heaven. So St. Luke reports our Lord's words; and the event itself was made known to St. John also in his Patmos exile, when he saw his Apocalyptic vision of Satan, the Serpent, cast with his angels from heaven to earth and hastening to persecute the Woman and her Son.

True, in language too full and deep for any local reference, the eighty-ninth Hebrew psalm had sung:

As wounded, Thou hast broken the Proud One:  
With the arm of Thy strength Thou has scattered Thy enemies.

But our Lady cannot be said to quote that passage, for the distinctive mark of her utterance is the reference to the reasoning of the heart. There in the heart, which symbolizes the centre of moral being, arise querulous objections betraying pride of intellect. We do not speak of those difficulties and inquiries which our limits in mind and experience entail, but of the will in revolt against the evidence and requirements of Divine Authority. Man's flesh rebels against man's reason, and man's reason often rebels against faith in God. In the secrecy of the heart the fool, or, more accurately, the insolent, said: "There is no God." There, too, the scribes reasoned against our Lord's power to forgive sins.

So the great Isaian ode represents a monarch as saying in his heart that he would be like the Most High; and that song in the fourteenth chapter of *Isaias*, though it referred immediately to the King of Babylon, yet had its fuller meaning in the fall of Satan, whose pride was imitated by the earthly enemy of God's people. The evil spirits in heavenly places, by the very power of their will, were fixed in enmity to God; and as was said of Noe's generation, the reasoning of their heart was evil only and always. But evil is a source of disunion, and pride is a cause of schism. Therefore, by the evil thought in the heart of His enemies God scattered them. Even though they seemed to triumph in the fall of man, God overwhelmed them by the Seed of the Woman, the Child in the bosom of her, who celebrates God's victory in her *Magnificat*.

Then our Blessed Lady speaks of the glory destined for those who shall receive the heavenly places from which angels fell in pride. She says:

He put down powerful ones from thrones,  
And exalted humble ones.

And there is a fullness in the expression beyond the meaning of Anna's simple words:

Putting down  
And exalting.



A great passage in the tenth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* draws nearer our Lady's verse. But her words embrace the Overworld; and the Son of Sirach is speaking of earth when he teaches that human pride begins in apostasy from God. Then he describes the issue, adding:

The Lord has put down the thrones of rulers,  
And seated meek ones in their stead.

The likeness between such expressions and those in the *Magnificat* is not shown quite plainly in the Latin version. But nothing should obscure the great difference, which also exists. And it is well to note the reference of our Lady's words to the supernatural order, else the lines which follow may be misunderstood. For Anna, the mother of Samuel, had sung:

Those filled with bread are hired;  
And those hungering do so no longer.

While the barren has borne seven,  
And she who has many sons is languishing.

Although such words were suitable to Anna, who had been longing for a son, they could not, in the same sense, refer to the Holy Virgin.

A psalmist had, indeed, sung of captives and exiles wandering in waterless deserts or dwelling in darkness and the shadow of death. And in the hundred and seventh of the Hebrew psalms he had told of God, how

He satisfied the eager soul,  
And filled the hungering soul with good.

But when our Blessed Lady said:

Hungering ones, He filled with good things;  
And rich ones, He sent away empty,

her words had a fuller meaning because of the supernatural reference, for which the previous lines and our Lady's circumstances had prepared our mind. The ancient phrases bear a more glorious burden as the prophetic flood flows onward through her soul. Her spirit, filled with God the Holy Spirit, tells of those who have been longing for God and who have felt their own need more than the hunted stag standing over the underground channels and listening to the murmur of the water beneath. Such was the singer of the forty-second among the Hebrew psalms, when he sang:

As the stag desires the water brooks,  
So longs my soul for Thee, O God.

But none had known such thirst for God as Mary's pure soul, and none can know such communion with God as that enjoyed by the Mother of God. As to the rich, there have been those who rested in substitutes for the living God. Not always were the idols

of wood and stone. Often they consisted in wonderful imaginings and beautiful webs of thought. And their worshipers are unsatisfied, while God's love and glory fill those who have hungered for Him.

Of course if we omit the fact that the very fullness of the Godhead is dwelling in Mary's bosom, and if we deny that her desire for the Living God has been satisfied by His taking flesh of her flesh and forming His Most Sacred Heart from the blood of her sacred heart, there is no ground for our interpretation. But then the song not only loses all suitability to Mary's condition, but it becomes also unmeaning and a mere chaos of phrases, old and new. It falls into a worse confusion than a history which would trace the course of the first French Empire and never mention Napoleon. Those who assert that the *Magnificat* cannot refer to our Lady have never been able to suggest another to whom it can, for more than one moment, be applied. And regarding the composition and meaning of the great poem they offer suppositions mutually hostile and unable to survive a serious examination of the text.

From the summit of her gladness, from the very realm of the supernatural life, Blessed Mary looked down on the course of history, and there she saw traces of the way God's love had chosen to tread that He might prepare men for the Revelation, hidden as yet within her breast, but soon to dawn upon the world. It had been a path of gentleness surpassing a mother's love. And now, in spite of the waywardness which repaid Him, the song of His Daughter, Bride and Mother will tell the fulfilment of this prophecy which concludes the *Book of Micheas*:

Thou wilt give truth to Jacob,  
Mercy to Abraham.

As Thou hast sworn to our fathers  
From the days of old.

But there is a psalm, the ninety-eighth in the Hebrew numbering, which seems a fuller anticipation of Mary's triumph and Mary's hymn. It reads:

Sing a new song to the Eternal,  
For He has done marvels.

There saved Him His right hand  
And His holy arm.

The Eternal has made known His salvation  
To the eyes of the nations.

He has revealed His justice:  
He has remembered His mercy and His truth  
To the house of Israel.

All the extremities of the earth have seen  
The salvation of our God.

And in the forty-first chapter of *Isaias* there is a passage which may, through the Old Greek translation, have influenced the Greek

translation of our Lady's Aramaic. Rendered into English the Old Greek would run:

And thou, Israel, my servant,  
Jacob, whom also I chose,  
Seed of Abraham, whom I loved,  
Whom I took by the hand from the ends of the earth.

The evidence of a connection is not only in the description of Israel as the servant of God, but also in the Greek verb, which is translated as "I took by the hand."

But Mary speaks of Israel's being helped, or taken by the hand, in the more intimate sense of God's Incarnation. And she tells as history what the psalmist had announced in prophecy. So she declares that God has remembered mercy to Abraham and his seed forever, just as He had promised the fathers. In her wondrous blessedness within the perfect grace of God she stands at the moment to which every succeeding age must look back. It is also the goal of long eras, starlit by law and prophecy, type and symbol. But now God has taken His people by the hand, for

He has helped Israel, His servant,  
In order to remember mercy,  
Such as He promised our fathers  
He would show to Abraham and his seed forever.

Truly, our Lady uttered the *Magnificat*. But a larger question is suggested, and we ask to whom did St. Luke owe that gracious narrative which forms his first and second chapters, except their preface, and which contains this glorious jewel of song? To our Lady all the circumstances were known by her own experience or by her conversation with her cousins and the Bethlehem shepherds. This consideration, the indications of an eye-witness in various scenes, and the tender and simple beauty of the style, only touched with an old-world quaintness by the almost literal translation of the original Aramaic into Greek, lead us to conclude that, directly or indirectly, St. Luke derived the account from the Blessed Virgin herself.

St. Mark begins his Gospel with the preaching of the Baptist. St. John prefaces his own with the great Prologue of the Incarnate Word. St. Matthew does not speak of the Baptist till he has unrolled St. Joseph's genealogy and related visions seen by St. Joseph alone. But if the opening chapters of our First Gospel form St. Joseph's account, entrusted by him, it may be, to our Lady or to one of his nephews among the Apostles, the opening chapters of the Third form the *Gospel according to Mary* and tell of the events as she kept and pondered them in her heart. And in her *Magnificat* the expression of her triumph in God, her Son, she has given a song to every soul in whom her Son is born anew.

GEORGE S. HITCHCOCK, S. J.

## THE FRENCH ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION.

TO THE New Syllabus, printed at pages 556 *et seq.* of this REVIEW, there was accorded in France such a reception as must have been generally expected, and appearance of the encyclical dated September 8, feast of Our Lady's Nativity, was by all parties hailed as a supremely important event. Universally was it felt and allowed the Pope's condemnation of what is "commonly and rightly called modernism," taught by "a large number of Catholic laymen, and—still more deplorable—by priests, from the very bosom and heart of the Church," is entitled to that attentive study it will assuredly receive throughout the cultured world. In the French Catholic press there is not one discordant note.

On the day the memorable, exhaustive, infallible document was published in Rome the *Echo de Paris* newspaper received from its correspondent there a telegram running thus, translated:

"The modernism condemned is that taught (and already proscribed in the Index) by Abbé Loisy, the ex-Jesuit Father Tyrrel, Messieurs Le Roy and de la Bertonière. At the Vatican there is a particular desire it should be pointed out that, though the Pope condemns modernism, which he considers a compendium of all heresies, the Holy Father does not intend to condemn efforts for giving Catholic action a form appropriate to actual needs of the time. The Pope rebukes, not science nor critical spirit, but their abuse by sundry learned Catholics."

"New apostolical methods are needed for the new century," writes the Archbishop of Rheims.

In a letter to his Paris clergy on the occasion of their annual August retreat Cardinal Richard told them their duty is to fight modernism with the catechism. "One of the grandest Christians of our day in youth, troubled by scientific and philosophic attack on Church doctrines, thought of looking up a well-worn little work in his library—his catechism. Once more reading pages expounding fundamental verities with the simplicity necessary for children, yet in a way adequate to the wants of developed intellects, he found doubt and disquiet depart from his mind as clouds and mists dissolve beneath the sun. What God requires from us is to teach the catechism thoroughly in the circles surrounding each one of us. Ignorance of religious truths to-day is intense, among toiling and upper classes both.<sup>1</sup> It will increase, owing to the programmes banishing religious teaching from schools and college courses. But it is con-

<sup>1</sup> Upon this read the final four lines of Mgr. Montagnini's report at page 286.

solving, encouraging, to reflect that the catechism, with its verities, responds to the needs of human intelligence, never to be satisfied until arriving at the knowledge of God. Let us then labor to make Christians who know what they believe, and we shall remake Christian society. It is an excellent plan to choose that Mass which is frequented by the largest number of men on Sunday for giving systematic courses of instruction; real, serious, catechistic teaching." Good advice, no doubt, provided the men continue to frequent that Mass and will listen to the catechist; but the crux of the situation clearly is to reach absentees from Mass, the non-practicing Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

Mgr. Péchenard says: "Anti-clericalism is a fruit of religious ignorance. Our *first* business is to find voluntary catechists to aid the curés."

This reminds one involuntarily of Mrs. Glasse's well-known recipe. Mgr. Bonfils, Bishop of Mans, advises his clergy to encourage the new work that is in operation satisfactorily in several towns and villages of lady catechisers of children! "How many children do not know, how many among those who do know their lessons disbelieve them? These ladies can render us valuable service."

The committee of the interdiocesan fund, composed of H. E. Cardinal Richard, the Archbishops of Rouen and Rheims, the Co-adjutor Archbishop of Cambrai and the Bishop of Versailles, met at the Paris Archbishopric on August 8 to consider the *Denier du Culte*, or worship-penny question. It had been decided by the episcopate in their general assembly to constitute an interdiocesan fund by a contribution from each diocese of five per cent. on the proceeds of its total particular *Denier du Culte*, from which fund the poorer dioceses are to receive grants in supplementary aid, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris being empowered personally to manage the fund and distribute the moneys "personally" (though not *in propria persona*) with the least practicable delay after they are received, thus guarding against risk of sequestration by bandittee. Organizations of the worship-penny collection vary considerably in different dioceses under their respective Bishops' direction, while results most widely differ. Thus the Bishop of Amiens fixed an impost (on paper) of twenty cents annually per head, calculating the "generous" yet "somewhat mistrustful" spirit of his flock and the poverty of a proportion would render one-fourth unable, another fourth unwilling to pay its quota, but the remaining half prepared to supply the full sum requisite—an expectation found to be justified. "There are neither poor nor indifferent among that half," says His Lordship; "they have responded most nobly." The Archbishop of Cambrai's

<sup>2</sup> See M. de Bonneval's statements on page 278.

Coadjutor, Mgr. Delamaire, who requires \$200,000 yearly, says: "I am one of the highly favored among my colleagues; if my field of work is vast my priests' zeal, my flock's generousities know neither bounds nor obstacles; the worship-penny fund is in normal operation and is ample."

Experience is similar in the adjoining Archdiocese of Rheims. Mgr. Luçon says: "Voluntary subscriptions to this fund are largely sufficient in my diocese, where it has not been necessary to have recourse to any parochial 'taxation.' Last December a workingman gave a dollar; this year he has given twenty dollars from savings of his halfpence. A young widow in mourning, carrying a baby, waited upon me while I was staying, after expulsion, with Count Werle, asked for my blessing and gave me a closed envelope 'for the poor priests,' which, after some demur, I pocketed and opened later in the day, supposing it might contain a note for \$10, but found \$100. Nobody knows who she is." The Archbishop of Tours appears satisfied with the working of his worship-penny fund. In the Diocese of Beauvais, says its Bishop, "the faithful are most generous; their offerings exceed original estimates and I am without much anxiety as to the future."

The Bishop of Soissons finds "the generousities of his flock are adequate," and is likewise "not anxious." In Agen Diocese the worship-penny fund is in normal operation satisfactorily, though modifications of its machinery are required, says the Bishop. In Nantes Diocese a personal financial visitation of all his parishioners by the curé of a parish of under 1,800 souls lasting four days, ending on the Purification, enabled him to say: "Thanks to God and to the profound faith of my parishioners, contributing sums from four cents to ten dollars, I was enabled to exceed by \$60 the amount fixed by our Bishop, viz., \$430."

As a set-off to these experiences, the Bishop of Tarbes tells quite another story about the diocese made world-famous by Lourdes. His Lordship says (interviewed at Lourdes by a representative of *La Croix*): "The consequences of the separation are especially cruel in my diocese, where faith is still very lively in all places, but which incontestably is one of the poorest in France. Notwithstanding their good-will, our populations, particularly in the mountainous districts, cannot possibly contrive to provide sufficient stipends for their priests. The law inflicts a loss for last year on the diocese of nearly \$16,000, which will gradually increase until attaining the formidable amount of \$52,000 annually. Now, during this present year the general subscription opened for providing expenses of worship in the diocese totals only \$9,500. Yet in several regions we have experienced both sincere sympathy and real acts of generosity."

It is true no systematic efforts seem to have been made at Tarbes to raise the necessary funds, and the Bishop now sees the urgent need of proper organization such as exists elsewhere.

The Archbishop of Auch writes: "I am no pessimist; money will be given us, but I am in an almost solitary situation in France, with many priests for a scanty population, cruelly tried by the agrarian and viticultural crises. While throughout the country about twenty cents annually per head of population suffice for reconstituting the lost national budget of public worship in France, I am obliged to ask from my dear flock thrice as much, say sixty cents per head, if our diocesan budget is to be restored. Yet my priests are self-denying and patient; they have received nothing at all during the last six months!" In Viviers Diocese "the results of the worship-penny appeals are generally disappointing; \$100,000 will be needed next year, but only a third of that sum is wanted this year, yet the deficit in the first six months was \$3,000. Only six districts supplied the quota asked for. Not a single rich parish in the diocese furnished more than was asked."

These diverse experiences justify the warning expressed on August 8 by an episcopal member of the interdiocesan fund committee: "The first year is relatively mild. It is only now the separation is about to make its pecuniary burden felt." There can be little doubt the aggregate national *Denier* will fall considerably short of the requisite total in the second year. As time goes on that total will diminish. There will be fewer priests. *La Croix* of August 28 gave a list of about three-score in various departments who have supplemented stipends by farm, trade or artistic work, concluding it with a hope they may not find imitators, since "manual labor, if in no wise incompatible with the priest's spiritual ministry, absorbs time that would be better spent in study at the present time, when religious instruction is assailed from every side. The parish priest should have only the souls of his parishioners to think of."<sup>8</sup>

The Clermont diocesan *Semaine Religieuse* a fortnight previously observed: "Throughout the nineteenth century the Catholic clergy was chiefly recruited from the toiling population. To-day, discouraged by incessant attacks on the Church, subdued by the calumnies wherewith impiety fills the newspapers and dreading for their sons' humiliations and penury in a sublime vocation, parents now no longer foster seed Divinely sown in predestined souls, but often try to brutally stamp it down. The aristocracy and middle classes do not sufficiently realize the duty that is now imposed on them. For a century they have been the coldest, the most unsympathetic to ecclesiastical vocations. . . . Their sons have preferred to

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<sup>8</sup> Compare these remarks with page 287.

become useless, unemployed creatures of luxury; their ideal now is a racing automobile and *chauffeur's* cap."

In France the seventeenth century produced several saints from those classes. The nineteenth had but one Curé d'Ars. *Verbum sap.*

For the moment the Bishops' experiences thus far on this important matter of seminary replenishing are almost as diverse as upon the finance supply. A majority feel much misgiving, admitting fewer vocations. In Agen they have been "falling off for years." In Cambrai they "have increased." M. Edouard Drumont deplotes not only upper class indifference, but "detachment of all classes from Christ. To-day indifference exists even among many who apparently remain faithful to ancestral traditions, to the outward observances of religion. If it is shown in the desolation of numerous poor village churches where only women are now to be seen, it is also evidenced by the reckless amusements indulged in by patricians of both sexes, quite regardless of the numberless unfortunates driven from their homes, obliged to fly their country, whose books and humble furniture are the prey of Jews and liquidating blocards. I visited the other day that ruined Abbey of Larchant—wondrous poem in stone, which has become a tourists' attraction—situated in an entirely hostile anti-clerical village. In the solitude I found a woman suckling her baby, who stolidly informed me: 'The curé no longer lives here. It was settled not to let the presbytery to him, and you understand nobody would give him lodging. He comes once a fortnight to say Mass.' 'Who comes to the Mass?' 'A few bourgeois in summer.' 'Then I suppose nobody brings children to baptize now?' 'Some do.' One felt as though in a Negro village and a Hottentot was speaking. Incontestably the divine sense is abolished in certain souls now; they do not need it; they suffer nothing from the absence of any ideal. Such folks are worse pagans than those in the far-off ages before St. Denis preached the Gospel to Gauls. They feel none of our woes or hopes; they are not curious about the enigmas of the world; they live an exclusively material existence. It may seem strange to ourselves there should be such people, but so it is. Indeed, in France, even among the upper classes, there are far too many Hottentots, charming ladies as well as distinguished gentlemen, who are not more troubled by the problem of the infinite than are the peasants in the country round Paris. Under courtesy of manner, grace of fascinating smiles, elegance of toilettes, there is the like soul to the souls of beings seemingly coarser. The dominant characteristic of our epoch seems to me to be indifference."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Compare with the same writer's criticisms on pp. 278, 279.



1. M. Stanislas de Holland, after asserting Brittany is still, as ever, "the privileged land of faith and courage," goes on to admit that "the Armorican region more and more tends, invaded by new doctrines, bad journals and a sinister Masonic propaganda, to lose originality and vigor. Here, above all districts, are visible the evil effects of the accursed secularizing of education, the generation of young laity leaving school and college contrasting conspicuously with the preceding generation, remaining faithful to its pious beliefs, its traditions, its love of Brittany. It is easy to see evil progresses, irreligion spreads devastation, if one compares Brittany of to-day with the same provinces thirty years ago. The costume goes, or has already gone; the language is going, forbidden by the Masonic republic. Everywhere Masonry has emissaries quietly working to destroy old institutions, sap faith, ridicule Christian traditions. Their mission is to upset methodically, noiselessly, with geniality, slowly but surely. No corner of France is now free from the influence of the sect. The same phenomenon was remarked at the epoch of the great Revolution. Yet the Masonic conquest of Brittany is beset with difficulties. There are powers of resistance, thank God, which are not exhausted—attachment to the native soil; a faith still lively, though the moral level is gradually tending lower; the religious festivals to which Brittany keeps faithful, its pardons, Calvaries, shrines of intense melancholy, suggesting thoughts of God and maintaining in the soul those sentiments against which all the powers of evil conspire. To preserve Bretons from manifold agents of dissolution a Breton Regional Union has been formed, proposing to maintain and diffuse the language, to preserve the costumes and, generally, usages, ceremonies, festivals, as well as labor at economical development and social amelioration."

Cardinal Coullié says of Lyons Archdiocese, on the opposite side of France: "Among the sons of our staunch Catholics there are now scarcely found the firm principles, belief in pious traditions, strict educational training, respect for pastoral authority past generations so well possessed or observed."

At the Wurzburg Congress the Abbé Gasse, of Metz, insisted "to the German clergy is attributable the prosperous and relatively happy situation of German Catholics. The French clergy have kept too close within the sacristy or presbytery; parochial works, in particular for men, have not been organized. The republic is to blame certainly for the religious situation; but so was the monarchy which centralized everything; governments certainly, but likewise the clergy, including certain congregations. Every one has hitherto sought personal interest instead of the common interest, without sufficiently preoccupying himself about welfare of souls and the

honor of God." Such general criticisms are easily made. In refutation of the abbé another Metz priest, Abbé Tilly, explained that if Germans had a Volksverein, so had Frenchmen. Their "Popular Liberal Action" (see page 170) was a Volksverein, and had held splendid congresses.<sup>5</sup> Parochial and social works are more numerous than is usually supposed. The rural banks of M. Durand (of Lyons) were in particular cited by the Abbé Tilly; and another priest, formerly associated with Mgr. Gibier, Bishop of Versailles, supporting this abbé, cited several other works, in particular some founded by that active, enterprising prelate. "A work of Catholic renovation is progressing in France, though of course slowly," he concluded.

Mgr. Gibier in his *Semaine Religieuse* of mid-September dwells on his cherished project of erecting in Versailles Diocese "absolutely indispensable, fresh, but inexpensive, places for worship;" foreseeing, no doubt, the sequestered cathedrals and churches of France will before very long have to be abandoned. He says: "These constructions may be portable or of cement, to hold 200, 500 or 1,000 persons, and cost \$2,000, \$3,000 or \$4,000; easily ornamented, easily heated, easily kept in repair. Some might serve as church and parish assembly hall both. Where the flocks are small they would be better places for congregational prayer and song than the solitudes of too big a church. They should be set in the centre of the village or working class quarter. Every precaution must be taken to prevent their being, whatever may happen, robbed, confiscated, alienated from their destined uses. We know justice is not to be had for congregations, clergy or religion. Their priests should be not owners, but lessees of these buildings; owned either by legally formed civil associations or, better still, by private individuals. Ornaments, sacred vessels, etc., should not be gifts; these should be lent for church uses to the clergy."

Mgr. de Cabrières, Bishop of Montpellier, and a few other Bishops express decided opinions that from the spiritual point of view the separation law<sup>6</sup> is advantageous, in spite of its causing so many enormous difficulties for the Church and heavy material losses.

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<sup>5</sup> Founded some three years ago, it has two thousand branches already.

<sup>6</sup> Voted for by a parliamentary majority returned by one-third of the national electorate of men! It is instructive to consider how emphatically hard facts give the lie to so much of modern oratorical and journalistic clap-trap. An infallible popular dogma nobody dares deny is that, in our age of light, majorities ought to settle everything. The man in the street is firmly persuaded they really do. Yet a national minority of qualified Frenchmen (all females being debarred from voting in the Masonic up-to-date "Republic") wrecked the national Church. The idea and the *modus operandi* proceeded from an infinitely smaller minority still, viz., the Masonic international organization, which on Lady Day last declared in a

In Montpellier unwonted activity, returns to religious duties, better Sunday observance, larger male attendances in church have followed. Of Agen the Bishop, Mgr. du Vauroux, says: "Separation has improved the religious situation in my diocese." Mgr. Douais says of his (Beauvais), which reputedly was far from being the most pious in the country: "It is incontrovertible the separation has inaugurated a revival. Popular sympathy, moral influence are returning to the clergy. Among the indifferent laity respectful surprise at our attitude has succeeded to former distrust. Never before were my pastoral tours welcomed so courteously and cordially, especially by the Mayors. There never used to be such crowds to receive me. People who had believed the most dangerous of the calumnies against us—that we were rich and avaricious—now understand the falsehood, seeing that for the sake of a principle we have let ourselves be unjustly stripped of everything."

The Bishop of Quimper, admitting there are "real advantages," wisely adds: "The situation is eminently precarious." More sanguine, the Bishop of Tarbes assures us " Lourdes is our hope—the hope of French Catholics, the hope of Pius X. and, likewise, of Leo XIII., who repeatedly affirmed 'Lourdes and Montmartre, the Immaculate Virgin and the Sacred Heart will save France.' Last year about a million pilgrims visited Lourdes." It is claimed the national French pilgrimage was unprecedentedly attractive of visitors to the wonderful spectacle presented in the week ending August 24, and there were certainly a few first-class cures, mostly instantaneous in the baths. Mgr. Schœpfer hopes to celebrate next year the golden

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Paris council: "If there be any deed for which Masonry can assume 'the whole responsibility,' it is the separation. If the orders of the day of our lodges are referred to, it will be seen there is not one without some inscription concerning that question. From one end of France to the other it was our perpetual watchword. If the thread of the agitation for separation is followed up, Freemasonry will be found at the beginning. This council accordingly decides to use its utmost influence in order to have erected in some Paris square a monument glorifying the separation of the churches from the State." (*Masonic Compté rendu*, 1907, pp. 62-65.) Now, France counts only one Freemason among every 1,210 individuals. There are 27,000 affiliated adherents to the Grand Orient, while the Grand Lodge only boasts of 5,100, making 32,100 Masons in the total population of 40,000,000 or so. There are besides these two Masonic "powers" wherewith France is cursed, twenty-four in the rest of Europe, fifty-eight in the United States and Canada, twenty-one in South and Central America, seven in Australia, two in Africa. William Burritt, of Pembroke, Ontario, informed one thousand delegates at the fifty-second annual session of the Canadian Grand Lodge, held this summer in Ottawa, there were over three thousand additional members gained in 1906, and that brethren in the Dominion totaled about 40,000. Mr. Aubrey White, of Toronto, reported a total of 288 lodges. The initiations last year were 3,800, the affiliations 512, against 592 resignations (withdrawals of membership) and 396 suspended for non-payment of subscriptions.

jubilee of the apparitions with an extension by the Holy See to the Universal Church of the annual Office of the Apparition—a petition for which extension some hundreds of prelates (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops) have already signed—and also by obtaining acceptances of invitations, addressed at Pentecost with Papal approval to the world's Bishops, to organize, in correspondence with a central body at Lourdes, pilgrimages thither under direction of diocesan committees all their Lordships are begged to constitute. That acceptance generally awaits these invitations is perhaps doubtful. Our Lady's extraordinary mission seems to have been to France specially, and if so, it was rudely repulsed within the half century of miracles. Then, disturbed, dangerous, social conditions will scarcely encourage a prosperous Japanese, Antipodean, Brazilian, Mexican, Californian or Marylander to undertake such a journey, whatever Messrs. Cook may be able to do from reasonable distance of the hallowed spot, where 'marvelous spectacles, a movement in astonishing proportions,' are to be expected naturally enough if society holds together so long.

Resistance, active here, passive there, is manifested in many ways now—even, as will appear farther on, by the Magistrature. The Council General of Maine et Loire, the Council of Segré, both with unanimity, voted in identical phrase protests against the "very serious events that, by mere administration injunctions, without legislative interference, crucifixes having been removed from public schools, and Mayors, in conformity with popular desire having replaced them, such Mayors have everywhere been suspended or even deprived, thereby again violating parental rights to have their own sentiments respected by their children. Such proceedings are at once illegal, there being no law forbidding religious images in schools, and anti-democratic, for they attack popular liberties. They are unjustifiable in law and in fact." Prefectoral opposition to this protest was disregarded, while the Prefect of the Cantal has, after repeated refusals, at last sanctioned the municipality's decision to grant free his presbytery to their curé. At Leseun, in the Basque district of Basses-Pyrenees, the municipality have restored his to their curé, deprived of it (and they, consequently, of him) in April, begging the Bishop of Bayonne to send them again its rightful occupant.

In a small southern village the municipality decided to let the curé his presbytery for a dollar quarterly. Twice did the Prefect refuse ratification, and the Mayor, being unwilling to contest the matter with him, took legal advice, receiving this ingenious tip: "Put up a bill on the building, 'This House to Let,' and install the curé as caretaker. Of course, he will be entitled to be paid a proper salary for

looking after communal property!" The Prefect admired this device, which, he says, ably solves the difficulty. Owing to firmness of the Estables municipality (in Lozerè department) and that of Cr  -sur-Loir (Sarthe) these questions of mayoral and municipal rights and prefectural powers of annulation will shortly be decided by the Council of State.

A customary procession on the festival of the Assumption through the city of Alen  on being forbidden by the Prefect, its Municipal Council unanimously protested and congratulated the Mayor for refusing to issue such an order. The clergy invited people to assist at Benediction in the three churches, which were crowded. The function over, the faithful left, singing hymns to our Lady, proceeding to a large square fronting one of the churches, where 10,000 voices intoned "Credo." The assemblage dispersed after a benediction given from the church porch. *Corrispondenza Romana* the ensuing week highly applauded this Alen  onnais demonstration against blocard power. The usual street processions on the same festival and also on that of our Lady's Nativity in Valenciennes were authorized by its radical Mayor, M. Devilliers, on the grounds that "justice requires full freedom for citizens, whatever their political or religious convictions, to manifest freely their opinions, while such liberty, to which all are entitled, could only be refused to any who would be thought likely to abuse it by disturbing public order, which is not to be anticipated in these cases, both being absolutely peaceful demonstrations, doing harm to nobody. Accordingly there is no objection to authorizing either; on the contrary, their suppression would inflict serious loss on a series of small traders, humble and modest folk, by depriving them of the means to make both ends meet." On the 15th of August, which for many years was a general French holiday, this sensibly tolerant gentleman accorded a like liberty to the city Socialists.

On the festival of the Nativity a bronze monument was inaugurated by two Under-secretaries of State at Chalons-sur-Sa  ne, erected by public subscription to commemorate the defense of that city against the Austrians in 1814. At close of last year the Socialist group in the blocard Municipal Council resigned office, being defeated in a voting of the Council about this monument, which these Socialist Councillors insisted was too heavy a burden for the city's finances. There were consequently fresh municipal elections in January, contested by three groups of candidates, one being nominated by the "Popular Liberal Action." At the first balloting the radical list and at the second the Socialist list were defeated: The thirteen candidates of the Catholic association entered the Hotel de Ville triumphantly. The inauguration f  tes were naturally un-

paralleled for their enthusiasm and for popular decorations of the city. The clergy, associated to the general movement, celebrated a magnificent Mass for the slain soldiers at St. Vincent's Cathedral, which was crowded. Three weeks previously, at Guéret, in the Creuse, where for twenty years no liberal has succeeded in getting elected, M. Antoine Rodier, the liberal director of the local newspaper, was elected to the Municipal Council by 494 votes against 361 recorded for his Masonic opponent.

The Montparnasse Workman's Club and Patronage, confiscation of which is narrated on page 525, has been reconstituted 29 Rue de Lourmel, in the Parisian Grenelle quarter, now a populous industrial district. Thus restoration proceeds, where practicable, necessarily slowly, arduously. Any madman can quickly destroy. To rebuild an architect and capital are indispensable. So is time.

On page 284 it is recorded the Appeal Court pronounced illegal the wearing at burials of their vestments by clergymen. Several Mayors, in particular of Brest, Sens, Loupian, Villeneuve-les-Maguelonne, having forbidden such "exterior manifestations of worship," the Council of State has been applied to and has, on the contrary, pronounced, in the cases of the two submitted to it, viz., the two last named, such mayoral interdictions to be illegal. The Council of State and the Court of Cassation therefore "incoherently" interpret the law differently, and the *Parochial Echo*, of Brest (where several priests have recently been summoned for infraction of their Socialist Mayor's decree), warns the blocard municipality not to be surprised if all the local clergy "resume exercise of a right pronounced incontestable" by the highest State body as well as by the Sens Court, which acquitted the sacerdotal culprit at that place when charged.

The expelled seminarists of Lyons have been removed to the Catholic commune of Sainte Foy, where their votes will henceforth ensure a Catholic Municipal Council. It is announced a blocard Deputy, when the Chambers meet, shall submit a project of law to prevent this unforeseen catastrophe by requiring seminarists to vote at their original domicile—a fresh example, were one wanted, that Masonic "liberty" means power for freethinkers to oppress Christian thinkers. The hypocrites who used to be all for toleration of all sects are now as unanimously for thoroughgoing persecution of Catholic Christians.

So the work of methodical persecution and destruction steadily proceeds, while for the most part Catholics look on, indignantly of course, as spectators or passive resisters.

St. Nicholas' Church, in Aubusson, after three centuries' usage for public worship, was arbitrarily closed by the municipality, who

decided to have it pulled down and replaced by a covered garden for an adjoining primary school. The blocard Mayor ordered an auction sale of bells, altar, sacred images, holy water stoup and the other furniture, and solicited tenders for demolishing the ancient edifice and laying out the garden. Neither bidders nor contractors responded to his overtures.

There have been urgent prefectural appeals to "bureaux of benevolence," to whom the law "attributes" sequestrated church properties, to come forward and claim their own. These bureaux are generally very shy of doing what sooner or later must bring hornets' nests round them. They have been episcopally warned to think once, twice and thrice before claiming (which no "law" obliges them to do) "stolen goods that in most cases would prove a source of much annoyance, litigation and expenditure." The Gordian knot has been cut by government in three cases. On September 1 decrees "attributed" to the benevolent bureaux of Paris (Charente-inférieure) and of Brive, respectively: 1. The furnished episcopal buildings and seminary, with gardens, lands and meadows thereto annexed, of La Rochelle. 2. Similar properties and book debts of \$450, confiscated at Brive. Lastly, to Evreux Hospital rente yielding \$187 yearly, with the furnished buildings and dependencies of Evreux secondary ecclesiastical school—the acquirers of these ill-gotten goods to liquidate charges on and debts of the three properties "attributed" to them. Freemasonry is adding to the language. New outlandish words are coming into use.

The Mayor of Penmarcin (Quimper Diocese) early in summer obtained a judicial order to expel the local priests from their presbytery, which was executed *manu militari* at end of August, twenty-five gendarmes assisting the special police commissary in presence of a gloomy or indifferent populace, many seeming not to understand what was being done. About the same time the sub-Prefect, special police commissary and a score of gendarmes expelled the Bishop's secretaries and other occupants from an episcopal building in St. Claude, on the opposite side of France, while (returning to Brittany) a force of 600 soldiers with 110 gendarmes enabled the police commissary to burst open barred doors and (after energetic protests by the religious) forcibly expel from their church stalls and home the Ursuline community of Vannes, who educated 300 girls of the working class. These religious have found a home in Italy and left Vannes, escorted by a sympathizing populace to the railway.

Early in September the expelled Sisters of St. Paul were accompanied to the Blois railway station by the clergy and 300 old pupils. Next day in Quimper the municipality expelled from its presbytery

the clergy of St. Corentin Church, and half an hour later the remaining Ursulines in the neighboring convent quitted it to rejoin their Sisters expelled the previous day, when the Faithful Companions of Jesus likewise quitted, under prefectoral orders, in presence of a weeping crowd, their convent in Ste. Anne d'Auray.

In the same week the nursing Sisters at Bordeaux departmental prison had to leave it for their mother house, to make way for lay infirmarians. On September 18 several brigades of gendarmerie, aided by a battalion of Thirteenth Infantry, burst the bars and broke open twenty-five locked doors of the Ursuline Convent in Blois to expel, one by one, the superior general, Mother Saint Julien, and her eighty religious, who have long conducted an important school with 300 pupils. The Blessed Sacrament was carried to another convent in the city. The nuns were escorted by 500 friends and former pupils to the Cathedral, where a ceremony of reparation was celebrated. They all then availed of hospitalities offered by numerous resident families. A few days before the Ursulines of Carhaix, near Morlaix, were in identical fashion expelled from the convent which has been theirs for three centuries.

The destroyers' own attempts to construct have egregiously failed. M. Vilatte has left France. His *alter ego*, M. Roussin (see page 181), has submitted and returned to the Church. Half a dozen schismatic worship associations provided with excommunicated priests are performing, scattered over the country; there are also a certain number unable to find clerics, and therefore practically legally non-existent. The French Protestant newspaper *Le Signal* foresaw this result; a year ago, warning its readers then of the proposed attempt, on which a good deal of money has been vainly squandered, to organize a Gallican Church independent of Rome, "is bound to fail. Genuine Catholics will obey their Pope. Catholic churches independent of the Pope were once possible. To-day they are impossible. Whether one likes it or not, the infallible Pope is everything in the Roman Church. All authority springs from that centre; to him is rendered obedience from the whole Church. You cannot be half Catholic. You are Catholic or you are not. There is no middle term."

Three or four of the schismatic groups have been declared illegal by courts of law and have had to cease operations.

When the Paris chapel in Rue Legendre was closed (see page 269) M. Duhamel, one of Vilatte's vicars, betook himself to Saint Martin du Puy, in Agen Diocese, where a schismatic worship association had been (illegally) formed, and was warmly welcomed by the Mayor, who handed him the church keys. The curé, Abbé Fonty, took proceedings forthwith to regain possession in the



Clamecy Civil Tribunal, which the first week of August gave judgment in his favor. The grounds set forth by its president are that "the curé was exercising his functions before arrival of Duhamel, who came in consequence of the Mayor's application to the central committee in Rue Legendre; that it is unquestionable the abbé is a qualified Catholic priest, while doubtful whether Duhamel, once a priest, is still one, and that there has been no legal 'disaffection' of the church requiring a change of its priest; wherefore possession must, at any rate provisionally, be left to the priest hitherto in charge, all parties being free to take ulterior proceedings; for such would seem to be the intention of the legislature, judging from the reply of the president of the commission to certain proposed amendments when article 5 of the law of January 2, 1907, was being discussed." M. Duhamel therefore lost no time in quitting the commune, greatly to popular relief and satisfaction. The attempt made at Besson (narrated on page 527) by the Prefect of the Meuse was repudiated and blamed by the Minister of Worship, M. Briand, on the ground that he was not entitled to insist upon the schismatic curé of Culey worship association officiating outside Culey Commune, where the antecedent (to December last) *Fabrique* had (schismatically) acted conformably to the separation law in time as well as deed.

On Sunday, August 11, an "ex-professor" (according to his own account) at the Périgueux Seminary, M. Constantin, was enabled by M. Poterlot, the Freemason Mayor of Stenay (Meuse department), to say a first schismatic Mass in the parish church, to the surprise of unprepared parishioners, but was on its conclusion obliged—by an uninvited escort of about 400 hostile parishioners, including small boys snatching at his long beard, others whistling and hissing, besides refusal of the travelers at the hotel to let the same roof shelter him and them—to quit the village. On the Assumption at 7 A. M. local gendarmes and others from Dun and Montmédy surrounded the church. At 9.45 a company of chasseurs was posted at the northern front. The district blocards, hurriedly convoked, began to arrive, accompanied by deriding Catholics of the various parishes, and before 10 Mgr. Maugin, dean of Stenay, escorted by the parish and neighboring clergy, with the leading Stenay Catholics, appeared in the densely thronged Place de l'Eglise. With sonorous voice the dean demanded access to his church of the Mayor, who refused it. The police prepared to clear the church portal, a military piquet moved, the police commissary laid hand on the dean, saying he had the armed force necessary to obtain respect for law, and the schismatic presented himself, surrounded by a triple row of gendarmes. He was hailed with cries, "Down with the

apostate!" "Down with Vilatte!" "Vive liberty!" "Vive the Catholic Church!" and the dean, at request of the crowd, repaired to his private oratory, windows whereof being opened, they assisted at his Mass, some 500 voices afterwards chanting "Credo," "Pater Noster" and the hymn "A Christian Soul Am I." At the sacrilegious Mass in church there assisted less than a score of men and eight females, some of whom said they went in from curiosity and that smoking was allowed. M. Constantin was reconducted away by a piquet of gendarmerie through back streets. Until noon disorder prevailed. Hostile anti-clerical cries provoked a plucky young man, finding himself alone in a group of rowdies, to draw a revolver, sight of which instantly silenced them. Directed by a lieutenant to replace it in his pocket, he did so, but held his ground several minutes, disdainfully surveying the group. There were several like instances of firm demeanor among the Stenay faithful. In the afternoon Vespers and a procession to our Lady were improvised in Madame du Verdier's park. During his triumphant return course of some 600 yards to his presbytery from that lady's chateau, Mgr. Mangin did not hear the most trifling hostile cry. M. Constantin was at once summoned by the Montmédy justices, and on the Saturday announced that he acknowledged "the Roman curé's right to say Mass simultaneously with himself in church." Next day after the schismatic function a street uproar ensued on the appearance of M. Betsch, local president of Popular Liberal Action. The succeeding Saturday, August 24, a judgment was pronounced at the Montmédy tribunal upholding Catholic rights, on the grounds that "Abbé Mangin, Catholic priest, one of the pursuers, has for seventeen years uninterruptedly until August 13, 1907, acted as curé of the Stenay church, a communal building affected to exercise of Catholic worship which has never been disaffected; that, although a worship association for conducting Catholic worship, formed at Stenay, deposited at Montmédy prefecture July 30, 1907, the declaration required by article 5 of the law of July 1, 1904, and article 18 of the law of December 9, 1905, receipt for which has been produced; and, although on August 13, 1907, M. Poterlot, Mayor of Stenay, took away from Abbé Mangin the church keys he had always kept and placed them, together with objects used for public worship, at the disposal of Abbé Constantin, the priest selected by the said association for its exercise—still it is admitted no administrative act transmitting possession of the church and the aforesaid objects to the worship association has been performed, while Abbé Mangin clearly preserved until August 13 to part de facto possession to which the law of January 2, 1907, entitled him; wherefore, it is proper, under all these circumstances, to maintain, at least provisionally, the priest

of the ancient worship and the faithful of the commune in possession of the said church and objects used for public worship, subject to the priests' contesting the matter further." The Mayor was ordered to return immediately to Mgr. Mangin the church keys; the intruder Constantin to give up instantly to the pursuers the free access to and use of the edifice "for practicing their religion." The ordonnance of judgment was to be executory, "without a minute's delay, before registration."

Evidently the president of this Montmédy tribunal is no Freemason nor friend to the sect, unlike too many in the French and English magistratures. The same evening about 7 the huissier from the court arrived in Stenay, where enthusiasm overflowed ordinary bounds, to take the keys from an ungracious Mayor and transfer them to the dean, the five bells carolling in the belfry joyously. The next morning was the patronal festival at Stenay. The church could not hold all comers to High Mass, preceded by a ceremony of reparation, altar draped in mourning, "Parce Domine" being thrice chanted; then the black coverings fell, the celebrant intoned and all present fervently chanted "Credo." Public rejoicings were most animated that Sunday; neither was there the slightest disorder. Worship associates and their Abbé Constantin kept indoors, holding their tongues. On the 29th the Mayor and municipality (unanimously minus only one vote) decided, disregarding the popular will, to lease for six years to that schismatic worship association the parish church "communal property." This decision cannot be executed to legal effect, for the law of 2 January, 1907, requires non-disaffected churches to be left at disposal of the occupants at that date. Monsieur Constantin announced by a circular No. 1 his resolve to stay in Stenay. William Constantin, born forty-seven years ago at Castillones (Lot et Garonne), the son of a policeman there, was tonsured, receiving the two first minor orders in 1884-85 at Perigueux Seminary, where he never was, neither had he ability to be, made a professor; nor did he there or elsewhere duly proceed to priesthood. He is apparently a layman in a cassock. Two months before visiting Stenay he replaced for about a fortnight another schismatic, one Travel (who was trying to extend his influence over neighboring communes) at Contréglise (Haute-Laône) for its schismatic worship association; and afterwards tried Polaincourt, where a band of women gave him a Grenoble reception, preventing his access within the church on the first Sunday, while on the second three-score men, armed with pitchforks and long whips, awaited him. Gendarmes were there and he got out of the carriage, but in spite of them in a twinkling he was putting his best leg foremost, and a regular man-chase of half a mile over the fields followed

up to the forest, into which he disappeared. A circular No. 2 fore-shadows his replacement at Stenay by "another priest." Is this due to orders from Vilatte, who possibly conferred on him sacerdotal character? Perhaps so.

The M. Tavel referred to in the last paragraph received on the Nativity an appropriate welcome at Cussey-sur-l'Ognon (Doubs), in Besançon Archdiocese, into the church of which commune the Mayor had introduced him to say a Mass, despite the curé. From the environs numerous Catholics came for Masses, celebrated (2) in open air outside the parish church profaned by the prior schismatic function. In his sermon the curé said: "Illegality and burglary must be fought. Christ armed Himself with a scourge to drive out the temple profaners. Their populations must combat *pro aris et focis*; for their altars exposed to sacrilege; for sacraments of which two, penance and marriage, were stricken with nullity; for their homes; for the dignity and honor of sons and daughters." This first Mass was celebrated in peace, nor were the hymns sung interrupted. But at the second Mass the Mayor, protected by gendarmes, after beat of drums, proclaimed "gatherings of over three persons are forbidden." A notice illegally forbidding them, and also songs and hymns, besides "seditious cries," was placarded the day before. However, the Catholic congregation remained, protecting from fresh profanation the church in front of which it was assembled. Schismatic Vespers were performed in the afternoon. During this office a band of Besançon roughs was singing the "International" outside. At 5 o'clock M. Tavel left Cussey, vowing he would not revisit it.

The curé of Beyssac (Corrèze), Abbé Faucon, expelled from church and presbytery, lives in a barn, where he says Mass, amid poverty-stricken surroundings, two planks on trestles serving for altar, a sheet for altar cloth, two phials that do not match for cruets. Chalice and paten are lent by a neighboring parish. The thatch is covered with chestnut branches. Notwithstanding such holy poverty, the barn is an impressive and superb spectacle, overflowing on Sundays and festivals with a population resisting with all its might the tyranny of a handful of municipal councillors and doing its utmost to preserve faith, for strengthening which a successful mission was begun late in August. It concluded with a torchlight procession in the surrounding woods of no less than four parishes. At this unique spot, Beyssac, there have been four schismatic ministrants for the schismatic worship association during four months or thereabouts of its existence. The first, Bellet, once Protestant, next Dominican, then married, after that remarried, introduced by the pastor Réveillaud, Deputy, presented himself arrayed

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<sup>1</sup> Compare this interdiction with pages 171 and 273.

in red as "a Bishop," but speedily shut up and made for Britain. The second was an aged priest who had been driven to this escapade by misery. He soon retracted to Mgr. de Tulle, the Bishop, and is actually doing penance in a monastery. The third, bringing disaster on the schism, was one Goudchiker, a Dutchman. From the outset he refused to say Mass, saying he was not a priest, though after a hasty flight from Beyssac he said three Masses successively at Beyssenae, whither he betook himself. His successor in September was one Fatôme, formerly a pupil of Abbé Coquoin, director of the Bivide Apostolic School in Manche department. Discharged from Coustances Grand Seminary, he wandered about until consecrated priest by the schismatic Swiss Bishop of Berne, after which he returned to entreat forgiveness from the Bishop of Coutances, who sent him to the Bricquebec Trappist monastery; but from Rome the Bishop was advised to restore him to lay communion and did so, a step so distasteful to himself that he offered his services to des Houx and Vilatte, who sent him to Beyssac.

On the first Sunday in September his congregation there consisted of the wife and three daughters of the Mayor. The population are, indeed, moving into the woods round the barn, putting up stores, café, etcetera, there, creating a new quarter. Church is deserted for barn.

In Agen Diocese, at St. Hilaire du Croix, last May there arrived, in company of two gendarmes, one Thers, styling himself Catholic priest, who with municipal authorization took possession of church, broke open sacristy door, installed himself in presbytery and started ecclesiastical functions, begging for funds right and left. Having begun to read regularly in the pulpit condemnations of various individuals among the clergy, he attracted notice from the local newspaper, which informs its readers the *Gazette des Tribunaux* 25 June, 1890, reports the legal prosecution of Eugène Louis Thers for illegally wearing clerical dress and swindling in the course of an irregular life, with his sentence to three months' imprisonment. The newspaper (*Avenir du Puy-de-Dôme*), inviting citizen Thers in St. Hilaire to read their account, concludes: "After doing so, citizen Thers may tell his audience whether the namesake condemned in 1890 and the schismatic curé of St. Hilaire are or not the same." He might on that occasion also say something about the edifying past of his colleague, Duc, schismatic curé of Ancizes (likewise in Agen Diocese). "He, certainly, is a priest; but, if adventures ascribed to him are substantially true, he ought to bury himself for life in the Trappist house he first entered and which he has twice quitted," says *La Croix*. On August 21 schismatic Abbé Cavalié, with two other schismatic priests, went, accompanied by Mayor and

gendarmes, to St. Hilaire parish church, the doors of which were closed and locked, a rightful occupant, Abbé Cardonne, and his faithful being inside. Calling for a locksmith, the Mayor had the sacristy door forced, thus opening a breach through which the three schismatics and their gendarmes got into the church. Abbé Cardonne declining to obey the Mayor's orders to leave it, process was drawn up and the intruders finally retired. The curé, Abbé Desliard, had previously cited Thers and the Mayor before the civil tribunal of Riom, which on the eve of the Nativity delivered a judgment in the same sense, on the same grounds, as the courts of Clamecy and Montmédy.

The administration all this time did nothing except favor the lawbreakers. It is no doubt possible the Appeal Court may reverse these judgments. Notwithstanding the last, this Mayor of St. Hilaire (who some time ago made himself notorious by a decree forbidding *any* minister of worship to set foot in a particular section of the commune) during the Octave of the Nativity actually forbade any exercise of public worship in the church that it required him to place immediately at its lawful curé's disposal!

A very considerable number of judgments adverse to the persecutors have been delivered in every district on the point raised in the Lorient case recorded in the note 7, page 275. The civil tribunal of Mans, in Normandy, alone has pronounced eight such judgments. The plaintiffs everywhere claim to have refunded to themselves as either the original donors or the legal representatives of the original donors of moneys given or bequeathed on condition that Masses should be said or educational or other trusts fulfilled for a time or in perpetuity; and those gifts or legacies were duly legalized at the proper time. These plaintiffs all say the conditions are now no longer fulfilled nor can they legally be. We are entitled, then, under the laws of all civilized States to a reimbursement. The principle involved would be admitted as sound by every court in the world. No French court could, therefore, do otherwise than admit it and find for plaintiffs. Seeing his confiscated treasures thus melting away from official coffers, M. Briand deposited a project at end of the session for arresting the flux, as mentioned at page 533. Its purpose was to disallow through fresh legislation such lawsuits by collateral heirs or universal legatees, allowing them only when brought by donors or a direct heir of the donor. Now, very many such donors were aged priests having no direct heirs, "thus the true end of the project deposited is to despoil," says the *Republique Française*, "representatives of donors by suppressing their rights." However, for reasons best known to himself and the author of mysteries in iniquity, the discussion was postponed, as stated in July,

until November. So many judgments according justice to suitors thereupon ensued that the Minister of Justice has tried to stem the tide by taking an unprecedented step, one that might perhaps be taken in Asiatic Turkey—the addressing a circular dated July 16, but not published for three weeks, to the chief presidents of courts and the Attorney Generals (*Procureurs Généraux*), from which the following are extracts:

“Since operation of the law of December 9, 1905, separating the churches and the State, the tribunals have had to deal with a considerable number of actions to recover, claim, revoke or annul donations or legacies made to ecclesiastical establishments subject to certain charges that can now no longer be executed. Some, brought by authors of such generosity or by their representatives, have already been decided, but the greater part are delayed by formalities of procedure and by arrears in various courts, are still pending. Now, on the 28th June last government deposited at the Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies a project of law to modify articles 6, 9, 10 and 14 of the law of December 9, 1905, introducing important simplifications of procedure, . . . but discussion of the project could not take place before close of the session. There is, however, reason to think it will be examined when the Chamber reopens.

“It seems then there would be the highest advantages gained, particularly from the point of view of diminished legal expenses, were decisions upon the cases pending before courts and tribunals postponed. I can therefore do no less than call your attention to the advantages of delaying those suits until the time when the law referred to can come into operation.

“The Guardian of the Seals, Minister of Justice,  
[Signed] “ED. GUYOT-DESSAIGNE.”

Thus government dare to ask the tribunals not to try certain suits in their due order because a law is preparing to modify existing legislation affecting them! The arguments alleged in this extraordinary circular with such arrant hypocrisy were addressed to the court by counsel for the sequestrator-defendant in a suit decided early in August by the civil tribunal at Autun; but judgment was at once given against the sequestrator on the grounds that “tribunals are strictly bound to apply laws in actual vigor; and to accord the delay asked for would constitute a denial of justice such as is foreseen by Article IV. of the Civil Code.”

This Article IV. of the Civil Code quoted in the important Autun judgment runs: “A Judge who refuses to pass judgment under pretext of the silence, the obscurity or the inadequacy of the law can be prosecuted as guilty of denying justice.”

Plaintiffs in this large class of cases are doing their best to hasten

hearings. Very many suits since the circular was given to the world have been decided—all necessarily against the confiscators, who will have a heavy total to disgorge. But, mystery of Masonic iniquity! Is it not more than probable little of these moneys recovered will be redevoted to the holy souls? And is it not possible M. Briand's unaccountable postponement of a project hurriedly deposited may have been due to pressure by parties interested personally (not for those souls) in getting considerable sums out of government clutches before fresh legislation rendered that impracticable? Is money, perhaps, at the root of all evil?

Opportunely there is published (first week of October) a letter from Mgr. Herscher, Bishop of Langres, wherein this weighty question is properly dealt with *in part*:

"Spouse of the God-Man, penniless, Holy Church assuredly fears not poverty. Principles have ever been more precious to her than riches. And one must be a stranger to Catholic spirit not to approve and admire the noble attitude of Pius X., repeating, to the government offer of the Church's properties in exchange for sacrifice of her constitution, her first Pope's reply to Simon Magus: '*Pecunia tua sit tibi in perditionem.*'"

"Still, all the same, *omnia pecuniæ obediunt*, money is at least a great social power. Without it no great things are done in this world. Trustful as she was in Divine help, Saint Teresa herself acknowledged that, to found a certain convent, she required 'three ducats.' Who will insure to the French Church the 'three ducats' of the grand Carmelite reformer? Pecuniary resources are necessary for it. Necessary to provide daily bread—they ask no more—for its ministers. Necessary to reestablish and revivify its seminaries, stripped of everything. Necessary to maintain the pomp and magnificence of public worship, which it would be a grievous step to reduce, were it only because they are powerful means of proselytizing. Necessary for maintaining teaching works; this is a moment when, Catholic schools being more than ever needed, it is out of the question to think of abandoning such work. Necessary for continuing other works of charity; service of the poor and the sick always was, always will be an integral part of Holy Church's mission. Necessary, lastly, in order to be able to maintain apostolic works; since it would be most regrettable such associations as those of Propagation of the Faith and the Holy Childhood, for examples, should, on account of what has happened in France, be deprived of means to support our missionaries.

"Who will give Holy Church these moneys necessary for thus working at the maintenance and extension of Jesus Christ's kingdom? Will French Catholics? They have already made in these



directions most praiseworthy exertions; they are preparing to make more still. But is it not to be feared their liberality, or their purse, will in the end be exhausted? Another difficulty, greater than that of indigence, is our precarious situation legally. How can we lawfully acquire or retain anything? Our very temples are not our own; we are merely occupants without juridical title. Shall we be allowed to exist thus for any length of time outside the law? And if a fresh law be made for us, what will it probably be?"

This practically minded chief pastor of an important business district avows himself "unable to join in a hymn of liberty loudly chanted to-day by some, in exitu Israel de Egypto. Certainly a few good results have followed separation—freedom for the Pope to choose Bishops; for ourselves to choose canons and curés and to communicate as we please with the Head of Catholicity. What other advantages are there? Too many Catholics, inclined to form theoretical abstract judgments in practical matters, promised more. Where is the popular indignation they said must be roused by confiscation of the Church's patrimony?<sup>8</sup> Where that awakening of Catholic religious initiative they foresaw must result from suppressing what they called 'Concordat bands?' The indignation, perhaps, existed at the outset, but it did not last. I admit that by several (or by many if you prefer) it was manifested by noble movements of eloquence, sometimes even by chivalric conduct. But what about the masses? With the masses it was evanescent as a flame in burning straw. People soon get used in France to anything and everything, injustice included. And government, seeing all this, skillfully chloroformed public opinion, which fell asleep. Many Catholics, even among those personally injured by the spoliation, have now egotistically, I ought rather to say in cowardly fashion, found their account lies in keeping quiet, and if you speak to them of claims upon the brigand State, they give you, in answer, names of sons, nephews, cousins or remote kinsfolk, in State employment, reckoned in ministerial budgets, while murmuring: 'Ah, don't get me into hot water with the republic.' So much for indignation.

"As to religious initiative—who will venture to say it is now what it should be and what it was hoped it would be? How many men among us understand the truth that religion is not merely for the clergy, but is the business of all Catholics; that every one's duty is to further and promote its interests? I know there are noble exceptions to the general rule; they are but exceptions,<sup>9</sup> and it must be acknowledged the separation, iniquitous as that was and is, has been far from producing such salutary movements of opinion as the

<sup>8</sup> This reminds one of Ozanam's advice to the Archbishop of Paris, who, taking it, was forthwith shot.

<sup>9</sup> Compare with M. de Bonneval's *élite*, on page 278.

German Kulturkampf and the union of Belgian Catholics after the voting of their wicked laws (last century).

"The fact is, looking simply, frankly at things, our present situation is the reverse of magnificent. Without material resources, without legal status—there, in half a dozen words, you have the Church's condition."

A short letter from Mgr. Belmont, Bishop of Clermont, in September concluded: "Nothing is to be hoped for excepting from the pure and simple evangelization of our populations, taking care withal to avoid preoccupations strangers to the supernatural end. Nothing could be more fatal to success than forgetfulness of the last condition."

With this Christian sentiment Mgr. Herscher unquestionably agrees unreservedly. As to his clergy, "despite municipal annoyances experienced by some and privations suffered and foreseen by all, despite the uncertain future, there is not one defection; none complain, all with their Bishop are proud to suffer something for Christ." As to his two reconstituted seminaries, students are sufficient so far in number. As to "the distant day" when, "from rupture of the Concordat, the Almighty, by the mysterious process Joseph de Maistre calls 'the alchemy of Providence,' will finally extract good, I feel strong hope the French Church shall emerge from its crisis more lively, more influential than ever. I am persuaded, with my venerated colleagues, a day shall come when the French clergy shall reestablish the empire of our Lord Jesus Christ over souls. But that is the Promised Land. Before reaching it we must cross, not a Red Sea doubtless—for I am no believer in forecasts of a sanguinary persecution—but at least the desert; understanding thereby sufferings of all kinds."

Returning to the weighty question concerning money, all that remains to say here is the *elite* will, like Saint Teresa, always have necessary ducats provided by Providence for accomplishing His "supernatural end;" with moneys so provided evil has nought to do. A great deal more can be far better said about money by fully capable authorities, if so disposed, in the next volume.

The *Journal Official* on September 30 published a ministerial decree applying from next New Year's Day the various separation laws to Algeria, imposing on the colony all their injustice and spoliations. This involves separation from Islam, the Mahometan sacred properties having been, after conquest of Algeria, confiscated, and an undertaking then given (executed until now) to defray expenses of worship. If the decree be applied rigorously and impartially, there will be trouble and fit material for a "holy war." In any case the Catholic clergy will be in a worse situation than brethren on their European side of the Mediterranean.

There may or may not be connection between this decree of September 30 and the facts that ten days previously there had ended, after lasting a week, the Paris annual general assembly of the Grand Orient of France styled the Masonic Convent, while in that week the Grand Lodge also held its annual congress in Paris, facts that may also account for the forces employed since mid-September and the brutalities exercised at expulsions, designed probably to overawe the growing spirit of resistance which has been noted here. At a Franciscan convent near Montpellier fifteen gendarmes, with the sub-Prefect of St. Pons, unexpectedly appeared at daylight to turn out ten Sisters, one bedridden for years. On the last day of the month the curé of Nozeroy (Jura) was expelled from his presbytery by sub-Prefect and Police Commissary of St. Claude, assisted by twenty mounted gendarmes and forty on foot, with the gendarmerie captain and six sappers and miners. The brutalities over (several peaceable onlookers were struck down), the people proceeded to church for Mass, sermon and to chant "Miserere," "Parce Domine," etcetera.

As the reopening of Parliament draws nearer, more and more support is almost daily given to the hypothesis that in the September Masonic congresses a resumption of war to the bitter end was determined, and instructions were accordingly given to the brethren who ostensibly direct State policy. A special police commissary in the first week of October notified the Little Sisters of the Poor (who conduct 130 houses throughout France) that their home at Glaire (Ardennes department)—opened only in the first year of the present century—where sixteen religious care for 130 old people, must be closed. This expulsion will, doubtless, be followed by a like procedure in respect of the congregation's other French homes. Delay to sever the hair suspending until now the Damocles' sword over their inmates' heads is naturally accountable for by financial difficulty, removed to a great extent through the operation since last May of a recent law for providing municipal "assistance" to necessitous old and infirm. Probably some three thousand (more or less) Little Sisters will therefore have to look out for homes outside French territory to shelter, not their old people, but themselves, a good proportion being likewise "old and infirm." The outlook for this modern congregation is therefore serious indeed, much more so than that for expelled teaching congregations, whether new or old, or for ancient orders, whether contemplative or active.

A peril vastly more important menaces the French Church and nation in a ministerial decree by M. Briand dated July 8 radically reforming the programmes for what used to be known as the baccalaureate degree. The law of 1875 guarantees complete freedom for following the faculties in the free universities, and though no fresh

legislation to restrict it is yet announced, this decree practically repeals that law by requiring henceforth, from the November term, the frequenting one or two courses of State university instruction, and consequently amounts to a most serious direct attack on the autonomy of the Catholic faculties, hitherto legally free.

Since Michaelmas the French police and octroi officials have—"in pursuance of orders given," they regret to say—exercised, more particularly at railway stations, a surveillance, a watching, an inquisitorial questioning of former and actual religious and of ecclesiastical establishments with their *personnel*, which is inexplicable, but bodes mischief to Catholics and republicans who love liberty.

Jean Limosin (a pseudonym) relates in the *Croix de Limoges* a recent audience accorded him by Pius X. "The importance of the religious press," said the Pope, "is not even yet understood either by faithful or clergy. The elders say 'formerly' souls were saved without newspaper and press work. But 'former' times are not our times. We live to-day, when an evil press is widely diffused, when Christians are deceived, poisoned, destroyed by impious journals. In vain would you build churches, preach missions, found schools; all your efforts, all your good works would be defeated should you not simultaneously wield the defensive and offensive arm of the press, Catholic, loyal, sincere."<sup>10</sup> Says the interviewer: "The Pope became animated; he shrugged his shoulders compassionately, his eyes flashed and I called to mind what he did when Patriarch of Venice to maintain his journal *Difesa*, of which he said: 'If other resources fail I would sell my pectoral cross rather than let this necessary work succumb.' Speaking of the actual situation, the Holy Father said: 'The French clergy must prepare for enduring worse things. The persecution is only beginning. Doubtless it will become more violent. Priests will have to suffer absolute misery. But I place confidence in them; I know they are brave. In the seminaries they received sound doctrine and a truly supernatural formation of character. Let them be united, helping each other, sharing available resources.'"

J. F. BOYD.

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<sup>10</sup> Last Easter Pius X. sent this autograph, printed in a special edition of the *Naples Croce*: "In face of unrestrained license of the anti-Catholic press, which impugns or denies eternal laws of truth and justice, which stirs up hatred against the Church, which insinuates into people's hearts most pernicious doctrines, corrupting minds, fostering evil appetites, flattering the senses and perverting the will—all ought to recognize the great importance of union between good people for turning to advantage of the Church and society a weapon the enemy uses to injure both. We have, therefore, only the highest praise for Catholic writers who strive to oppose the antidote of the good press to the poison of the bad press, and, that they may not lose courage amid the labors, trials and difficulties inseparable from all good works, we bestow upon all of them our blessing, that the Lord may support them in the good fight and pour out upon them abundant heavenly assistance."

## LOSS AND GAIN IN FRANCE.

THE new developments of the religious question in France since the fateful month of December, 1906, are important enough to claim attentive consideration. The law by which the divorce of State and Church was pronounced has been in operation—at least as far as the decision of the Pope has allowed it to be in operation—for about one year. The momentous changes effected by the law and the circumstances that attended its execution are now felt. The crisis is on us, and although we are yet in its commencement, we have receded far enough from the very beginning to take a survey of our positions. It will not be without interest to compute as exactly as possible the losses and gains of the Church of France during the first year of the separation; to ascertain what belongs to the debit or the credit side in our account and draw our balance-sheet before turning a new leaf of the ledger.

The separationists of fifty years ago compressed their doctrine into these few words: a free Church in a free State. That the politicians who framed the separation law had not this ideal in their minds is well known to all American Catholics and needs no demonstration in this REVIEW. To withdraw the money, not to grant liberty, was their end; the priests would cease to be paid, but they were not to be left untrammelled. Our republican statesmen are too much afraid of the power of the Church to allow it a free hand; too much imbued with the old French doctrine of State ascendancy and State universal interference to give up meddling with religious affairs.

Yet, if we look at the situation exclusively from this point of view of liberty, owing partly to some provisions of the law itself, partly to the action of the Pope which nullified a great part of the other dispositions, we may say that nothing but gains, up to the present, have to be registered.

The law has given us three important liberties:

The nomination of the Bishops is no longer in the hands of the State, and this is evidently a great gain. There was a time when the State was represented by believers; even then their influence did not always tell for good, but they might be expected to have some consideration for the welfare of the Church; and there was a time when the Ministers were indeed unbelievers, but viewed the Church in the light of a beneficial influence, whose advantage they studied whilst trying at the same time to shorten what they might call its political tentacles; but now all the Ministries are composed of bitter foes, who consider the Church as a noxious power, a stumbling-block

on the way to intellectual and social progress, an antiquated institution which, being incapable of improvement, ought to be suppressed as soon as public opinion will allow it.

Was it reasonable that such men should be entrusted with the care of selecting the pastors of the Church? The evil was circumscribed by the necessity of securing the Papal assent. Yet, in the diplomatic battles that were fought over each episcopal election, the French Minister had manifestly not the interest of religion in his eye. This absurdity has been done away with. The system of presentation is not yet officially regulated as in America or England, but at least we know that those selected are chosen for the best of religious interests.

A second liberty granted by the law is the right for the Bishops of assembling together and holding councils. It may seem strange to American citizens, but this right did not exist in republican France till two years ago. In the middle of the past century provincial councils had been tolerated; but when the anti-clerical party got into power they forbade those assemblies altogether, and went so far once as to lay an interdiction upon a pilgrimage in which several Bishops were to take part as being a council in disguise. Those obsolete regulations have disappeared, and Paris has witnessed twice a sight that had not been seen in our country since the Revolution—a meeting of the whole French episcopate. In the fine historical mansion of La Muette the seventy and odd prelates were allowed to hold their sessions and to discuss undisturbed the questions arising from the present crisis.

The third liberty is this: It is lawful to anybody to open as many private chapels as he likes on his own premises, without asking leave of the government. This was prohibited till now, even if your private sanctuary was for your own use, although the interdiction was not enforced in all cases. We have still in our memory the Châteaouvillain affair, and the death of a young working girl shot by a *gendarme*, when the public force broke into a factory to close a private chapel situated on the grounds, which did not even open on the public road.

Sometimes this prohibition was pushed to the last limits of absurdity. The Collège Stanislas is the largest and most famous of the Catholic secondary schools of Paris. Some years ago its two chapels were closed by order of the government; some thousand boys that lived in a house with two chapels inside could not use them, but had to go to the parish church, already crowded with worshipers; nevertheless, at the same time all the *lycées* of the State were provided with a chapel, a chaplain and offices which the boarders attended, thus enjoying a religious privilege denied to a Catholic

establishment. On the 1st of January, 1906, when the separation law went into force, without asking for any authorization, the seals were broken, the doors opened and Mass said in the two chapels and divine service has been celebrated there uninterruptedly since that time. This new liberty may be of much use in the future if the clergy are obliged to leave the churches.

By the side of these liberal provisions, many of a contrary nature were to be found in the law. The priests were liable to be fined and imprisoned for words pronounced in the pulpit. The *associations cultuelles*, that were to be formed nobody knows exactly how, by the voluntary aggregation of individuals, without any authority to decide who was to be admitted and who to be excluded, so that they might have been composed of anti-Catholics—the *associations cultuelles* were to rule over ecclesiastical matters; for the funds were at their disposal, and they were not obliged, except by a very vague and ambiguous clause that might be interpreted any way, to submit to the Bishop. Although powerful in the Church, these same associations were fettered on all the other sides; they did not enjoy the rights of the non-religious associations as determined by the law of 1901; there was a special legislation for them; in the same way the religious orders had been excepted, on account of their character, from the liberty granted to all kinds of societies, as if religion in France could never be submitted to common law, but was always bound to experience the privilege of special favor or special rigor. The owning capacity of the associations was strictly limited to prevent them from accumulating treasures and keep them weak and dependent.

All this fabric of the law fell to the ground when the Pope refused to recognize the *associations cultuelles*. In the confusion that ensued it might have been a strong temptation for the government to proceed with a high hand. But they were clear-sighted; they realized that violence would rouse the feelings of the faithful and give new life to a religion they wanted to destroy. The President of the Cabinet owned publicly that they were in the midst of confusion; but, instead of getting lost in it, they threaded the mazes of that confusion with the utmost skill. They were not logical, but they showed a practical ability to which the madmen of the Combes Ministry would certainly have been strangers. Their purpose was to keep the churches open and the worship free, while the despoiling was going on, so that the people might not notice any difference. They discovered first that the law of public meetings might be applied to religious services, which could be lawfully celebrated as such; but a declaration to the police was necessary to make them legal; the priests gave passive resistance, did not make any declaration and

waited for the result. On the first two days legal proceedings were started for every Mass said; but the absurdity of repeating this fifty thousand times every day soon became obvious. Then a law was passed to suppress the necessity of the declaration for any gathering, religious or not, and in this incidental way France was given the absolute liberty of public meetings. The priest was left in his church, although he had no legal title to it, and care was taken that peace should be preserved there, on what legal grounds is not apparent. This is something like juggling with the law, but it must be confessed that the juggling was cleverly done.

To sum up, we have gained some liberties and we have lost none, at least up to the present; for it should not be forgotten that this extra-legal situation is extremely precarious. But till now, except in a few cases, the churches have remained open, all seems to be going on as formerly; the services are celebrated and not interrupted; since the foolish prosecutions for saying Mass have been dropped, no priest has been prosecuted for what he has done in a church, except a Bishop who was condemned for celebrating a marriage before the civil ceremony was performed. A casual observer might conclude that nothing is changed. But this consideration of external liberty is not the only side of the question.

It is impossible to enjoy liberty without having means to live. Thus the property question springs up, being closely linked with the other, and on this point we have nothing but losses to register.

Who was to be the owner of the churches after the separation? They have been built for Catholic purposes with Catholic money, aided by State contributions. It is easy to see how many considerations might be brought into the discussion of this point: Is there no distinction to be made between the old churches, already confiscated at the time of the Revolution, and new ones built by donors who generally did not mean to make a present to the State? In what degree do the contributions of the State give it a vote on the subject or entitle it to claim its money back? Is it not an absurdity that, after the separation, a theoretically and even practically atheistic State should own all the edifices in which public worship is conducted? But, in fact, there was no discussion, only a declaration by the government that they are ours; we cannot allow them, said the government, not to be our property, renewing the reasoning of a famous robber on the French stage, who, finding a trunk full of valuables, says to his band: "This trunk *ought* to be ours; *ergo*, it is ours;" or of the lion in the fable, saying: "This portion is mine, for if anybody touches it I will strangle him."

So it happened that churches that have been built in recent years from the foundation to the roof with the money of pious Catholics,



and to which the State has not contributed a farthing, are declared, when completed, to be the property, not of the builders, not of the donors, not of the institution for whose benefit they were intended, but of the State, which has done nothing but to look on. In the other cases there may be discussion; distinctions may be made, but this is certainly downright confiscation.

It should be noticed that this happened independently of any action of the Pope. Even if the Pope had accepted the law, all the churches were declared to be the property of the State, or the *commune*, which is nothing but a branch of the State. The case was this: If you build a church on your own ground with your own money, you could keep your property if, with an authorization, only private worship was performed in it; if you threw it open to the public, you had to make it over to the *fabrique*—that is, to the parish considered as legally entitled to ownership; it became a parish church, and all parish churches were, when the law was passed, considered by our legislators as belonging to the commune or to the State. By this roundabout way the confiscation was done without giving the transaction its true name.

These edifices were to have been let out to the associations for a formal rent of one franc. This was made impossible by the decision of the Pope, and yet the government would by no means close the churches; so the most absurd of situations has developed. The priest is still in the church, but as an *occupant sans titre*, a delightful formula which means that he is there, but has no title to be there. He has not been expelled, because it was not found convenient; but he may be expelled at will without any recourse at law. He has no right to the vestments, the vases, the furniture, and yet he is left the use of them; it is out of his power to impose taxes on seats, on the use of the organ, on special decorations at weddings and funerals, but he may receive free offerings upon those occasions, and, of course, say what the free offering should be if such extra service is expected. All this is topsy-turvy, but seems likely to last still some time, and may be said to go on without too much friction. Yet it is not a lasting system, and will be wrecked on the question of repairs. The *occupant sans titre* cannot be expected to undertake the repairs of a big church, and has even no right to do so, and many *communes* have no wish to see this burden laid on their shoulders.

The presbyteries have been considered for a long time as being the property of the *commune*, except a few which were private property and have remained so. The municipal councils, that are the ruling authority in each *commune*, are allowed to let them out to the priests, who occupied them free of rent before, or to appropriate them to any usages they think fit. This has been used as a weapon

against the priests who were unpopular in their parish. The council could not expel them from the church, which is not to be used for non-religious purposes; but they could close the door of the presbytery in their face, and in small villages there was not always another house to let. But, in fact, this has been exceptional. In the majority of cases the councils allowed the priest to remain in the presbytery on condition that he would pay a moderate rent, which was afterwards thought too low and raised by the government.

After the church, the school is the great asset of religious influence in a country. On this account our balance books show a most lamentable deficit of late years. Our losses are considerable, not so much as an effect of the separation as of the dispersion of the religious orders and the furious war that has been raging against religion all over the land for about ten years.

All members of congregations were forbidden to teach. As a consequence, all the schools that were in their hands have been closed, except a few which the same fate is awaiting. It does not mean that they are all closed now. Many have been reopened with secular or secularized teachers. But the situation is very different from what it was before the storm broke out. A large number of schools have simply disappeared. Where secular teachers were employed to replace religious communities there was experienced a great difficulty in finding able men and women, and during the hesitating period of transition, yielding to official pressure, many children slipped away to the government schools and never came back.

By means of secularization a large body of teachers was made available, out of which the needs of many schools were supplied. But this system is not without its disadvantages; persons brought up to live in a community, and especially women accustomed to the atmosphere of a convent, were not always found well prepared for the new conditions. But the greatest difficulty is the recruiting problem. A religious order is a self-sufficient body; it attracts and absorbs novices and, by a sort of digestive process, converts them into its flesh and blood. But when its elements have been scattered like dust, how are they to be renewed as they drop away through disease, old age and death? This problem is engaging the minds of zealous Catholics, who think of establishing training schools. But another difficulty faces them, and that is the want of money. It is a grand project to form a large body of lay Catholic teachers, provided with their certificates, prepared by a thorough training to compete with the best men of the State schools, learned, open-minded and able; it is a vast and bright prospect, but it would cost such an amount of money, not only to get them, but still more to maintain

them! Congregations are cheap; the vows of celibacy and poverty and living in common reduce the expenses of their members to more than half what they would be in the world.

To attempt to solve this problem all at once would be impossible in the present state of France. But there are interesting attempts made here and there, especially to provide female teachers for the girls of the middle and higher classes, who were educated in the convents when convents existed and have remained generally in the Catholic schools opened in their places. Those efforts, as, for instance, the preparation for the higher university degrees, will contribute to raise the intellectual level of the teaching. Care must be taken that the religious influence which should pervade education does not diminish proportionately.

So much for the primary schools. As for secondary institutions, they have suffered much and are threatened with hard regulations and perhaps destruction. They have suffered much, not only because those belonging to the religious orders have been closed and reopened with a *personnel* hastily formed, but also on account of the prevalent state of opinion and the fears of Catholic parents. The wind that blows in France now does not drive boys and young men to the gates of our colleges. We shall speak further on of the seminaries (clerical schools) and their dwindling numbers. The parents who prepare their boys for a secular career know very well that if they send them to a college under the management of priests they saddle them with a burden for life. They will not be stopped at the entrance, it is true; they will pass as easily as any through that gate of State examinations which leads to every liberal occupation in France; for it should be said to the honor of the State University that its professors are most fair-minded, and although the greatest number of them are unbelievers, they make no exception of persons and never—or hardly ever—inquire about your faith to test your capacity in chemistry or the classical languages. But in after life the young pupil of the priests will be handicapped in many ways, especially if he has got one of the numerous berths of officialdom. He shall be very lucky or very able if he contrives to rise to a high position without disowning his masters. This explains how and why some of the bitterest enemies of the Church are those that have been brought up by the priests. They want to wipe out by vigorous rubbing the story that sticks to them in the eyes of their companions.

It was not so—or not in the same degree—ten years ago. The parents know the present state of things and see the clouds thickening more and more over the heads of their children, and some lose heart. They send their boys to the *lycées* (State secondary schools), and try to counterbalance by the influence of a Catholic home the

bane of an agnostic teaching and the society of irreligious boys. For that reason and some others the population of the Catholic colleges has been diminishing.

It is now a question whether they will still exist next year. A law is in preparation upon or rather against free secondary education. The project of the government is only to regulate it, by hard rules, it is true, and which would open the way to much arbitrary action; yet if the law passed such as M. Briand, the Minister, framed it, the Catholic colleges would not disappear, or not all at once. But the committee of members of Parliament to which the preparation of the law is entrusted go much further. They propose to forbid any minister of any religious persuasion to teach. As there are very few Protestant ecclesiastics and still fewer Jewish rabbis engaged in teaching, this sweeping interdiction would be, in fact, restricted to the Catholic clergy.

The men of the committee are logical. The members of the religious orders were forbidden to teach because their minds are obnubilated by dogmas. Not less obnubilated is the mind of the priest; a step further should be taken, for the believing layman is obnubilated, too, and a teacher should be obliged to swear that he does not believe in Christ before he ascends his chair. It may come to this; but it is not yet in sight. But there is certainly a tendency everywhere in France to establish a kind of negative State orthodoxy, that is, the State expects you or requires you not to be a believer. You may believe what you like, but not the Christian religion. Anyhow, whether the Minister or the committee prevail, the law will probably be a hard blow dealt to the Catholic colleges.

It is known to all the world that the material loss incurred by the Church in December, 1906, was enormous. It has been a wholesale confiscation of real property and money.

The suppression of the treatment allotted by the State to the parish priests was a confiscation; this treatment was an indemnification for the property taken during the revolution. Of course, the property has not been given back; the indemnification has been taken away in its turn, so that what formerly belonged to ecclesiastical institutions is all now on the side of the State and nothing on the side of the Church. It has taken a century to pick the bone, but it is picked very clean now, or at least will be in a few years; for the priests still enjoy a few crumbs of the old *budget des cultes* in the way of pensions and allowances.

This suppression was in the law, whatever the Pope might say or do. It was different with the property of the Church acquired since the great confiscation. This was to devolve on the famous *associations cultuelles*; it was the bait carefully concealed inside the law,

which was presented to the Catholics with this argument: "If you form associations, you keep all your church property, which is worth so many millions; if you do not form them—well—you do not keep it."

It is quite true that the government was not bent upon confiscation; it relied upon the strength of the dilemma. Imbued with this idea, that no consideration is ever higher than money in the Catholic Church, they felt sure such an amount of money could not be thrown away for the sake of principles. But the decision came from Rome that no associations ought to be formed, and the government could not but confiscate. The fault was to have placed the Catholics in such a dilemma, which was tantamount to saying: "You ought to have *my* conception of the Church; if you have not *mine*, I take away your property from you."

What has been lost? There were two kinds of ecclesiastical property, because there were two institutions capable of ownership—the parish and the diocese. To the diocese belonged the buildings of many seminaries, foundations for their maintenance, pension funds, asylums for aged priests and some estates; to the parish, foundations for Masses, sometimes investments, lands, etc.

All this has been swept away. All the seminaries have been closed, first, because a seminary was an institution that could no longer exist under the new law, and secondly, because their buildings were taken from them. Some of these edifices—it was the case of many *grands séminaires*—had always belonged to the State; of course it was no confiscation to take them back. But a greater number—it was the case of nearly all the *petits séminaires*—belonged to the diocese; the State had not contributed to their purchase, building or maintenance. These were not taken back, but taken away from us.

In the middle of December the students had to be sent to their families, the professors dispersed and guardians were established in the empty premises, where the chapels remained vacant and the altars stripped to the stone. Many movables were carried away by the true owners, although this action was threatened with prosecution, which never took effect. Sometimes resistance was organized; the dispersion was then delayed for a time and afterwards effected by force. At Beaupréau a severe collision took place between the military and the Catholics and several persons were wounded on each side. However, as a rule, the order of dispersion was mournfully but peacefully submitted to and the work of reconstruction began at once.

That seminaries were not allowed to exist under the new régime was no formidable obstacle. It meant only that the legislation

special to those houses was no longer in existence, and that they were obliged to conform to common law. The *grands séminaires* were transformed into higher schools of theology under the provisions of the law of 1876, the *petits séminaires* into secondary colleges according to the regulations of the law of 1890. This is not a mere quibble, for the conditions are not the same; yet they are tolerable; one may live under them pending the new education law, that may destroy all our reconstructions.

The want of suitable buildings was a much greater trouble. Sometimes a seminary was separated into two or three sections. It is not easy to find a college ready made. The convents vacated by their inmates four or five years ago were a great resource. But it required money to buy them or take them on lease.

The use of several buildings has been preserved by the means of leases. For instance, the Catholic University of Paris rents an old convent that belonged to the *Bureau des Séminaires*, in fact, to the diocese. In December last that bureau ceased to exist and the building was put under sequestration; but the lease had to be respected, and the university remains there till it runs out. This was an old, manifestly bona fide lease; some were concluded a few months or a few weeks before the law took effect. Till now there have been threatenings, but no proceedings against them.

Most of the seminaries are reconstituted, but they show the scars of the wounds they received in the battle. The number of students has diminished, to a fearful extent in some dioceses. A mere handful remains in the less religious parts of the country. The Dioceses of Troyes and Sens have joined their two handfuls and decided to have only one grand séminaire at Troyes and one petit séminaire at Sens, and these institutions will be far from crowded. In the present uncertainty of things parents will oppose the vocations of their sons, and the priests themselves do not care to lead boys into this road till they see a clearer way out. It seems as if the sources of recruiting were to be dried up. But this is not to be feared; things will settle in time, and, meanwhile, if there is a diminution in the number of priests, it cannot be regarded as an unmixed evil; for it will be difficult to maintain a great many, and in the active life that is opening for them alertness will count for more than number.

All the foundations, investments of money, various sources of income and pension funds have been confiscated, or, more exactly, have ceased to be owned by anybody, which for the Church is practically the same thing. What will become of them? The present situation seems to be an inextricable tangle. Many donations are claimed back by the families of the donors and their suits are pending before the tribunals. Will the government procure the saying

of Masses? Yes and no have been alternately the answer. To take the money without fulfilling the obligations would seem—I shall not say unjust; that would be nothing—but contrary to the popular feeling of respect for the dead. But to see the Government of France distributing Masses among the priests would be an amusing spectacle. All this property cannot remain indefinitely without an owner. To solve this difficulty, which came unforeseen upon them, the Ministers prepared a new law—they are building up quite a Babel tower of laws. According to their project, this property will revert either to the department, or to the commune, or to a public charitable institution, or to a public educational establishment, according to the decision of the central government. In all this entanglement of decrees, laws and lawsuits one thing is clear—the money is lost.

If we remember the vast amount of real property that has been taken from the religious orders in 1901; if we add all the edifices and sums of money that the Church has lost in December, 1906, we shall realize that no confiscation has been made in any country on such a large scale for a long time. Perhaps not since the great Revolution has so much property undergone that process of changing hands without compensation and against the will of the owner, which is called robbery when performed by private persons. This plunder does not enrich the State; it melts away somehow. It was promised that the so-called *milliard* of the congregations would serve to establish old age pensions. Not a penny of it has been appropriated to that purpose; it has evaporated; what has become or is becoming of it is a riddle not easy to solve. Of course, all was not lost for everybody; but all was lost for the aged workers.

Now, what is being constructed on these ruins? We are as yet feeling our way, making attempts in several directions, trying to find out what is the best in the present circumstances.

The most pressing problem is how to procure a decent living for the priests and defray the expense of the church, and it will become still more and more pressing, as the younger priests, who are in receipt of small allocations from the government, will cease to receive them in three years, and the older ones, who are entitled to a pension for life, will die out. The remnants of the *budget des cultes* will flow in a thinner and thinner stream till they are reduced to mere dribblings and then vanish altogether.

In the towns the clergy will be supported by the people. In the villages the case may be different. Some, with the example of St. Paul in their minds, have contended that it would be best for the priest to live by the labor of his hands, and a not inconsiderable number of village curés have acted on this principle. There are workshops in some presbyteries. I know a priest who has a printing

plant in his house; another who is an organ and harmonium maker. A large garden, when well cultivated, is a source of income. I have heard of a priest living on the edge of a forest who owns a large number of beehives and lives, so to say, on honey. These are only individual ventures which are much discussed, and good reasons are brought on both sides. The great advantages of the system would be to secure independence to the priest and screen him from the reproach of idleness in countries where the religious conditions are such that he has nothing to do in the church; the drawbacks, that sometimes it would bring him into commercial competition with his parishioners, would foster the love of gain and tend to materialize his life. Perhaps it would be possible to obviate this by instituting, say in the market towns, self-supporting communities, where some hours would be set apart every day and work performed in common for distant employers, such as printing for the great Paris houses, and from which the priests would sally forth when useful or necessary, and minister to the spiritual needs of the neighboring villages. But those groups as yet are only talked of, and this system is too different from what exists now to be introduced at once.

The chief effort has been the tentative organization of what is called the *Denier du culte*, i. e., the collecting of voluntary gifts that are centralized into the hands of the Bishop and then distributed to the priests. The idea is that not the parish, but the diocese should be self-supporting, so that the rich parishes could make up for the unsufficient yield of the poor ones. Collections have been made in churches for that purpose and door-to-door collections have been added.

These last have occasioned much trouble to the village priests in some parts. In England and America the collectors go round the Catholic houses and pass by the Protestant homes; in France everybody is supposed to be a Catholic, which often he is not. When the priests were enjoined, as was done in many dioceses, by their Bishop to go personally and visit all the houses in their parish to collect money for the diocesan fund, it meant that they had to go even to their most bitter opponents and ask them for money for the maintenance of an institution which they think it their duty to destroy. I know that this has been a severe ordeal for many. The stubborn silence preserved in some houses when the subject was broached, the hints and taunts about idleness the priest had to put up with, the answers, absurd to the limits of idiocy, he got sometimes—it was not very uncommon for peasants to tell him this money was intended to favor a German invasion of France—put a severe strain upon the patience of the poor collector. But on the whole this strange kind of parochial visitation has very likely done more good than



harm. A disagreeable contact may be better than no contact at all.

The results have been surprising, deceiving all expectations one way or the other. Regions where hardly anybody goes to church on Sundays have given freely; those people want to have their priest to baptize their children, assist at their weddings and officiate at their funerals, in a word, to perform their family rites; for all that remains of religion in those parts is a kind of family worship. Other dioceses, where the churches are full and nearly everybody is a communicant, have made scanty offerings. It should be added that the former regions are rich, the latter poor; but the strangeness of the fact remains.

On the whole, the prospect is not encouraging. It is reckoned that for the first year people have given more than they intend to give in after times, and that their charity will slacken; yet there will be more and more need of it. With years it would not be very difficult to constitute again a kind of patrimony of the diocese or the parish by means of bequests and gifts, if there was somebody to possess them. What is badly wanted is a system of collective ownership to secure continuance of possession and inspire the donors with confidence. The *associations cultuelles* were endowed with the right of owning small and quite unsufficient sums; they have been forbidden, and till now there is nothing in their place. The Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishop of Chartres have tried to form a diocesan association that was not to be *cultuelle*, constituted according to the law of 1901 and intended to be the legal owner of the collected funds, but it was at the time when so much noise was made about the refusal of the Pope; Rome feared there might be some confusion in the public mind about the two kinds of associations, and the Cardinal Secretary of State wired to the Bishops to suspend everything pending further instructions.

At the present time the considerable sums centralized in the episcopal towns are owned by nobody; and as a consequence are legally the property of the man in whose house they are found; if in a bank, of the man in whose name they have been deposited. If he dies without having made his will, this money descends to his heirs; if he has made his will, this may be canceled by a tribunal if not made in due form. Recent examples of money collected for the building of a church and now being squandered away by the unscrupulous relatives of a dead priest may well perplex the mind of the collectors and cool the generosity of the donors.

Would it be possible to form associations on a foreign soil, say in England, according to the English law, which associations would be the owners and managers of the patrimony of the Church in France? There are many financial societies which have their assets

in foreign countries. Only legal men can discuss this question. To an outsider, if the thing is feasible, several advantages become manifest. The owning capacity of those societies would not be limited like that of the *associations culturelles*; they would be out of reach of the new laws which the French State would not fail to make if the Church regained some property; people would give more willingly if they knew how their money is managed and that it is not liable to a fresh confiscation. The Bishops and their legal advisers will certainly consider this aspect of the question.

One way or the other, some means of guaranteeing the collective property of the Church must be devised. As in the sacred edifices the priest cannot remain eternally an *occupant sans titre*, so, concerning the sums that are necessary to the maintenance of worship, he cannot remain a long time a *possédant sans titre*.

But the most important question of all is not the material situation of the priests; they will manage somehow, although with difficulties, to keep soul and body together. But what about the souls themselves? What is the present state of religion? Is there any change? Are there losses or gains since the separation has been effected?

We are here on disputable ground. It is pretty easy to determine whether liberties have been acquired or lost, still easier to become acquainted with material losses; but when it comes to the state of the souls, there is no instrument delicate enough to ascertain with exactitude the pulse of religious life. We must fall back upon the more or less reliable observations of individuals. The statements I venture upon here must be taken as such and as subject to revision in the future.

The readjusting of an old system to a new order of things cannot proceed without much creaking, straining and breaking until all things fall into their proper place. During that confusing process it is very difficult to judge of the result. Some symptoms appear very alarming, some raise great expectations and both may be deceptive. The diminution of clerical students in seminaries, for instance, seems to threaten the very existence of the clergy. But this may be remedied in time, when the elements now disturbed and tossed about by the present storm crystallize and settle into a permanent organization.

Among the clergy, especially the younger priests, there seems to be an outburst of fresh activities. In the industrial towns some have chosen the poorest quarters and established there meeting halls for boys, young men and old men. They attract, indeed, a small number in comparison with the crowds that remain outside, but they are intimately connected with their people; they know them, love them and are loved by them. Out of those popular groups have

grown new parishes which may be expected to be a ferment of religious life amongst the dense masses which no light from heaven ever pierces. These new parishes are not founded on the old idea of the superior station and dignity of the priest, directing his flock from the height to which his priesthood elevated him, but on the new idea of the priest mixing with the people, being one of them, playing with them and making them acknowledge his superiority by a devoted life, the only ground admitted for it in an incredulous world.

Even in the country there are priests who waken up and try new forms of apostolate, such as agricultural syndicates, lectures out of the church, lantern views, etc. These are only individual instances; nothing is systematized; but, on the whole, it points in a right direction. Everybody that wants to be useful feels that something new is wanted. The Bishop of Versailles, one of the pioneers of the movement, anticipating the time when his priests will have to leave the churches, sent to them the startling announcement that they would do well to provide themselves with wooden sheds as portable meeting halls, proportionate in dimensions to the number of those who really come to Mass. The priest, he said, would be nearer his congregation; he could talk to them, and not preach; the meeting would not be so formal and so cold as in a large empty church, with a few straggling persons scattered here and there in the pews. The air is full of new ideas and suggestions. They may not be all the product of common sense; they may also be very good, but remain suggestions. Yet they prove at least that the minds are astir, and what is stirring is not dead.

As for the laity, I must say that no perceptible change is noticed. Yes, we hear at every great feast that the churches have never been so crowded; we hear every year that the number of communicants has increased since last Easter. But I have heard it for years and years, and if it was true, religion would have made wonderful progress, which it has not. In fact, this is noticed only in big towns, and is easily explained by the general increase of the population. In many parts of the country the churches have become more and more empty, the priest more and more solitary, and there has been no change this year.

No reliance, I think, should be placed on the assertions of peasants to casual visitors whom they want to please saying they did not know their votes would have such consequences; they have been deceived, but now their eyes are open and they are ready to raise their voices against the enemies of their religion. I have seen the letters of an English family spending the summer months in Auvergn and persuaded that the peasantry of those mountains were ready

to hurl their ballots at the head of the government. My own opinion is that if there was a general election to-morrow the results would be the same as in the last one.

The process of religious disintegration is going on in the best parts of France, especially in Brittany, which is altering rapidly. A great part of the maritime population of this province is lost. One of the causes is the great length of time they remain in the fleet, when they come under baneful influences. The agricultural population makes a better stand; but among them also religion is losing ground.

The sacrifice of so many millions for conscience' sake joyfully undergone by the French clergy was indeed a great example. It has been lost upon a materialized nation; it has caused a momentary stupor—was it possible? Now it is forgotten.

The progress of indifference and anti-clericalism has not been stopped. Those forces are still making headway among the masses. A widely read press continues to be hostile to religion, although its tone is more or less bitter according to the height of the passing wave. The schoolmaster is still the powerful antagonist of the priest and the chief factor in the politics of the village. He is often more advanced than the government and has even begun to rebel on some occasions. Socialism is gaining the ground which religion loses, and its internal divisions do not seem to take from its strength.

All these symptoms would be disheartening were it not for the renewed activity of some groups of young men, and the attitude of the clergy, which the circumstances are stirring to more activity. No speedy change is to be expected in the minds of the people; possibly we are not yet at the lowest ebb. But there is no necessity of despairing. We should remember that the night is darkest before dawn.

Shall the situation created by the new law make for good or for evil? Very likely for good in the long run. Of course, there has been a considerable falling off of late years, and the ruins heaped up since 1900 are appalling. It seems that in a short period France has turned from a Catholic to an infidel country. But it was not ground really lost during that time; it was the revealing of a loss that, for a long period, had proceeded slowly and become greater and greater every day. We begin to realize now that we are in the same situation as the Catholic minority in a Protestant country, and ought to secure the same position. To make ourselves respected and spread the faith, little by little, in a country that is not to be preserved, but converted anew, should be our ambition.

Now, the situation is such as to call forth the dormant energies of the clergy, and a part of the population is bound to respond in

time. The pressure of circumstances is acting as a kind of incentive; it will be felt still more when reinforced by the pressure of need. On the other side, the religious question is always to the front. When it appears on the scene all the others slip away behind the scenes; so much so that when the government wants to postpone an obnoxious social measure that has been long clamored for it has only to raise the religious question. In a moment everybody is up, for or against, and the rest is forgotten. It is not easy to reconcile this with the religious indifference that is so prevalent in France; but it is so. The religious problems are seldom the object of dispassionate discussion; they are occasions of hatred and love much more than of disquisition, because they are felt to be bound with the most intimate fibres of the heart.

What a zealous and alert clergy may do in such circumstances, I hope the future will show. At least it seems difficult to go to sleep now, and this difficulty is the most hopeful sign of the times. Up to the present there has been nothing definite; many thoughts have been stirred and many attempts tried. The old conservative organization that was contrived for the preservation of the faithful is felt to be no longer sufficient. A conquering army should not always remain camping in the trenches. But when it comes to what is to be done, we find but chaos, experiments of all sorts, confusion, bewilderment. All is still left suspended, undetermined; the legal situation, the means of living and the means of conquering. But a general commotion is felt throughout the great body of the Church, and it is better than immobility, which is death. When the confused elements are sifted, I hope the French Church will emerge as a smaller, but more compact body, full of true religious life. But we must not expect this to be done in a day; it will be a long and laborious struggle, not a sudden and easy triumph.

ABBE HERMELINE.

Paris, France.

## DE MODERNISTARUM DOCTRINIS.

AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE  
 LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA  
 SEDE HABENTES.

## PIUS PAPA X.

*Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

**P**ASCENDI dominici gregis mandatum Nobis divinitus officium id munus in primis a Christo assignatum habet, ut traditae sanctis fidei depositum vigilantissime custodiat, repudiatis profanis vocum novitatibus atque oppositionibus falsi nominis scientiae. Quae quidem supremi providentia pastoris nullo plane non tempore catholico agmini necessaria fuit: etenim, auctore humani generis hoste, nunquam defuere "viri loquentes perversa<sup>1</sup>, vaniloqui et seductores<sup>2</sup>, errantes et in errorem mittentes<sup>3</sup>." Verumtamen inimicorum crucis Christi, postrema hac aetate, numerum crevisse admodum fatendum est; qui, artibus omnino novis astutaeque plenis, vitalem Ecclesiae vim elidere, ipsumque, si queant, Christi regnum evertere funditus nituntur. Quare silere Nobis diutius haud licet, ne muneri sanctissimo deesse videamur, et benignitas, qua, spe sanioris consilii, huc usque usi sumus, officii oblivio reputetur.

Qua in re ut moram ne interponamus illud in primis exigit, quod fautores errorum iam non inter apertos hostes quaerendi sunt modo; verum, quod dolendum maxime verendumque est, in ipso latens sinu gremioque Ecclesiae, eo sane nocentiores, quo minus perspicui.—Loquimur, Venerabiles Fratres, de multis e catholicorum laicorum numero, quin, quod longe miserabilius, ex ipso sacerdotum coetu, qui, fucoso quodam Ecclesiae amore, nullo solido philosophiae ac theologiae praesidio, immo adeo venenatis imbuti penitus doctrinis quae ab Ecclesiae osoribus traduntur, Ecclesiae eiusdem renovatores, omni posthabita modestia animi, se lactitant: factoque audacius agmine, quidquid sanctius est in Christi opere impetunt, ipsa haud incolumi divini Reparatoris persona, quam, ausu sacrilego, ad purum putumque hominem extenuant.

Homines huiusmodi Ecclesiae Nos hostibus adscribere, etsi mirantur ipsi, nemo tamen mirabitur iure, qui, mente animi seposita cuius penes Deum arbitrium est, illorum doctrinas et loquendi agendique rationes cognovit. Enimvero non is a veritate discedat, qui eos Ecclesiae adversarios quovis alio perniciosiores habeat.—Nam non hi extra Ecclesiam, sed intra, ut diximus, de illius perniciem consilia agitant sua: quamobrem in ipsis fere Ecclesiae venis atque in visceribus periculum residet, eo securiore damno, quo illi intimius Ecclesiam norunt. Adde quod securim non ad ramos surculosque ponunt; sed ad radicem ipsam, fidem nimilum fidelique fibras altissimas. Icta autem radice hac immortalitatis, virus per omnem arborem sic propagare pergunt, ut catholicae veritatis nulla sit pars unde manus absterneant, nulla quam corrumpere non elaborant. Porro, mille nocendi artes dum adhibent, nihil illis callidius nihil insidiosius: nam et rationalistam et catholicum promiscue agunt, idque adeo simulatissime, ut incautum quemque facile in errorem pertrahant; cumque temeritate maxime valeant, nullum est consecutionum genus quod horreant aut non obfirmate secureque obtrudant. Accedit praeterea in illis, aptissime ad fallendos animos, genus vitae cummaxime actuosum, assidua ac vehemens ad omnem eruditionem occupatio, moribus plerumque austeris quaesita laus. Demum, quod fere medicinae fiduciam tollit, discipulis ipsi suis sic animo sunt comparati, ut dominationem omnem spernant nullaue recipiant frena; et freti mendaci quadam conscientia animi, nituntur veritatis studio tribuere quod uni reapse superbiae ac pervicaciae tribuendum est.—Equidem speravimus huiusmodi quandoque homines ad meliora revocare: quo in genere suavitatem primum tamquam cum filiis, tum vero severitatem, demum, quamquam invitam, animadversionem publicam usi sumus. Nostis tamen, Venerabiles Fratres, quam haec fecerimus inaniter: cervicem, ad horam deflexam,

<sup>1</sup> Act. xx., 30.

<sup>2</sup> Tit. i., 10.

<sup>3</sup> II. Tim. iii., 13.

mox extulerunt superbius. Iam si illorum solummodo res ageretur, dissimulare forsitan possemus: sed catholici nominis e contra securitas agitur. Quapropter silentium, quod habere diutius placulum foret, intercipere necesse est: ut personatos male homines, quales reapse sunt, universae Ecclesiae demonstremus.

Quia vero modernistarum (sic enim iure in vulgus audiunt) callidissimum artificium est, ut doctrinas suas non ordine digestas proponant atque in unum collectas, sed sparsas veluti atque invicem selunctas, ut nimirum ancipites et quasi vagi videantur, cum e contra firmi sint et constantes: praestat, Venerabiles Fratres, doctrinas easdem uno heic conspectu exhibere primum, nexumque indicare quo invicem coalescunt, ut deinde errorum causas scrutemur, ac remedia ad averruncandam perniciem praescribamus.

Ut autem in abstrusiore re ordinatim procedamus, illud ante omnia notandum est, modernistarum quemlibet plures agere personas ac veluti in se commiscere; philosophum nimirum, credentem, theologum, historicum, criticum, apologetam, instauratorem: quas singulatim omnes distinguere oportet, qui eorum systema rite cognoscere et doctrinarum antecessiones consequutionesque pervidere velit.

Iam, ut a philosopho exordiamur, philosophiae religiosae fundamentum in doctrina illa modernistae ponunt, quam vulgo "agnosticismum" vocant. Vi huius humana ratio "phaenomenis" omnino includitur, rebus videlicet quae apparent eaque specie qua apparent: earumdem praetergressi terminos nec ius nec potestatem habet. Quare nec ad Deum se erigere potis est, nec illius existentiam, ut per ea quae videntur, agnoscere. Hinc infertur, Deum scientiae obiectum directe nullatenus esse posse; ad historiam vero quod attinet, Deum subiectum historicum minime censendum esse.—His autem positis, quid de "natural! theologia," quid de "motivis credibilitatis," quid de "externa revelatione" fiat, facile quisque perspiciet. Ea nempe modernistae penitus e medio tollunt, et ad "intellectualismum" amendant; ridendum, inquit, systema ac iamdiu emortuum. Neque illos plane retinet quod eiusmodi errorum portenta apertissime damnarit Ecclesia: siquidem Vaticana Synodus sic sancebat: "Si quis dixerit Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea quae facta sunt, natural! rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse, anathema sit;"<sup>4</sup> itemque: "Si quis dixerit fieri non posse, aut non expedire, ut per revelationem divinam homo de Deo cultuque ei exhibendo edoceatur, anathema sit;"<sup>5</sup> ac demum: "Si quis dixerit revelationem divinam externis signis credibilem fieri non posse, ideoque sola interna cuiusque experientia aut inspiratione privata homines ad fidem moveri debere, anathema sit."<sup>6</sup>—Qua vero ratione ex "agnosticismo," qui solum est in ignoratione, ad "atheismum" scientificum atque historicum modernistae transeant, qui contra totus est in inficiatione positus: quo idcirco ratiocinationis iure, ex eo quod ignoretur utrum humanarum gentium historiae intervenerit Deus necne, fiat gressus ad eandem historiam neglecto omnino Deo explicandam, ac si reapse non intervenerit; novit plane qui possit. Id tamen ratum ipsis fixumque est, atheam debere esse scientiam itemque historiam; in quarum finibus non nisi "phaenomenis" possit esse locus, exturbato penitus Deo et quidquid divinum est.—Qua ex doctrina absurdissima quid de sanctissima Christi persona, quid de ipsius vitae mortisque mysteriis, quid pariter de antistasi deque in caelum ascensu tenendum sit, mox plane videbimus.

Hic tamen "agnosticismus," in disciplina modernistarum, non nisi ut pars negans habenda est: positiva, ut aiunt, in "immanentia vitali" constituitur. Harum nempe ad aliam ex altera sic procedunt.—Religio, sive ea naturalis est sive supra naturam, ceu quodlibet factum, explicationem aliquam admittit oportet. Explicatio autem, natural! theologia deleta, adituque ad revelationem ob relecta credibilitatis argumenta intercluso, immo etiam revelatione qualibet externa penitus sublata, extra hominem inquiritur frustra. Est igitur in ipso homine quaerenda: et quoniam religio vitae quaedam est forma, in vita omnino hominis reperienda est. Ex hoc "immanentiae religiosae" principium asseritur. Vitalis porro cuiuscumque phaenomeni, cuiusmodi religionem esse iam dictum est, prima veluti motio exindigentia quapiam seu impulsione est repetenda: primordia vero, si de vita pressius loquamur, ponenda sunt in motu quodam cordis, qui "sensus" dicitur. Eam ob rem, cum religionis obiectum sit Deus, concludendum omnino est, fidem, quae initium est ac fundamentum cuiusvis religionis, in sensu quodam intimo collocari debere, qui ex indigentia divini oriatur. Haec porro divini indigentia, quia nonnisi certis aptisque in complexibus sentitur, pertinere ad conscientiae ambitum ex se non potest; latet autem primo infra conscientiam, seu, ut mutato vocabulo a moderna philosophia loquuntur, in "subconscientia," ubi etiam illius radix occulta manet atque

<sup>4</sup> "De Revel," can. i.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, can. ii.

<sup>6</sup> "De Fide," can. iii.

Indeprehensa.—Petet quis forsitan, haec divini indigentia, quam homo in se ipse percipiat, quo demum pacto in religionem evadat. Ad haec modernistae: Scientia atque historia, inquit, duplici includuntur termino; altero externo, aspectabili nimirum mundo, altero interno, qui est conscientia. Alterutrum ubi attigerint, ultra quo procedant non habent: hos enim praeter fines adest "incognoscibile." Coram hoc "incognoscibili," sive illud sit extra hominem ultraque aspectabilem naturam rerum, sive intus in "subconscientia" lateat, indigentia divini in animo ad religionem prono, nullo, secundum "fideismi" scita, praeventente mentis iudicio, peculiarem quemdam commovet "sensus:" hic vero divinam ipsam "realitatem," tum tamquam obiectum tum tamquam sui causam intimam, in se implicatam habet atque hominem quodammodo cum Deo coniungit. Est porro hic "sensus" quem modernistae fidei nomine appellant, estque illis religionis initium.

Sed non hic philosophandi, seu rectius delirandi, finis. In eiusmodi enim "sensu" modernistae non fidem tantum reperiunt; sed, cum fide inque ipsa fide, prout illam intelligunt, "revelationi" locum esse affirmant. Enimvero quid amplius ad revelationem quis postulet? An non revelationem dicemus, aut saltem revelationis exordium, "sensus" illum religiosum in conscientia apparentem; quin et Deum ipsum, etsi confusus, sese, in eodem religioso "sensu," animis manifestantem? Subdunt vero: cum fidei Deus obiectum sit aequae et causae, revelatio illa et de Deo patitur et a Deo est; habet Deum videlicet revelantem simul ac revelatum. Hinc autem, Venerabiles Fratres, affirmatio illa modernistarum perabsurda, qua religio quaelibet, pro diverso adspectu, naturalis una ac supernaturalis dicenda est. Hinc conscientiae ac revelationis promiscua significatio. Hinc lex, qua "conscientia religiosa" ut regula universalis traditur, cum revelatione penitus aequanda, cui subesse omnes oporteat, supremam etiam in Ecclesia potestatem, sive haec doceat sive de sacris disciplinave statuatur.

Attamen in toto hoc processu, unde, ex modernistarum sententia, fides ac revelatio prodeunt, unum est magnopere attendendum, non exigui quidem momenti ob consequtiones historico-criticas, quas inde illi eruunt.—Nam "Incognoscibile," de quo loquuntur, non se fidei sistit ut nudum quid aut singulare; sed contra in phaenomeno aliquo arcte inhaerens, quod, quamvis ad campum scientiae aut historiae pertinet, ratione tamen aliqua praetregreditur; sive hoc phaenomenon sit factum aliquod naturae, arcani quidpiam in se continens, sive sit quivis unus ex hominibus, cuius ingenium acta verba cum ordinariis historiae legibus componi haud posse videntur. Tum vero fides, ab "Incognoscibili" allecta quod cum phaenomeno iungitur, totum ipsum phaenomenon complectitur ac sua vita quodammodo permeat. Ex hoc autem duo consequuntur. Primum, quaedam phaenomeni "transfiguratio," per elationem silicet supra veras illius condiciones, qua aptior fiat materia ad induendam divini formam, quam fides est inductura. Secundum, phaenomeni eiusdem aliquapiam, sic vocare liceat, "defiguratio" inde nata, quod fides illi, loci temporisque adiunctis exempto, tribuit quae reapse non habet: quod usuvenit praecipue, quum de phaenomenis agitur exacti temporis, eoque amplius quo sunt vetustiora. Ex gemino hoc capite binos iterum modernistae eruunt canones; qui, alteri additi iam ex agnosticismo habito, critices historicae fundamenta constituunt. Exemplo res illustrabitur; sitque illud e Christi persona petitum. In persona Christi, aiunt, scientia atque historia nil praeter hominem offendunt. Ergo, vi primi canonis ex agnosticismo deducti, ex eius historia quidquid divinum redolet delendum est. Porro, vi alterius canonis, Christi persona historica "transfigurata" est a fide: ergo subducendum ab ea quidquid ipsam evehit supra condiciones historicas. Demum, vi tertii canonis, eadem persona Christi a fide "defigurata" est: ergo removenda sunt ab illa sermones, acta; quidquid, uno verbo, ingenio, statui, educationi eius, loco ac tempori quibus vixit, minime respondet.—Mira equidem ratiocinandi ratio: sed haec modernistarum critice.

"Religiosus" igitur "sensus," qui per "vitalem immanentiam" e latebris "subconscientiae" erumpit, germen est totius religionis ac ratio patitur omnium, quae in religione quavis fuere aut sunt futura. Rudis quidem initio ac fere informis, eiusmodi "sensus," paulatim atque influxu arcani illius principii unde ortum habuit, adolevit una cum progressu humanae vitae, cuius, ut diximus, quaedam est forma. Habemus igitur religionis cuius libet, etsi supernaturalis, originem: sunt nempe illae "religiosi sensus" merae explicationes. Nec quis catholicam exceptam putet; immo vero ceteris omnino parem; nam ea in conscientia Christi, electissimae naturae viri, cuiusmodi nemo unus fuit nec erit, "vitalis" processu "Immanentiae," non aliter, nata est.—Stupent profecto, qui haec audiant, tantam ad asserendum audaciam tantum sacrilegium! Attamen, Venerabiles Fratres, non haec sunt solum ab incredulis effutita temere. Catholici homines, immo vero e sacerdotibus plures, haec palam edisserunt; talibusque deliramentis Ecclesiam se instauraturos iactant! Non helc iam



de veteri errore agitur, quo naturali humanae supernaturalis ordinis veluti ius tribuebatur. Longius admodum processum est: ut nempe sanctissima religio nostra, in homine Christo aequae ac in nobis, a natura, ex se suae sponte, edita affirmetur. Hoc autem nil profecto aptius ad omnem supernaturalis ordinem abolendum. Quare a Vaticana Synodo lure summo sancitum fuit: "Si quis dixerit, hominem ad cognitionem et perfectionem quae naturalem superet, divinitus evehi non posse, sed ex seipso ad omnia tandem veri et boni possessionem iugiter profectu pertingere posse et debere, anathema sit."<sup>1</sup>

Huc usque tamen, Venerabiles Fratres, nullum dari vidimus intellectui locum. Habet autem et ipse, ex modernistarum doctrina, suas in actu fidei partes. Quo dein pacto, advertisse praestat.—In "sensu" illo, inquit, quem saepius nominavimus, quoniam "sensus" est non cognitio, Deus quidem se homini sistit; verum confuse adeo ac permixte, ut a subiecto credente vix aut minime distinguatur. Necesse igitur est aliquo eundem sensum collustrari lumine, ut Deus inde omnino exiliat ac secernatur. Id nempe ad intellectum peraliret cuius est cogitare et analysim instituire; per quem homo vitalia phaenomena in se exsurgentia in species primum traducit, tum autem verbis significat. Hinc vulgata modernistarum enunciatio: debere religiosum hominem fidem suam "cogitare."—Mens ergo, illi "sensui" adveniens, in eundem se inflectit, inque eo elaborat pictoris instar, qui obsoletam tabulae cuiusdam diagraphen collustrat ut nitidius efferat: sic enim fere quidam modernistarum doctor rem explicat. In eiusmodi autem negotio mens dupliciter operatur: primum, naturali actu et spontaneo, redditque rem sententia quadam simplici ac vulgari; secundo vero reflexe ac penitus, vel, ut aiunt, "cogitationem elaborando," eloquitorumque cogitata "secundariis" sententiis, derivatis quidem a prima illa simplici, limatioribus tamen ac distinctioribus. Quae "secundariae" sententiae, si demum a supremo Ecclesiae magisterio sanctae fuerint, constituent "dogma."

Sic igitur in modernistarum doctrina ventum est ad caput quoddam praecipuum, videlicet ad originem dogmatis atque ad ipsam dogmatis naturam. Originem enim dogmatis ponunt quidem in primigeniis illis formulis simplicibus, quae, quodam sub respectu, necessariae sunt fidei; nam revelatio, ut reapse sit, manifestam Dei notitiam in conscientia requirit. Ipsum tamen dogma "secundariis" proprie contineri formulis affirmare videntur.—Eius porro ut assequamur naturam, ante omnia inquirendum est, quanam intercedat relatio inter "formulas religiosas" et "religiosum" animi "sensem." Id autem facile intelliget, qui teneat "formularum" eiusmodi non alium esse finem, quam modum suppeditare credenti, quo sibi suae fidei rationem reddat. Quamobrem mediae illae sunt inter credentem eiusque fidem: ad fidem autem quod attinet, sunt inadaequatae eius obiecti notae, vulgo "symbola" vocitant; ad credentem quod spectat, sunt mera "instrumenta."—Quocirca nulla confici ratione potest, eas veritatem absolute continere: nam, qua "symbola" imagines sunt veritatis, atque idcirco sensui religioso accommodandae, prout hic ad hominem refertur; qua "instrumenta," sunt veritatis vehicula, atque ideo accommodanda vicissim homini, prout refertur ad religiosum sensum. Obiectum autem "sensus religiosi," utpote quod "absoluto" continetur, infinitos habet adspectus, quorum modo hic modo alius apparere potest. Similiter homo, qui credit, aliis atque aliis uti potest conditionibus. Ergo et formulas, quas dogma appellamus, vicissitudini eidem subesse oportet, ac propterea varietati esse obnoxias. Ita vero ad intimam "evolutionem" dogmatis expeditum est iter.—Sophismatum profecto coaccervatio infinita, quae religionem omnem pessumdat ac delet!

Evolvi tamen ac mutari dogma non posse solum sed oportere, et modernistae ipsi perfracte affirmant, et ex eorum sententiis aperte consequuntur.—Nam inter praecipua doctrinae capita hoc illi habent, quod ab "immanentiae vitalis" principio deducunt: "formulas religiosas," ut "religiosae" reapse sint nec solum intellectus commentationes, vitales esse debere vitamque ipsam vivere "sensus religiosi." Quod non ita intelligendum est, quasi hae formulae, praesertim si mere imaginativae, sint pro ipso religioso sensu inventae; nihil enim refert admodum earum originis, ut etiam numeri vel qualitatis: sed ita, ut eas "religiosus sensus," mutatione aliqua, si opus est, adhibita, "vitaliter" sibi adiungat. Scilicet, ut aliis dicamus, necesse est ut "formula primitiva" acceptetur a corde ab eoque sanciantur; itemque sub cordis ductu sit labor, quo "secundariae formulae" progignuntur. Hinc accidit quod debeant hae formulae, ut vitales sint, ad fidem pariter et ad credentem accommodatae esse ac manere. Quamobrem, si quavis ex causa huiusmodi accommodatio cesset, amittunt illae primigenias notiones ac mutari indigent.—Haec porro formularum dogmaticarum cum sit vis ac fortuna instabilis, mirum non est illas modernistis tanto esse ludibrio ac despectui; qui nihil e contra loquuntur atque extollunt nisi

<sup>1</sup> "De Revel," can. III.

religiosum sensum vitamque religiosam. Ideo et Ecclesiam audacissime carpunt tamquam devio itinere incedentem, quod ab externa formularum significatione religiosam vim ac moralem minime distinguat, et formulis notione carentibus casso labore ac tenacissime inhaerens, religionem ipsam dilabi permittat.—“Caeci” equidem “et duces caecorum,” qui superbo scientiae nomine inflati usque eo insaniunt ut aeternam veritatis notionem et germanum religionis sensum pervertant: novo invento systemate, “quo, ex prolecta et effrenata novitatum cupiditate, veritas, ubi certo consistit, non quaeritur, sanctisque et apostolicis traditionibus posthabitis, doctrinae aliae inanes, futiles, incertae nec ab Ecclesia probatae adsciscunt, quibus veritatem ipsam fulciri ac sustineri vanissimi homines arbitrantur.”

Atque haec, Venerabiles Fratres, de modernista ut philosopho.—Iam si, ad credentem progressus, nosse quis velit unde hic in modernistis a philosopho distinguatur, illud advertere necesse est, etsi philosophus “realitatem” divini ut fidei obiectum admittat, hanc tamen ab illo “realitatem” non alibi reperiri nisi in credentis animo, ut obiectum sensus est et affirmationis atque ideo phaenomenorum ambitum non excedit: utrum porro in se illa extra sensum existat atque affirmationem huiusmodi, praeterit philosophus ac negligit. E contra modernistae credenti ratum ac certum est, “realitatem” divini reapse in se ipsam existere nec prosus a credente pendere. Quod si postules, in quo tandem haec credentis assertio nitatur; reponunt: in privata cuiusque hominis “experientia.”—In qua affirmatione, dum equidem hi a rationalistis dissident, in protestantium tamen ac pseudomysticorum opinionem discedunt. Rem enim sic edisserunt: in “sensu religioso” quandam esse agnoscendum cordis intuitum; quo homo ipsam, sine medio, Dei “realitatem” attingit, tantamque de existentia Dei haurit persuasionem deque Dei tum intra tum extra hominem actione, ut persuasionem omnem, quae ex scientia peti possit, longe antecellat. Veram igitur ponunt experientiam, eamque rationali qualibet experientia praestantiorē: quam si quis, ut rationalistae, inficiatur, inde fieri affirmant, quod nolit is in eis se ipse constituere moralibus adiunctis, quae ad experientiam gignendam requirantur. Haec porro “experientia,” cum quis illam fuerit assequutus, proprie vereque credentem efficit.—Quam hic longe absumus a catholicis institutis! Commenta eiusmodi a Vaticana Synodo improbata iam vidimus.—His semel admissis una cum erroribus ceteris iam memoratis, quo pacto ad atheismum pateat via, inferius dicemus. Nunc statim advertisse iuvenit, ex hac “experientiae” doctrina, coniuncta alteri de “symbolismo,” religionem quamlibet, ethnicorum minime excepta, ut veram esse habendam. Quidni etenim in religione quavis experientiae huiusmodi occurrant? occurrisse vero non unus asserit. Quo iure, autem modernistae veritatem experientiae abnuent, quam turca affirmet; verasque experientias uni catholicis cindicabunt? Neque id reapse modernistae denegant; quin immo, subobscurae alicui, alicui apertissime, religiones omnes contendunt esse veras. Secus autem sentire nec posse, manifestum est. Nam religioni cuiquam quo tandem ex capite, secundum illorum praecepta, foret falsitas tribuenda? Certe vel ex fallacia “sensus religiosi,” vel quod falsiloqua sit formula ab intellectu proliata. Atqui “sensus religiosus” unus semper idemque est, etsi forte quandoque imperfectior: formula autem intellectus, ut vera sit, sufficit ut “religioso sensui” hominique credenti respondeat, quidquid de huius perspicuitate ingenii esse queat. Unum, ad summum, in religionum diversarum conflictu, modernistae contendere forte possint, catholicam, utpote vividiorē, plus habere veritatis; itemque christiano nomine digniorē eam esse, ut quae christianismi exordis respondeat plenius.—Has consecutiones omnes ex datis antecedentibus fluere, nemini erit absonum. Illud stupendum cummaxime, catholicos dari viros ac sacerdotes, qui, etsi, ut autumni malum, eiusmodi portenta horrent, agunt tamen ac si plene probent. Eas etenim errorum tallum magistris tribunt laudes, eos publice habent honores, ut sibi quisque suadeat facile, illos non homines honorare, aliquo forsitan numero non expertes, sed errores potius, suos hi aperte asserunt inque vulgus spargere omni ope nituntur.

Est aliud praeterea in hoc doctrinae capite, quod catholicae veritati est omnino infestum.—Nam istud de “experientia” praeceptum ad “traditionem” etiam transfertur, quam Ecclesia huc usque asseruit, eamque prorsus admittit. Enimvero modernistae sic traditionem intelligunt, ut sit “originalis experientiae” quaedam cum aliis communicatio per praedicationem, ope formulae intellectivae. Cui formulae propterea, praeter vim, ut alunt, “repraesentativam, suggestivam” quandam adscribunt virtutem, tum in eo qui credit, ad “sensum religiosum” forte torpentem excitandum, “instaurandamque” experientiam” aliquando habitam, tum in eis qui nondum credunt, ad “sensum religiosum” primo gignendum et “experientiam” producendam. Sic autem experientia religiosa late in populos propagatur; nec tantummodo in eos qui nunc sunt per praedicationem, sed in posteros etiam, tam per libros quam per verborum de aliis in alios replicationem.—Haec vero

\* Gregor. XVI. Ep. Encycl., “Singulari Nos,” 7 kal. iul. 1834.

experientiae communicatio radices quandoque agit vigetque; senescit quandoque statim ac moritur. Vigere autem, modernistis argumentum veritatis est: veritatem enim ac vitam promiscue habent. Ex quo inferre denuo licebit: religiones omnes quotquot extant veras esse, nam secus nec viverent.

Re porro huc adducta, Venerabiles Fratres, satis superque habemus ad recte cognoscendum, quem ordinem modernistae statuunt inter fidem et scientiam; quo etiam scientiae nomine historia apud illos notatur.—Ac primo quidem tenendum est, materiam uni obiectam materiae obiectae alteri externam omnino esse ab eaque seiunctam. Fides enim id unice spectat, quod scientia "incognoscibile" sibi esse profitetur. Hinc diversum utrique pensum: scientia versatur in phaenomenis, ubi nullus fidei locus; fides e contra versatur in divinis, quae scientia penitus ignorat. Unde demum conficitur, inter fidem et scientiam nunquam esse posse discidium: si enim suum quaeque locum teneat, occurrere sibi invicem nunquam poterunt, atque ideo nec contradicere.—Quibus si qui forte obiciant, quaedam in aspectabili occurrere natura rerum quae ad fidem etiam pertineant, uti humanam Christi vitam; negabunt. Nam, etsi haec phaenomena accensentur, tamen, quatenus vita fidei imbuuntur, et a fide, quo supra dictum est modo, "transfigurata" ac "defigurata" fuerunt, a sensibili mundo sunt abrepta et in divini materiam translata. Quamobrem poscenti ulterius, an Christus vera patrarit miracula vereque futura praesenserit, an vere revixerit atque in caelum conscenderit; scientia agnostica abnuet, fides affirmabit; ex hoc tamen nulla erit inter utramque pugna. Nam abnuet alter ut philosophus philosophos alloquens, Christum scilicet unice contemplatus secundum "realitatem historicam;" affirmabit alter ut credens cum credentibus loquutus, Christi vitam spectans prout "iterum vivitur" a fide et in fide.

Ex his tamen fallitur vehementer qui reputet posse opinari, fidem et scientiam alteram sub altera nulla penitus ratione esse subiectam. Nam de scientia quidem recte vereque existimabit; secus autem de fide, quae, non uno tantum sed triplici ex capite, scientiae subicienda est. Primum namque advertere oportet, in facto quovis religioso, detracta "divina realitate" quamque de illa habet "experientiam" qui credit, cetera omnia, praesertim vero "religiosas formulas," phaenomenorum ambitum minime transgredi, atque ideo cadere sub scientiam. Liceat utique credenti, si volet, de mundo excedere; quamdiu tamen in mundo deget, leges, obtutum, iudicia scientiae atque historiae numquam, velit nolit, effugiet. —Praeterea, quamvis dictum est Deum solius fidei esse obiectum, id de divina quidem "realitate" concedendum est, non tamen de "idea" Dei. Haec quippe scientiae subest; quae, dum in ordine, ut aiunt, logico philosophatur, quidquid etiam absolutum est attingit atque ideale. Quocirca philosophia seu scientia cognoscendi de idea Dei ius habet, eamque in sui evolutione moderandi et, si quid extrarium invaserit, corrigendi. Hinc modernistarum effatum: evolutionem religiosam cum morali et intellectuali componi debere; videlicet, ut quidam tradit quem magistrum sequuntur, eisdem subdi.—Accedit demum quod homo dualitatem in se ipse non patitur, quamobrem credentem quaedam intima urget necessitas fidem cum scientia sic componendi, ut a generali ne decrepet idea, quam scientia exhibet de hoc mundo universo. Sic ergo conficitur, scientiam a fide omnino solutam esse, fidem contra, ut ut scientiae extranea praedicetur, eidem subesse.—Quae omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, contraria prorsus sunt illa quae Plus IX. decessor Noster tradebat docens:<sup>9</sup> "Philosophiae esse, in iis quae ad religionem pertinent, non dominari sed ancillari, non praescribere quid credendum sit, sed rationabili obsequio amplecti, neque altitudinem scrutari mysteriorum Dei, sed illam pie humiliterque revereri." Modernistae negotium plane invertunt: quibus idcirco applicari queunt, quae Gregorius IX. item decessor Noster de quibusdam suae aetatis theologis scribebat:<sup>10</sup> "Quidam apud vos, spiritu vanitatis ut uter distenti, positos a Patribus terminos profana transferre satagunt novitate; coelestis paginae intellectum . . . ad doctrinam philosophicam rationalium inclinando, ad ostentationem scientiae, non profectum aliquem auditorum . . . Ipsi, doctrinis variis et peregrinis abducti, redigunt caput in caudam, et ancillae cogunt famulari reginam."

Quod profecto apertius patebit intuenti quo pacto modernistae agant, accommodate omnino ad ea quae docent. Multa enim ab eis contrarie videntur scripta vel dicta, ut quis facile illos aestimet ancipites atque incertos. Verumtamen consulte id et considerate accidit: ex opinione scilicet quam habent de fidei atque scientiae seiunctione mutua. Hinc in eorum libris quaedam offendimus quae catholicis omnino probet; quaedam, aversa pagina, quae rationalistam dictasse autumes. Hinc, historiam scribentes, nullam de divinitate Christi mentionem faciunt; ad conclusionem

<sup>9</sup> Brev. ad Ep. Wratislav. 15 iun. 1857.

<sup>10</sup> Ep. ad Magistros theol. parisi, non. iul. 1223.

vero in templis eam firmissime profitentur. Item, enarrantes historiam, Concilia et Patres nullo loco habent; catechesim autem si tradunt, illa atque illos cum honore afferunt. Hinc etiam exegesim theologicam et pastorem a scientifica et historica secernunt. Similiter, ex principio quod scientia a fide nullo pacto pendeat, quum de philosophia, de historia, de critica disserunt, Lutheri sequi vestigia non exhorrentes,<sup>11</sup> despicientiam praeceptorum catholicorum, sanctorum Patrum, oecumenicarum synodorum, magisterii ecclesiastici omnimodis ostentant; de qua si carpantur, libertatem sibi adimi conqueruntur. Professi demum fidem esse scientiae subiciendam, Ecclesiam passim aperteque reprehendunt quod sua dogmata philosophiae opinionibus subdere et accommodare obstinatissime renuat: ipsi vero, veteri ad hunc finem theologia sublata, novam invehere contendunt, quae philosophorum deliramentis obscurandetur.

Hic iam, Venerabiles Fratres, nobis fit aditus ad modernistas in theologico agone spectandos. Salebrosum quidem opus: sed paucis absolvendum. — Agitur nimirum de concilianda fide cum scientia, idque non aliter quam una alteri subiecta. Eo in genere modernista theologus eisdem utitur principiis, quae usui philosopho esse vidimus, illeque ad credentem aptat: principia inquit "immanentiae" et "symbolismi." Sic autem rem expeditissime perficit. Traditur a philosopho "principium fidei esse immanens;" a credente additur "hoc principium Deum esse;" concludit ipse "Deus" ergo "est immanens in homine." Hinc "immanentia theologica." Iterum: philosopho certum est "repraesentationes obiecti fidei esse tantum symbolicas;" credenti pariter certum est "fidei obiectum esse Deum in se;" theologus igitur colligit: "repraesentationes divinae realitatis esse symbolicas." Hinc "symbolismus theologicus." — Errores profecto maximi: quorum uterque quam sit periculosus, consequentis inspectis patebit. — Nam, ut de "symbolismo" statim dicamus, cum symbola talia sint respectu obiecti, respectu autem credentis sint instrumenta; cavendum primum, inquit, credenti, ne ipsi formulae ut formula est plus nimio inhaereat, sed illa utendum unice ut absolutae adhaerescat veritati, quam formula reteggit simul ac tegit nititurque exprimere quin unquam assequatur. Addunt praeterea, formulas eiusmodi esse a credente adhibendas quatenus ipsum iuverint; ad commodum enim datae sunt non ad impedimentum: incolumi utique honore qui, ex sociali respectu, debetur formulis, quas publicum magisterium aptas ad communem conscientiam exprimendam ludicavit, quamdiu scilicet idem magisterium secus quidpiam non edixerit. — De "immanentia" autem quid reapse modernistae sentiant, difficile est indicare; non enim eadem omnium opinio. Sunt qui in eo collocant, quod Deus agens intus adsit in homine, magis quam ipse sibi homo; quod plane, si recte intelligitur, reprehensionem non habet. Alii in eo ponunt, quod actio Dei una sit cum actione naturae ut causae primae cum causae secundae; quod ordinem supernaturalem reapse delet. Alii demum sic explicant, ut suspicionem efficiant pantheisticae significationis; id autem cum ceteris eorum doctrinis cohaeret aptius.

Huc vero "immanentiae" pronuntiato aliud adicitur, quod a "permanencia divina" vocare possumus: quae duo inter se eo fere modo differunt, quo "experientia" privata ab "experientia" per traditionem transmissa. Exemplum rem collustrabit: sitque ab Ecclesia, et Sacramentis deductum. Ecclesia, inquit, et Sacramenta a Christo ipso instituta minime credenda sunt. Cavet id agnosticismus, qui in Christo nil praeter hominem novit, cuius conscientia religiosa, ut ceterorum hominum, sensim efformata est: cavet lex immanentiae, quae externas, ut aiunt, "applicationes" respuit: cavet item lex evolutionis, quae ut germina evolvantur tempus postulat et quandam adiutorum sibi succedentium seriem: cavet demum historia, quae talem reapse rei cursum fuisse ostendit. Attamen Ecclesiam et Sacramenta "mediate" a Christo fuisse instituta retinendum est. Qui vero? Conscientias christianas omnes in Christi conscientia virtute quodammodo inclusas affirmant, ut in semine planta. Quoniam autem germina vitam seminis vivunt; christianam omnes vitam Christi vivere dicendi sunt. Sed Christi vita, secundum fidem divina est: ergo et christianorum vita. Si igitur haec vita, decursu aetatum, Ecclesiae et Sacramentis initium dedit: iure omnino dicitur initium huiusmodi esse a Christo ac divinum esse. Sic omnino conficiunt divinas esse etiam Scripturas sacras, divina dogmata. — His porro modernistarum theologia ferme absolvitur. Brevis profecto supellex: sed ei perabundans, qui profiteatur, scientiae, quidquid praeceperit, semper esse obtemperandum. — Horum ad cetera quae dicemus applicationem quisque facile per se videt.

<sup>11</sup> Prop. 29 damn. a Leone X., Bull. "Exsurge Domine" 16 maii 1520. "Vla nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis et iudicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quicquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit. sive reprobatum a quocumque Concilio."

De origine fidei deque eius natura attigimus huc usque. Fidei autem cum multa sint germina, praecipua vero Ecclesia, dogma sacra et religiones, libri quos sanctos nominamus; de his quoque quid modernistae doceant, inquirendum.—Atque ut dogma initium ponamus, huius quae sit origo et natura iam supra indicatum est. Oritur illud ex impulsione quadam seu necessitate, vi cuius qui credit in suis cogitationibus elaborat, ut conscientia tam sua quam aliorum illustretur magis. Est hic labor in rimando totus expoliendoque primigeniam mentis "formulam," non quidem in se illam secundum logicam explicationem, sed secundum circumstantia, seu, ut minus apte ad intelligendum inquirunt, "vitaliter." Inde fit ut, circa illam, "secundariae" quaedam, ut iam inuimus, sensim enascantur formulae; quae postea in unum corpus coagmentatae vel in unum doctrinae aedificium cum a magisterio publico sanctae fuerint utpote communi conscientiae respondentes, dicuntur dogma. Ab hoc secerndae sunt probe theologorum commentationes: quae ceteroqui, quamvis vitam dogmatis non vivunt, non omnino tamen sunt inutiles, tum ad religionem cum scientia componendam et oppositiones inter illas tollendas, tum ad religionem ipsam extrinsecus illustrandam protuendamque; forte etiam utilitati fuerint novo cuidam futuro dogmati materiam praeparando.—De cultu sacrorum haud foret multis dicendum, nisi eo quoque nomine Sacramenta venirent; de quibus maximi modernistarum errores. Cultum ex duplici impulsione seu necessitate oriri perhibent; omnia etenim, ut vidimus, in eorum systemate impulsionebus intimis seu necessitatibus gigni asseruntur. Altera est ad sensibile quiddam religioni tribuendum, altera ad eam proferendam, quod fieri utique nequaquam possit sine forma quadam sensibili et consecrantibus actibus; quae Sacramenta dicimus. Sacramenta autem modernistis nuda sunt symbola seu signa; quamvis non vi carentia. Quam vim ut indicent, exemplo ipsi utuntur verborum quorundam; quae vulgo fortunam dicuntur sortita, eo quod virtutem conceperint ad notiones quasdam propagandas, robustas maximeque percellentes animos. Sicut ea verba ad notiones, sic Sacramenta ad sensum religiosum ordinata sunt: nihil praeterea. Clarius profecto dicerent, si Sacramenta unice ad nutriendam fidem instituta affirmarent. Hoc tamen Tridentina Synodus damnavit:<sup>12</sup> "Si quis dixerit haec sacramenta propter solam fidem nutriendam instituta fuisse, anathema sit."

De librorum etiam sacrorum natura et origine aliquid iam delibavimus. Eos, ad modernistarum scita, definire probe quis possit syllogen "experientiarum," non cuique passim advenientium, sed extraordinariorum atque insignium, quae in quapiam religione sunt habitae.—Sic prorsus modernistae docent de libris nostris tum veteris tum novi testamenti. Ad suas tamen opiniones callidissime notant: quamvis experientia sit praesentis temporis, posse tamen illam de praeteritis aequae ac de futuris materiam sumere, prout videlicet qui credit vel exacta rursus per recordationem in modum "praesentium vivit," vel futura per praeeccupationem. Id autem explicat quomodo historici quoque et apocalyptici in libris sacris censerent queant.—Sic igitur in hisce libris Deus quidem loquitur per credentem; sed, uti fert theologia modernistarum, per "immanentiam" solummodo et "permanentiam vitalem."—Quaeremus, quid tum de inspiratione? Haec respondent, ab impulsione illa, nisi forte vehementia, nequaquam secerantur, qua credens ad fidem suam verbo scripto aperiendam adigitur. Simile quid habemus in poetica inspiratione; quare quidam aiebat: Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo. Hoc modo Deus initium dici debet inspirationis sacrorum librorum.—De qua praeterea inspiratione modernistae addunt, nihil omnino esse in sacris libris quod illa careat. Quod quum affirmant, magis eos credentes orthodoxos quam recentiores alios, qui inspirationem aliquantum coangustant, ut, exempli causa, quum "tacitas" sic dictas "citationes" invehant. Sed haec illi verbo tenus ac simulate. Nam si Biblia ex agnosticismi praeceptis iudicamus, humanum scilicet opus, ab hominibus pro hominibus exaratum, licet ius theologo detur ea per "immanentiam" divina praedicandi; qui demum inspiratio coarctari possit? Generalem utique modernistae sacrorum librorum inspirationem asseverant: catholico tamen sensu nullam admittunt.

Largiorem dicendi segetem offerunt, quae modernistarum schola de Ecclesia imaginatur.—Ponunt initio eam ex duplici necessitate oriri, una in credente quovis, in eo praesertim qui primigeniam ac singularem aliquam sit nactus experientiam, ut fidem suam cum aliis communicet: altera, postquam fides communis inter plures evaserit, in "collectivitate," ad coalescendum in societatem et ad commune benum tuendum, augendum, propagandum. Quid igitur Ecclesia partus est "conscientiae collectivae" seu consociationis conscientiarum singularium, quae vi "permanentiae vitalis," a primo aliquo credente pendeant, videlicet, pro catholicis, a Christo.—Porro societas quae-  
piam moderatitae auctoritate indiget, cuius sit officium consociatos omnes in communem finem dirigere, et compagis elementa tueri prudenter, quae,

<sup>12</sup> Sess. vii., "de Sacramentis in genere," can. v.

in religioso coetu, docarina et cultu obsolvuntur. Hinc in Ecclesia catholica auctoritas tergemina; "disciplinaria, dogmatica, cultualis."—Iam auctoritatis huius natura ex origine colligenda est; ex natura vero iura atque officia repetenda. Praeteritis aetatibus vulgaris fuit error quod auctoritas in Ecclesiam extrinsecus accesserit, nimirum immediate a Deo; quare "autocratica" merito habebatur. Sed haec nunc temporis obsolevere. Quo modo Ecclesia e conscientiarum collectivitate emanasse dicitur, eo pariter auctoritas ab ipsa Ecclesia vitaliter emanat. Auctoritas igitur, sicut Ecclesia, ex conscientia religiosa oritur, atque ideo eidem subest; quam subiectionem si spreverit, in tyrannidem vertitur. Ea porro tempestate nunc vivimus, quum libertatis sensus in fastigium summum excrevit. In civili statu conscientia publica populare regimen inexit. Sed conscientia in homine, aequae atque vita, una est. Nisi ergo in hominum conscientiis intestinum velit excitare bellum ac fovere, auctoritati Ecclesiae officium inest democraticis utendi formis; eo vel magis quod, ni faxit, exitium imminet. Nam amens profecto fuerit, qui in sensu libertatis, qualis nunc viget, regressum posse fieri aliquando autumet. Constrictus vi atque inclusus, fortior se profunder, Ecclesia pariter ac religio deleta.—Haec omnia modernistae ratiocinantur; qui propterea toti sunt in indagandis viis ad auctoritatem Ecclesiae cum credentium libertate componendam.

Sed enim non intra domesticos tantum parietes habet Ecclesia, quibuscum amice cohaerere illam oporteat; habet et extra. Non una namque ipsa occupat mundum; occupant aequae consociationes aliae, quibuscum commercium et usus necessario intercedat. Quae iura igitur quae sint Ecclesiae officia cum civilibus consociationibus determinandum est etiam, nec aliter determinandum nisi ex ipsius Ecclesiae natura, qualem nimirum modernistae nobis descripsere.—In hoc autem eisdem plane regulis utuntur, quae supra pro scientia, atque fide sunt allatae. Ibi "obiectis" sermo erat, hic de "finibus." Sicut igitur "ratione obiecti" fidem ac scientiam extraneas ab invicem vidimus; sic Status et Ecclesia alter ab altera extraneae sunt ob fines quos persequuntur, temporalem ille, haec spiritualem. Licuit profecto alias temporale spirituali subici; licuit de "mixtis" quaestionibus sermonem interseri, in quibus Ecclesia ut domina ac regina intererat, quia nempe Ecclesia a Deo, sine medio, ut ordinis supernaturalis est auctor, instituta ferebatur. Sed iam haec a philosophis atque historicis respuuntur. Status ergo ab Ecclesia dissociandus, sicut etiam catholicus a cive. Quamobrem catholicus quilibet, quia etiam civis, ius atque officium habet, Ecclesiae auctoritate neglecta, eius optatis, consiliis praeceptisque posthabitis, spretis immo reprehensionibus, ea persequendi quae civitatis utilitati conducere arbitretur. Viam ad agendum civi praescribere praetextu quolibet, abusus ecclesiasticae potestatis est, toto nisu reiiciendus.—Ea nimirum, Venerabiles Fratres, unde haec omnia dimanant, eadem profecto sunt, quae Pius VI. decessor Noster, in Constitutione apostolica "Auctorem fidei," solemniter damnavit.<sup>13</sup>

Sed modernistarum scholae satis non est debere Statum ab Ecclesia selungi. Sicut fidem, quoad elementa, ut inquit, phaenomenica scientiae subdi oportet, sic in temporalibus negotiis Ecclesiam subesse Statui. Hoc quidem illi aperte nondum forte asserunt; ratiocinationis tamen vi coguntur admittere. Posito etenim quod in temporalibus rebus Status possit unus, si accidat credentem, intimis religionis actibus haud contentum, in externos exillire, ut puta administrationem susceptionemve Sacramentorum; necesse erit haec sub Status dominium cadere. Ecquid tum de ecclesiastica auctoritate? Cum haec nisi per externos actus non explicetur; Statui, tota quanta est, erit obnoxia. Hac nempe consecutione coacti, multi e protestantibus "liberalibus" cultum omnem sacrum externum, quin etiam externam quamlibet religiosam consociationem e medio tollunt, religionemque, ut aiunt, "individualem" invehere adnituntur.—Quod si modernistae nondum ad haec palam progrediuntur, petunt interea ut Ecclesia quo ipsi impellunt sua se sponte inclinet seseque ad civiles formas aptet. Atque haec de auctoritate "disciplinari."—Nam de "doctrinali" et "dogmatica" potestate longe peiora sunt ac perniciosiora quae sentiunt. De magisterio Ecclesiae sic scilicet commentantur. Consociatio religiosa in unum vere coalescere nequaquam potest, nisi una sit consociatorum conscientia,

<sup>13</sup> Prop. 2. "Propositio, quae statuit, potestatem a Deo datam Ecclesiae ut communicare tur Pastoribus, qui sunt eius ministri pro salute animarum; sic intellecta, ut a communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas: haeretica."—Prop. 3. "Insuper, quae statuit Romanum Pontificem esse caput ministeriale; sic explicata ut Romanus Pontifex non a Christo in persona beati Petri, sed ab Ecclesia potestatem ministerii accipiat, qua velut Petri successor, verus Christi vicarius ac totius Ecclesiae caput pollet in universa Ecclesia: haeretica."

unaque, qua utantur, formula. Utraque autem haec unitas mentem quandam quasi communem expostulat, cuius sit reperire ac determinare formulam, quae communi conscientiae rectius respondeat; cui quidem menti satis auctoritatis inesse oportet ad formulam quam statuerit communitati imponendam. In hac porro coniunctione ac veluti fusione tum mentis formulam eligentis tum potestatis eandem perscribentis, magisterii ecclesiastici notionem modernistae collocant. Cum igitur magisterium ex conscientis singularibus tandem aliquando nascatur, et publicum officium in earumdem conscientiarum commodum mandatum habeat, consequitur necessario, illud ab eisdem conscientis pendere, ac proinde ad populares formas esse inflectendum. Quapropter singularium hominum conscientias prohibere quominus impulsiones quas sentiunt palam aperteque profiteantur, et criticae viam praepedire qua dogma ad necessarias evolutiones impellat, potestatis ad utilitatem permissae non usus est sed abusus.—Similiter in usu ipso potestatis modus temperatioque sunt adhibenda. Librum quemlibet, auctore inscio, notare ac proscribere, nulla explicatione admissa, nulla disceptatione, tyrannidi profecto est proximum.—Quare hec etiam medium est quoddam iter reperendum, ut auctoritati simul ac libertati integra sint iura. Interea temporis catholico sic est agendum, ut auctoritatis quidem observantissimum se publice profiteatur, suo tamen obsequi ingenio non intermittat.—Generatim vero sic de Ecclesia praescribunt: quoniam ecclesiasticae potestatis finis ad spiritalia unice pertinet; externum apparatus omnem esse tollendum, quo illa ad intuentium oculos magnificentius ornatur. In quo illud sane negligitur, religionem, etsi ad animos pertineat, non tamen unice animis concludi; et honorem potestati impensum in Christum institutorem recidere.

Porro ut totam hanc de fide deque vario eius germine materiam absolva-mus, restat, Venerabiles Fratres, ut de utrorumque explicatione postremo loco modernistarum praecepta audiamus.—Principium hic generale est: in religione, quae vivat, nihil variabile non esse, atque idcirco variandum. Hinc gressum faciunt ad illud, quod in eorum doctrinis fere caput est, videlicet ad "evolutionem." Dogma igitur, ecclesia, sacrorum cultus, libri, quos ut sanctos veremur, quin etiam fides ipsa, nisi intermortua haec omnia velimus, evolutionis teneri legibus debent. Neque hoc mirum videri queat, si ea prae oculis habeantur, quae sunt de horum singulis a modernistis tradita. Posita igitur evolutionis lege, evolutionis rationem a modernistis ipsis descriptam habemus. Et primo quoad fidem. Primigenia, inquit, fidei forma rudis et universis hominibus communis fuit, ut quae ex ipsa hominum natura atque vita oriebatur. Evolutio vitalis progressum dedit; nimirum non novitate formarum extrinsecus accedentium, sed ex perversione in dies auctiore sensus religiosi in conscientiam. Dupliciter autem progressio ipsa est facta: "negative" primum, elementum quodvis extraneum, ut puta ex familia vel gente adveniens, eliminando; dehinc "positive," intellectiva ac morali hominis expositione, unde notio divini amplior ac lucidior "sensusque religiosus" exquisitor evasit. Progrediventis vero fidei eadem sunt causae afferendae, quam quae superius sunt allatae ad eius originem explicandam. Quibus tamen extraordinarios quosdam homines addi oportet (quos nos prophetas appellamus, quorumque omnium praestantissimus est Christus); tum quia illi in vita ac sermonibus arcani quidpiam praesetulerunt, quod fides divinitati tribuebat; tum quia novas nec ante habitas "experientias" sunt nacti, religiosae cuiusque temporis indigentiae respondentes.—Dogmatis autem progressus inde potissimum enascitur, quod fidei impedimenta sint superanda, vincendi hostes, contradictiones refellendae. Adde his nunc quemdam perpetuum ad melius penetranda quae in arcanis fidei continentur. Sic, ut exempla cetera praetereamus, de Christo factum est: in quo, divinum illud quaecumque, quod fides admittebat, ita pedetentim et gradatim amplificatum est, ut demum proDeo haberetur.—Ad evolutionem cultus facit praecipue necessitas ad mores traditionesque populorum sese accommodandi; item quorundam virtute actuum fruendi, quam sunt ex usu mutuati.—Tandem pro Ecclesia evolutionis causa inde oritur, quod componi egeat cum adiunctis historicis cumque civiliis regiminis publice invectis formis.—Sic illi de singulis. Hic autem, antequam procedamus, doctrina haec de "necessitatibus" seu "indigentis" (vulgo "dei bisogno" significantius appellant) probe ut notetur velimus; etenim, praeterquam omnium quae vidimus, est veluti basis ac fundamentum famosae illius methodi, quam historicam dicunt.

In evolutionis doctrina ut adhuc sistamus, illud praeterea est advertendum quod, etsi indigentiae seu necessitates ad evolutionem impellunt; his tamen unis acta, evolutio, transgressa facile traditionis fines atque ideo a primigenio vitali principio avulsa, ad ruinam potius quam ad progressionem traheret. Hinc, modernistarum mentem plenius sequuti, evolutionem ex conflictione duarum virium evenire dicemus, quarum altera ad progressionem agit, altera ad conservationem retrahit.—Vis conservatrix viget in Ecclesia, contineturque traditione. Eam vero exerit religiosa auctoritas; idque tam iure ipso, est enim in auctoritatis natura traditionem tueri; tam

re, auctoritas namque, a commutationibus vitae reducta, stimulis ad progressionem pellentibus nihil aut vix urgetur. E contra vis ad progrediendum rapiens atque intimis indigentibus respondens latet ac innotuit in privatorum conscientiis, illorum praecipue qui vitam, ut inquit, propius atque intimius attingunt.—En hic, Venerabiles Fratres, doctrinam illam exitiosissimam efferre caput iam cernimus, quae laicos homines in Ecclesiam subinfert ut progressionis elementa.—Ex convento quodam et pacto inter binas hasce vires, conservatricem et progressionis faultricem, inter auctoritatem videlicet et conscientias privatorum, progressus ac mutationes oriuntur. Nam privatorum conscientiae, vel harum quaedam, in conscientiam collectivam agunt; haec vero in habentes auctoritatem, cogitque illos pactiones conficere atque in pacto manere.—Ex his autem primum est intelligere, cur modernistae mirentur adeo, quum reprehendi se vel puniri sciunt. Quod eis culpa vertitur, ipsi pro officio habent religiose explendo. Necessitates conscientiarum nemo melius novit quam ipsi, eo quod propius illas attingunt, quam ecclesiastica auctoritas. Eas igitur necessitates omnes quasi in se colligunt; unde loquendi publice ac scribendi officio devincuntur. Carpat eos, si volet, auctoritas; ipsi conscientia officii fulciuntur, intimaque experientia norunt non sibi reprehensiones deberi sed laudes. Utique non ipsos latet progressionem sine certaminibus haud fieri, nec sine victimis certamina: sint ergo ipsi pro victimis, sicut prophetae et Christus. Nec ideo quod male habentur, auctoritati invident: suum illam exsequi munus ultro concedunt. Queruntur tantum quod minime exaudiuntur; sic enim cursus animorum tardatur: hora tamen rumpendi moras certissime veniet, nam leges evolutionis coerceri possunt, infringi omnino non possunt. Instituto ergo itinere pergunt: pergunt, quamvis redarguti et damnati; incredibilem audaciam fucatae demissionis velamine obducentes. Cervices quidem simulate inflectunt; manu tamen atque animo quod susceperunt persequuntur audacius. Sic autem volentes omnino prudentesque agunt: tum quia tenent, auctoritatem stimulandam esse non evertendam; tum quia necesse illis est intra Ecclesiae septa manere, ut collectivam conscientiam sensim immutent: quod tamen quum alunt, fateri se non advertunt conscientiam collectivam ab ipsis dissidere, atque ideo nullo eos lure illius se interpretes venditare.

Sic igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, modernistis auctoribus atque actoribus, nihil stabile nihil immutabile in Ecclesia esse oportet. Qua equidem in sententia praecursoribus non caruere, illis nimirum, de quibus Plus IX. decessor Noster iam scribebat: "Isti divinae revelationis inimici humanum progressum summis laudibus efferentes, in catholicam religionem temerario plane ac sacrilego ausu illum inducere vellent, perinde ac si ipsa religio non Dei, sed hominum opus esset aut philosophicum aliquid inventum, quod humanis modis perfici queat."<sup>14</sup>—De revelatione praesertim ac dogmate nulla doctrinae modernistarum novitas; sed eadem illa est, quam in Pii IX. syllabo reprobata reperimus, sic enunciatam: "Divina revelatio est imperfecta et idcirco subiecta continuo et indefinito progressui, qui humanae rationis progressionem respondeat."<sup>15</sup> solemnius vero in Vaticana Synodo per haec verba: "Neque enim fidelis doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniiis perficienda, sed tamquam divinum depositum Christi sponsae tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum in sensu perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum."<sup>16</sup> quo profecto explicatio nostrarum notionum, etiam circa fidem, tantum abest ut impediatur, ut imo adjuvetur ac provehatur. Quamobrem eadem Vaticana Synodus sequitur: "Crescat igitur et multum vehementerque proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unus hominis quam totius Ecclesiae, aetatum et saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia; sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia."<sup>17</sup>

Sed postquam in modernismi assectatoribus philosophum, credentem, theologum observavimus, iam nunc restat ut pariter historicum, criticum, apologetam, reformatorem spectemus.

Modernistarum quidam, qui componendis historicis se dedunt, solliciti magnopere videntur ne credantur philosophi; profitentur quia immo philosophiae se penitus expertes esse. Astute id quam quod maxime: ne scilicet cuiuslibet sit opinio, eos praepiudicatis imbuti philosophiae opinionibus, nec esse propterea, ut aiunt, omnino "objectivos." Verum tamen est, historicam illorum aut criticam meram loqui philosophiam; quaeque ab illis inferuntur, ex philosophicis eorum principiis iusta ratiocinatione concludi.

<sup>14</sup> Encycl. "Qui pluribus," 9 Nov. 1846.

<sup>15</sup> Syll. Prop. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Const. "Dei Filius," cap. iv.

<sup>17</sup> Loc. cit.



Quod equidem facile consideranti patet.—Primi tres huiusmodi historicorum aut criticorum canones, ut diximus, eadem illa sunt principia, quae supra ex philosophis attulimus: nimirum "agnosticismus," theorema de "transfiguratione" rerum per fidem, itemque aliud quod de "defiguratione" dici posse visum est. Iam conseruationes ex singulis notemus.—Ex "agnosticismo" historia, non aliter ac scientia, unice de phaenomenis est. Ergo tam Deus quam quilibet in humanis diuinus interuentus ad fidem relictiendus est, utpote ad illam pertinens unam. Quapropter si quid occurrat duplici constans elemento, diuino atque humano, cuiusmodi sunt Christus, Ecclesia, Sacramenta illaque id genus multa; sic partiendum erit ac secernendum, ut quod humanum fuerit historiae, quod diuinum tribuatur fidei. Ideo vulgata apud modernistas discretio inter Christum historicum et Christum fidei, Ecclesiam historiae et Ecclesiam fidei, Sacramenta historiae et Sacramenta fidei, illaque similia passim.—Deinde hoc ipsum elementum humanum, quod sibi historicum sumere videmus, quale illud in monumentis apparet, a fide per "transfigurationem" ultra conditiones historicas elatum dicendum est. Adlectiones igitur a fide factas rursus secernere oportet, easque ad fidem ipsam amandare atque ad historiam fidei: sic, quum de Christo agitur, quidquid conditionem hominis superat, siue naturalem, prout a psychologia exhibetur, siue ex loco atque aetate, quibus ille vixit, conflatur.—Praeterea, ex tertio philosophiae principio, res etiam, quae historiae ambitum non excedunt, cribro veluti cernunt, eliminantque omnia ac pariter ad fidem amandant quae ipsorum iudicio, in factorum "logica," ut inquit, non sunt vel personis apta non fuerint. Sic volunt Christum ea non dixisse, quae audientis vulgi captum excedere videntur. Hinc de "reali" eius historia delent et fidei permittunt allegorias omnes quae in sermonibus eius occurrunt. Quaeremus forsitan qua lege haec segregentur? Ex ingenio hominis, ex conditione qua sit in ciuitate usus, ex educatione, ex adiunctorum facti cuiusquam complexu: uno verbo, si bene novimus, ex norma quae tandem aliquando in mere "subjectivam" recidit. Nituntur scilicet Christi personam ipsi capere et quasi gerere: quidquid vero paribus in adiunctis ipsi fuissent acturi, id omne in Christum transferunt.—Sic agitur, ut concludamus, "a priori" et ex quibusdam philosophiae principiis, quam tenent quidem sed ignorare asserunt, in "reali," quam vocant, historia Christum Deum non esse affirmant nec quidquam diuini egisse; ut hominem vero ea tantum patrasse aut dixisse, quae ipsi, ad illius se tempora referentes, patrandi aut dicendi ius tribuunt.

Ut autem historia ab philosophia, sic critica ab historia suas accipit conclusiones. Criticus namque, indicia sequutus ab historico praebita, monumenta partitur bifariam. Quidquid post dictam triplicem obtruncationem superat, "reali" historiae assignat; cetera ad fidei historiam seu "internam" ablegat. Has enim binas historias accurate distinguunt; et historiam fidei, quod bene notatum volumus, historias "reali" ut realis est opponunt. Hinc, ut iam diximus, geminus Christus; realis alter, alter qui nunquam reapse fuit sed ad fidem pertinet: alter qui certo loco certaue vixit aetate, alter qui solummodo in plis commentationibus fidei reperitur: leusmodi, exempli causa, est Christus, quem Ioannis evangelium exhibet; quod utique, alunt, totum quantum est commentatio est.

Verum non his philosophiae in historiam dominatus absoiuitur. Monumentis, ut diximus, bifariam distributis, adest iterum philosophus cum suo dogmate "vitalis immanentiae;" atque omnia edicit, quae sunt in ecclesiae historia, per "vitalem emanationem" esse explicanda. Atqui vitalis cuiuscumque emanationis aut caussa aut conditio est in necessitate seu indigentia quapiam ponenda: ergo et factum post necessitatem concipi oportet, et illud historice huic esse posterius.—Quid tum historicus? Monumenta iterum, siue quae in libris sacris continentur siue aliunde adducta, scrutatus, indicem ex his conficit singularum necessitatum, tum ad dogma tum ad cultum sacrorum tum ad alia spectantium, quae in Ecclesia, altera ex altera, locum habuere. Confectum indicem critico tradit. Hic vero ad monumenta, quae fidei historiae destinantur, manum admovent; illaque per aetates singulas sic disponit, ut dato indici respondeant singula: eius semper praecepti memor, factum eiusdemque narrationem facto anteverti. Equidem fieri aliquando possit, quasdam Bibliorum partes, ut puta epistolas, ipsum esse factum a necessitate creatum. Quidquid tamen sit, lex est, monumenti cuiuslibet aetatem non aliter determinandam esse, quam ex aetate exortae in Ecclesia unusquisque necessitatis.—Distinguendum praeterea est inter facti cuiusquam exordium eiusdemque explicationem: quod enim uno die nasci potest, non nisi decursu temporis incrementa suscipit. Hanc ob causam debet criticus monumenta, per aetates, ut diximus, iam distributa bipartiri iterum, altera quae ad originem rei altera quae ad explicationem pertineant secernens; eaque rursus ordinare per tempora.

Tum denuo philosopho locus est: qui iniungit historico sua studia sic exercere, uti evolutionis praecepta legesque praescribit. Ad haec historicus monumenta iterum scrutari; inquirere curiose in adiuncta condi-

lionesque, quibus Ecclesia per singulas aetates sit usa, in eius vim conservatricem, in necessitates tam internas quam externas quae ad progrediendum impellerent, in impedimenta quae obfuerunt, uno verbo, in ea quaecumque quae ad determinandum faxint quo pacto evolutionis leges fuerint servatae. Post haec tandem explicationis historiam, per extrema veluti lineamenta, describit. Succurrit criticus aptatque monumenta reliqua. Ad scriptionem adhibetur manus: historia confecta est.—Cui iam, petimus, haec historia inscribenda? Historico ne an critico? Neutri profecto; sed philosopho. Tota ibi per "apriorismum" res agitur: et quidem per apriorismum haeresibus scatentem. Miseret sane hominum eiusmodi de quibus Apostolus diceret: "Evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis . . . dicentes enim se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt."<sup>18</sup> at bilem tamen commovent quum Ecclesiam criminantur monumenta sic permiscere ac temperare ut suae utilitati loquantur. Nimrum affingunt Ecclesiae, quod sua sibi conscientia apertissime improbari sentiunt.

Ex illa porro monumentorum per aetates partitione ac dispositione sequitur sua sponte non posse libros sacros his auctoribus tribui, quibus reapse inscribuntur. Quam ob causam modernistae passim non dubitant asserere, illos eosdem libros, Pentateuchum praesertim ac prima tria Evangelia, ex brevi quadam primigenia narratione, crevisse gradatim accessionibus, Interpositionibus nempe in modum Interpretationis sive theologiae sive allegoricae, vel etiam iniectionis ad diversa solummodo inter se iungenda.—Nimrum, ut paucis clariusque dicamus, admittenda est "vitalis evolutio" librorum sacrorum, nata, ex evolutione fidel eidemque respondens.—Addunt vero, huius evolutionis vestigia adeo esse manifesta, ut illius fere historia describi possit. Quin immo et reapse describunt, tam non dubitanter, ut suis ipsos oculis vidisse crederes scriptores singulos, qui singulis aetatibus ad libros sacros amplificandos admovent manum.—Haec autem ut confirment, critice, quam "textualem" nominant, adiutricem appellant; nitunturque persuadere hoc vel illud factum aut dictum non suo esse loco, aliasque eiusmodi rationes proferunt. Diceret profecto eos narrationum aut sermonum quosdam quasi typos praestituisse sibi unde certissime iudicent quid suo quid alieno stet loco.—Hac via qui apti esse queant ad decernendum, aestimet qui volet. Verumtamen qui eos audiat de suis exercitationibus circa sacros libros affirmantes, unde tot ibi incongrue notata datum esse deprehendere, credet fere nullum ante ipsos hominum eosdem libros voluisse, neque hos infinitam propemodum Doctorum multitudinem quaquaversus rimatam esse, ingenio plane et eruditione et sanctitudo vitae longe illis praestantiores. Qui equidem Doctores sapientissimi tantum abfuit ut Scripturas sacras ulla ex parte reprehenderent, ut immo, quo illas scrutabantur penitus, eo maiores divino Numini agerent gratias, quod illa cum hominibus loqui dignatum esset. Sed heu! non his adiumentis Doctores nostri in sacros libros incubuerunt, quibus modernistae! scilicet magistratam et ducem non habuere philosophiam, quae initia duceret a negatione Dei, nec se ipsi iudicandi normam sibi delegerunt.—Iam igitur patere arbitramur, cuiusmodi in re historica modernistarum sit methodus. Praeit philosophus; illum historicus excipit; pone ex ordine legunt critice tum interna tum textuales. Et quia primae causae hoc competit ut virtutem suam cum sequentibus communicet, evidens fit, critice eiusmodi non quampliam esse critice, sed vocari iure "agnosticam, immanentistam, evolutionistam:" atque ideo, qui eam profitetur eaque utitur, errores eidem implicitos proferri et catholicae doctrinae adversari.—Quam ob rem mirum magnopere videri possit, apud catholicos homines id genus critices adeo hodie valere. Id nempe geminam habet causam: foedus in primis, quo historici criticique huius generis arctissime inter se iunguntur, varietate gentium ac religionum dissensione posthabita: tum vero audacia maxima, qua, quae quisque effutiat, ceteri uno ore extollunt et scientiae progressioni tribuunt; qua, qui novum portentum aestimare per se volet, facto agmine adorantur; qui neget, ignorantiae accusent; qui amplectitur ac tuetur, laudibus exornent. Inde haud pauci decepti; qui, si rem attentius considerarent, horrerent.—Ex hoc autem praepotenti errantium dominio, ex hac levium animorum incauta assensione quaedam circumstantis aeris quasi corruptio gignitur, quae per omnia permeat luemque diffundit.—Sed ad apologetam transeamus.

Hic apud modernistas dupliciter a philosopho et ipse pendet. "Non directe" primum, materiam sibi sumens historiam, philosopho, ut vidimus, praecipiente conscriptam: "directe" dein, mutuatus ab illo dogmata ac iudicia. Inde illud vulgatum in schola modernistarum praeceptum, debere novam apologetim controversias de religione dirimere historicis inquisitionibus et psychologicis. Quamobrem apologetae modernistae suum opus aggrediuntur rationalistas monendo, se religionem vindicare non sacris libris neve ex historiis vulgo in Ecclesia adhibitis, quae veteri methodo descriptae sint; sed ex historia "reali," modernis praeceptionibus

<sup>18</sup> Ad Rom. 1, 21 e 22.

modernaque methodo confata. Idque non quasi "ad hominem" argumentati asserunt, sed quia reapse hanc tantum historiam vera tradere arbitrantur. De adserenda vero sua in scribendo sinceritate securi sunt: iam apud rationalistas noti sunt, iam, ut sub eodem vexillo stipendia merentes, laudati: de qua laudatione, quam verus catholicus respueret, ipsi sibi gratulantur, eamque reprehensionibus Ecclesiae opponunt.—Sed iam quo pacto apologesim unus aliquis istorum perficiat videamus. Finis, quem sibi assequendum praestituit, hic est: hominem fidei adhuc expertem eo adducere, ut eam de catholica religione "experientiam" assequatur, quae ex modernistarum scitis unicum fidei est fundamentum. Geminum ad hoc petet iter: "objectivum" alterum, alterum "subjectivum." Primum ex agnosticismo procedit; eoque spectat, ut eam in religione, praesertim catholica, vitalem virtutem inesse monstret, quae psychologum quemque itemque historicum bonae mentis suadeat, oportere in illius historia "incogniti" aliquid celari. Ad hoc, ostendere necessum est, catholicam religionem, quae modo est, eam omnino esse quam Christus fundavit, seu non aliud prater progredientem eius germinis explicationem, quod Christus invexit. Primo igitur germen illud quale sit, determinandum. Idipsum porro haec formula exhiberi voluit; Christum adventum regni Dei nunciasse, quod brevi foret constituendum, eiusque ipsum fore Messiam, actorem nempe divinitus datum atque ordinatorem. Post haec demonstrandum, qua ratione id germen, semper "immanens" in catholica religione ac "permanens," sensim ac secundum historiam sese evolverit aptarumque succedentibus adiunctis, ex his ad se "vitaliter" trahens quidquid doctrinalium, cultualium, ecclesiasticarum formarum sibi esset utile; interea vero impedimenta si quae occurrerent superans, adversarios profligans, insectationibus quibusvis pugnisque superstes. Postquam autem haec omnia, impedimenta nimirum, adversarios, insectationes, pugnas, itemque vitam foecunditatemque Ecclesiae id genus fuisse monstratum fuerit, ut, quamvis evolutionis leges in eiusdem Ecclesiae historia incolumes appareant, non tamen eidem historiae plene explicandae sint pares; "incognitum" coram stabit, suaque sponte se offeret.—Sic illi. In qua tota ratiocinatione unum tamen non advertunt, determinationem illam germinis primigenii deberi unice "apriorismo" philosophi agnostici et evolutionistae, et germen ipsum sic gratis ab eis defini ut eorum causae congruat.

Dum tamen catholicam religionem recitatis argumentationibus asserere ac suadere elaborant apologetae novi, dant ultro et concedunt, plura in ea esse quae animos offendant. Quin etiam, non obscura quadam voluptate, in re quoque dogmatica errores contradictionesque reperire se palam dicunt: subdunt tamen, haec non solum admittere excusationem, sed, quod mirum esse oportet, iuste ac legitime esse prolata. Sic etiam, secundum ipsos, in sacris libris, plurima in re scientifica vel historica errore afficiuntur. Sed, inquit, non ibi de scientiis agi aut historia, verum de religione tantum ac re morum. Scientiae illic et historia integumenta sunt quaedam, quibus experientiae religiosae et morales obteguntur ut facilius in vulgus propagarentur; quod quidem vulgus cum non aliter intelligeret, perfectior illi scientia aut historia non utilitati sed documento fuisset. Ceterum, addunt, libri sacri, quia natura sunt religiosi, vitam necessario vivunt: iam vitae sua quoque est veritas et logica, alia profecto a veritate et logica rationali, quin immo alterius omnino ordinis, veritas scilicet comparationis ac proportionis tum ad "medium" (sic ipsi dicunt) in quo vivitur, tum ad finem ob quem vivitur. Demum eo usque progrediuntur ut, nulla adhibita temperatione, asserant, quidquid per vitam explicatur, id omne verum esse ac legitimum.—Nos eundem, Venerabiles Fratres, quibus una atque unica est veritas, quique sacros libros sic aestimamus "quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem,"<sup>19</sup> hoc idem esse affirmamus ac mendacium utilitatis seu officiosum ipsi Deo tribuere; verbisque Augustini asserimus: "Admisso semel in tantum auctoritatis fastigium officioso aliquo mendacio, nulla illorum librorum particula remanebit, quae non ut cuique videbitur vel ad mores difficilis vel ad fidem incredibilis, eadem perniciosissima regula ad mentientis auctoris consilium officiumque referatur."<sup>20</sup> Unde fiet quod idem sanctus Doctor adiungit: "In eis," scilicet Scripturis, "quod vult quisque credet, quod non vult non credet."—Sed modernistae apologetae progrediuntur alacres. Concedunt praeterea, in sacris libris eas subinde ratiocinationes occurrere ad doctrinam quampliam probandam, quae nullo rationali fundamento regantur; cuiusmodi sunt quae in prophetis nituntur. Verum has quoque defendunt quasi artificia quaedam praedicationis, quae a vita legitima fiunt. Quid amplius? Permittunt, immo vero asserunt, Christum ipsum in indicando tempore adventus regni Dei manifeste errasse: neque id mirum, inquit, videri debet; nam et ipse vitae legibus tenbatur!—Quid post haec de Ecclesiae dogmatibus? Scitent haec etiam apertis oppositionibus: sed, praeterquamquod a logica vitali admit-

<sup>19</sup> Conc. Vat. "De Rev.," c. ii.

<sup>20</sup> Epist. 28.

tuntur, veritati symbolicae non adversantur; in iis quippe de infinito agitur cuius infiniti sunt respectus. Demum, adeo haec omnia probant tuenturque, ut profliteri non dubitent, nihil infinito honorem haberi excellentiorem quam contradictoria de ipso affirmando!—Probata vero contradictione, quid non probabitur?

Attamen qui nondum credat non "objectivis" solum argumentis ad fidem disponi potest, verum etiam "subjectivis." Ad quem finem modernistae apoiogetae ad "immanentiae" doctrinam revertuntur. Elaborant nempe ut homini persuadeant, in ipso atque in intimis eius naturae ac vitae recessibus celari cuiuspiam religionis desiderium et exigentiam, nec religionis cuiuscumque sed talis omnino qualis catholica est; hanc enim "postulari" prorsus inquirunt ab explicatione vitae perfecta.—Hic autem queri vehementer. Nos iterum oportet, non desiderari e catholicis hominibus, qui, quamvis "immanentiae" doctrinam ut doctrinam relinquant, ea tamen pro apoiogetis utuntur; idque adeo incauti faciunt, ut in natura humana non capacitatem solum et convenientiam videantur admittere ad ordinem supernaturalem, quod quidem apoiogetae catholici opportunis adhibitis temperationibus demonstrarunt semper, sed germanam verique nominis exigentiam.—Ut tamen verius dicamus, haec catholicae religionis exigentia a modernistis invehitur, qui volunt moderatiores audiri. Nam qui "integralistae" appellari queunt, li homini nondum credenti ipsum germen, in ipso iatens, demonstrari volunt, quod in Christi conscientia fuit atque ab eo hominibus transmissum est.—Sic igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, apoiogeticam modernistarum methodum, summam descriptam, doctrinis eorum plane congruentem agnoscimus: methodum profecto, uti etiam doctrinas, errorum plenas, non ad aedificandum aptas sed ad destruendum, non ad catholicos efficiendos sed ad catholicos ipsos ad haeresim trahendos, immo etiam ad religionis cuiuscumque omnimodam eversionem!

Fauca demum superant addenda de modernista ut reformator est. Iam ea, quae huc usque loquuti sumus, abunde manifestant quanto et quam acri innovandi studio hi homines ferantur. Pertinet autem hoc studium ad res omnino omnes, quae apud catholicos sunt.—Innovari volunt philosophiam in sacris praesertim Seminariis: ita ut, amandata philosophia scholasticorum ad historiam philosophiae inter cetera quae iam obsoleverunt systemata, adolescentibus moderna tradatur philosophia, quae una vera nostraeque aetati respondens.—Ad theologiam innovandam, volunt, quam nos rationalem dicimus, habere fundamentum modernam philosophiam. Positivam vero theologiam, niti maxime postulant in historia dogmatum.—Historiam quoque scribi et tradi expetunt ad suam methodum praescriptaque moderna.—Dogmata eorumdemque evolutionem cum scientia et historia componenda edicunt.—Ad catechesim quod spectat, ea tantum in catecheticis libris notari postulant dogmata, quae innovata fuerint sintque ad vulgi captum.—Circa sacrarum cultum, minuendas inquirunt externas religiones prohibendumve ne crescant. Quamvis equidem alii, qui symbolismo magis favent, in hac re indulgentiores se praebeant.—Regimen ecclesiae omni sub respectu reformandum clamitant, praecipue tamen sub disciplinari ac dogmatico. Ideo intus forisque cum moderna, ut aiunt, conscientia componendum, quae tota ad democratiam vergit: Ideo inferiori clero ipsisque laicis suae in regimine partes tribuendae, et collecta nimium contractaque in centrum auctoritas disperienda.—Romana consilia sacris negotiis gerendis immutari pariter volunt; in primis autem tum quod a "sancto officio" tum quod ab "indice" appellatur.—Item ecclesiastici regiminis actionem in re politica et sociali variandam contendunt, ut simul a civilibus ordinationibus exulet, eisdem tamen se aptet ut suo illas spiritu imbuat.—In re morum, illud asciscunt americanistarum scitum, activas virtutes passivis anteponi oportere, atque illas prae istis exercitatione promoveri.—Clerum sic comparatum petunt ut veterem referat demissionem animi et paupertatem; cogitatione insuper et facto cum modernismi praeceptis consentiat.—Sunt demum qui, magistris protestantibus dicto lubentissime audientes, sacrum ipsum in sacerdotio coelibatum sublatum desiderant.—Quid igitur in Ecclesia intactum relinquunt, quod non ab ipsis nec secundum ipsorum pronuntiata sit reformandum?

In tota hac modernistarum doctrina exponenda, Venerabiles Fratres, videbimur forte alicui diutius immorati. Id tamen omnino oportuit, tum ne, ut assolet, de ignorance rerum suarum ab illis reprehendamus; tum ut pateat, quum de modernismo est quaestio, non de vagis doctrinis agi nulloque inter se nexu coniunctis, verum de uno compactoque veluti corpore, in quo si unum admittas, cetera necessario sequantur. Ideo didactica fere ratione usi sumus, nec barbara aliquando respuimus verba, quae modernistae usurpant.—Iam systema universum uno quasi obtutu respicientes, nemo mirabitur si sic illud definimus, ut omnium haereseon conlectum esse affirmemus. Certe si quis hoc sibi proposuisset, omnium quotquot fuerunt circa fidem errores succum veluti ac sanguinem in unum conferre; rem nunquam plenius perfecisset, quam modernistae perfecerunt. Immo vero tanto hi ulterius progressi sunt, ut, non modo catholicam religionem, sed

omnem penitus, quod iam innuimus, religionem deleverint. Hinc enim rationalistarum plausus: hinc qui liberior apertiusque inter rationalistas loquuntur, nullos se efficaces quam modernistas auxiliares invenisse gratulantur.—Redeamus enimvero tantisper, Venerabiles Fratres, ad exitosissimam illam "agnosticismi" doctrinam. Ea scilicet, ex parte intellectus, omnis ad Deum via praecluditur homini, dum aptior sterneretur ex parte cuiusdam animi sensus et actionis. Sed hoc quam perperam, quis non videat? Sensus enim animi actioni rei respondet, quam intellectus vel externi sensus proposuerint. Demito intellectum; homo externus sensus, ad quos iam fertur, proclivius sequetur. Perperam iterum; nam phantasie quaevis de sensu religioso communem sensum non expugnabunt: communi autem sensu docemur, perturbationem aut occupationem animi quampiam, non adiumento sed impedimento esse potius ad investigationem veri, veri iniquimus ut in se est; nam verum illud alterum "subiectivum," fructus interni sensus et actionis, si quidem ludendo est aptum, nihil admodum homini confert, cuius scire maxime interest sit necne extra ipsum Deus, cuius in manus aliquando incidet.—"Experientiam" enimvero tanto operi adiutricem inferunt. Sed quid haec ad sensum illum animi adiciat? Nil plane, praeterquam quod vehementiorem faciat; ex qua vehementia fiat proportione firmitior persuasio de veritate obiecti. Iam haec duo profecto non efficiunt ut sensus ille animi desinat esse sensus, neque eius immutent naturam, semper deceptioni obnoxiam, nisi regatur intellectu; immo vero illam confirmant et iuvant, nam sensus quo intensior, eo potiore iure est sensus.—Cum vero de religioso sensu hic agamus deque experientia in eo contenta, nostis probe, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta in hac re prudentia sit opus, quanta item doctrina quae ipsam regat prudentiam. Nostis ex animorum usu, quorundam praecipue in quibus eminet sensus; nostis ex librorum consuetudine, qui de acesi tractant; qui quamvis modernistis in nullo sunt pretio, doctrinam tamen longe solidiorem, subtilioremque ad observandum sagacitatem praeseferunt, quam ipsi sibi arrogat. Equidem Nobis amentis esse videtur aut saltem imprudentis summopere pro veris, nulla facta investigatione, experientias intimas habere, eiusmodi modernistae venditant. Cur vero, ut per transcursum dicamus, si harum experientiarum tanta vis est ac firmitas, non eadem tribuatur illi, quam plura catholicorum millia se habere asserunt de devoto itinere, quo modernistae incedunt? Haec ne tantum falsa atque fallax? Hominum autem pars maxima hoc firmiter tenet tenebitque semper, sensu solum et experientia, nullo mentis ductu atque lumine, ad Dei notitiam pertingi nunquam posse. Restat ergo iterum athelismus ac religio nulla.—Nec modernistae meliora sibi promittant ex asserta "symbolismi" doctrina. Nam si quaevis intellectus, ut inquit, elementa nihil nisi Dei symbola sunt; equid symbolum non sit ipsum Dei nomen aut personalitatis divinae? quod si ita, iam de divina personalitate ambigi poterit, patetque ad pantheismum via.—Eodem autem, videlicet ad purum putumque pantheismum, ducit doctrina aia de "immanentia divina." Etenim hoc quaerimus: an eiusmodi "immanentia" Deum ab homine distinguat necne. Si distinguit, quid tum a catholica doctrina differt, aut doctrinam de externa revelatione cur relict? Si non distinguit, pantheismum habemus. Atqui "immanentia" haec modernistarum vult atque admittit omne conscientiae phaenomenon ab homine ut homo esse proficisci. Legitima ergo ratiocinatio inde inferit unum idemque esse Deum cum homine: ex quo pantheismus.—Distinctio demum, quam praedicant, inter scientiam et fidem, non aiam admittit consecutionem. Obiectum enim scientiae in cognoscibilis realitate ponunt; fidei e contra in incognoscibilis. Iam vero incognoscibile inde omnino constituitur, quod inter obiectam materiam et intellectum nulla adsit proportio. Atqui hic proportionis defectus nunquam, nec in modernistarum doctrina, auferri potest. Ergo incognoscibile credenti aequae ac philosopho incognoscibile semper manebit. Ergo si qua habebitur religio, haec erit realitatis incognoscibilis; quae cur etiam mundi animus esse nequeat, quem rationalistae quidam admittunt, non videmus profecto.—Sed haec modo sufficiant ut abunde pateat quam multiplici itinere doctrina modernistarum ad atheismum trahat et ad religionem omnem abolendam. Equidem protestantium error primus hac via gradum lecit; sequitur modernistarum error; proxime athelismus ingreditur.

Ad penitentiorem modernismi notitiam, et ad tanti vulneris remedia aptius quaerenda, luvant nunc, Venerabiles Fratres, causas aliquantum scrutari unde sit ortum aut, nutritum malum.—Proximam continentemque causam in errore mentis esse ponendam, dubitationem non habet. Remotas vero binas agnoscimus, curiositatem et superbiam.—Curiositas, ni sapienter cohibeatur, sufficit per se una ad quoscumque explicandos errores. Unde Gregorius XVI. decessor Noster iure scribebat:<sup>21</sup> "Lugendum valde est quomodo croiabatur humanae rationis deliramenta, ubi quis novis rebus studeat, atque contra Apostoli monitum nitatur pius sapere quam oporteat

<sup>21</sup> Ep. Encyc., "Singulari Nos," 7 kal. iul. 1834.

sapere, sibi quae nimium praefidens, veritatem quaerendam autemet extra catholicam Ecclesiam, in qua absque vel levissimo erroris coeno ipsa invenitur.—Sed longe maiorem ad obcaecandum animum et in errorem inducendum cohibet efficientiam superbia: quae in modernismi doctrina quasi in domicilio collocata: ex ea undequaque alimenta concipit, omnesque induit aspectus. Superbia enim sibi audacius praefidit, ut tamquam universorum normam se ipsi habeant ac proponant. Superbia vanissime gloriantur quasi uni sapientiam possideant, dicuntque elati atque inflati: "Non sumus sicut ceteri homines;" et ne cum ceteris comparentur, nova quaeque etsi absurdissima amplectuntur et somniant. Superbia subiectionem omnem abiciunt contenduntque auctoritatem cum libertate componendam. Superbia sui ipsorum obiti, de aliorum reformatione unice cogitant, nullaque est apud ipsos gradus, nulla vel supremæ potestatis reverentia. Nulla profecto brevior et expeditior ad modernismum est via, quam superbia. Si qui catholicus e laicorum coetu, si quis etiam sacerdos christianæ vitæ præcepti sit immemor, quo iubemur abnegare nos ipsi si Christum sequi velimus, nec auferat superbiam de corde suo; nae is ad modernistarum errores amplectendos aptissimus est quam qui maxime!—Quare, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc primum vobis officium esse oportet superbis eiusmodi hominibus obsistere, eos tenuioribus atque obscurioribus muneribus occupare, ut eo amplius deprimantur quo se tollunt altius et ut, humilliore loco positi, minus habeant ad nocendum potestatis. Præterea tum ipsi per vos tum per seminariorum moderatores, alumnos sacri cleri scrutemini diligentissime; et si quos superbo ingenio repereritis, eos fortissime a sacerdotio repellatis. Quod utinam peractum semper fuisset ea qua opus erat vigilantia et constantia!

Quod si a moralibus causis ad eas quae ab intellectu sunt veniamus, prima ac potissima occurreret ignorantia.—Enimvero modernistae, quotquot sunt, qui doctores in Ecclesia esse ac videri volunt, modernam philosophiam plenis buccis extolientes aspernatque scholasticam, non aliter illam, eius fuco et fallacis decepti, sunt amplexi, quam quod alteram ignorantem prorsus, omni argumento caruerunt ad notionum confusionem tollendam et ad sophismata refellendam. Ex connubio autem falsæ philosophiæ cum fide illorum systema, tot tantisque erroribus abundans, ortum habuit.

Cui propagando utinam minus studii et curarum impenderent! Sed eorum tanta est alacritas, adeo indefessus labor, ut plane pigeat tantas insumi vires ad Ecclesiæ perniciem, quae, si recte adhibitæ, summo forent adiuvento.—Gemina vero ad fallendos animos utuntur arte; primum enim complanare quae obstant nituntur, tum autem quae prosint studiosissime perquirunt atque impigre patientissimeque adhibent.—Tria sunt potissimum quae suis illi conatibus adversari sentiunt: scholastica philosophandi methodus, Patrum auctoritas et traditio, magisterium ecclesiasticum. Contra hæc acerrima illorum pugna. Idcirco philosophiam ac theologiam scholasticam deridit passim atque contemnunt. Sive id ex ignorantia faciant sive ex metu, sive potius ex utraque causa, certum est studium novarum rerum cumodio scholasticæ methodi coniungi semper; nullumque est indicium manifestius quod quis modernismi doctrinis favere incipiat, quam quum incipit scholasticam horrere methodum. Meminerint modernistæ ac modernistarum studiosi damnationem, qua Pius IX. censuit reprobendam propositionem quae diceret:<sup>22</sup> "Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui doctores scholastici theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt."—Traditionis vero vim et naturam caecidissime pervertere elaborant, ut illius monumentum ac pondus elidant. Stabit tamen semper catholicis auctoritas Nicaenæ Synodi II., quae damnavit "eos, qui audent . . . secundum scelestos hæreticos ecclesiasticas traditiones spernere et novitatem quamlibet excogitare . . . aut excogitare prave aut astute ad subvertendum quidquam ex legitimis traditionibus Ecclesiæ catholiciæ." Stabit Synodi Constantinopolitanae IV. professio: "Igitur regulas, quae sanctæ catholiciæ et apostoliciæ Ecclesiæ tam a sanctis famosissimis Apostolis, quam ab orthodoxorum universis necnon et localibus Conciliis vel etiam a quolibet deliquo Patre ac magistro Ecclesiæ traditæ sunt, servare ac custodire profitemur." Unde Romani Pontifices Pius IV. itemque huius nominis IX. in professione fidei hæc quoque addi voluerunt: "Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque eiusdem Ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector."—Nec secus quam de Traditione, iudicant modernistæ de sanctissimis Ecclesiæ Patribus. Eos temeritate summa tradunt vulgo ut omni quidem cultu dignissimos, ast in re critica et historica ignorantiae summae, quae, nisi ab ætate qua vixerunt, excusationem non habeat.—Denique ipsius ecclesiastici magisterii auctoritatem toto studio minuere atque infirmare conantur, tum eius originem, naturam, iura sacrilege pervertendo, tum contra illam adver-

<sup>22</sup> Syll. prop. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Motu pr. "Ut mysticam," 14 martii 1891.

sariorum calumnias libere ingeminando. Valent enim de modernistarum grege, quae moerore summo Deceptor Noster scribebat: "Ut mysticam Sponsam Christi, qui iux vera est, in contemptum et invidiam vocarent tenebrarum filii consuevere in vulgus eam vecordi calumnia impetere, et, conversa rerum nominumque ratione et vi, compelliare obscuritatis amicam, atricem ignorantiae, scientiarum lumini et progressui infensam."<sup>23</sup>—Quae cum sint ita, Venerabiles Fratres, mirum non est, si catholicos homines, qui strenue pro Ecclesia decertant, summa malevolentia et livore modernistae impetunt. Nullum est injuriarum genus, quo illos non iacerent: sed ignorantiae passim pervicaciaeque accusant. Quod si refellentium eruditio-nem et vim pertimescant: efficaciam derogant conjurato silentio. Quae quidem agendi ratio cum catholicis eo plus habet invidiae, quod, eodem tempore nulloque modo adhibito, perpetuis laudibus evehant quotquot cum ipsis consentiunt: horum libros nova undique spirantes grandi plausu excipiunt ac suscipiunt; quo quis audentius vetera evertit, traditionem et magisterium ecclesiasticum respuit, eo sapientiorum praedicant; denique, quod quisque bonus horreat, si quem Ecclesia damnatione perculit, hunc, facto agmine, non solum palam et copiosissime laudant, sed ut veritatis martyrem pene venerantur.—Toto hoc, tum laudationum tum impropiorum strepitu, percussae ac turbatae juniorum mentes, hinc ne ignorantes audiant inde ut sapientes videantur, cogente intus curiositate ac superbia, dant victas saepe manus ac modernismo se dedunt.

Sed iam ad artificia haec pertinent, quibus modernistae merces suas vendunt. Quid enim non moliantur ut asseciarum numerum augeant? In sacris Seminariis, in Universitatibus studiorum magisteria aucupantur, quae sensim in pestilentiae cathedras vertunt. Doctrinas suas, etsi forte implicite, in templis ad concionem dicentes inculcant; apertius in congressibus enunciant; in socialibus institutis intrudunt atque extolunt. Libros, ephemeridas, commentaria suo vel alieno nomine edunt. Unus aliquando idemque scriptor multiplici nomine utitur, ut simulata auctorum multitudine incauti decipiantur. Brevi, actione, verbis, proelo nihil non tentant, ut eos febris quadam phreneticos diceret.—Haec autem omnia quo fructu? Iuvenes magno numero deflemus, egregiae quidem illos spei, quique Ecclesiae utilitatibus optimam navarent operam, a recto tramite deflexisse. Puerimos etiam dolemus, qui, quamvis non eo processerint, tamen corrupto quasi aëre hausto, laxius ad modum cogitare, eloqui, scribere consuecunt quam catholicos decet. Sunt hi de laicorum coetu, sunt etiam de sacerdotum numero; nec, quod minus fuisset expectandum, in ipsis religiosorum familiis desiderantur. Rem biblicam ad modernistarum leges tractant. In conscribendis historiis, specie adserendae veritatis, quidquid Ecclesiae maculam videtur aspergere, id, manifesta quadam voluptate, in lucem diligentissime ponunt. Sacras populares traditiones, apriorismo quodam ducti, delere omni ope conantur. Sacras Reliquias vetustate commendatas despectui habent. Vano scilicet desiderio feruntur ut mundus de ipsis loquatur; quod futurum non autumant si ea tantum dicant, quae semper quaeve ab omnibus sunt dicta. Interea suadent forte sibi obsequium se praestare Deo et Ecclesiae: reapse tamen offendunt gravissime, non suo tantum ipsi opere, quantum ex mente qua ducuntur, et quia perutilem operam modernistarum ausibus conferunt.

Huic tantorum errorum agmini ciam aperteque invadenti Leo XIII. deceptor Noster fel. rec., praesertim in re biblica, occurrere fortiter dicto jactuque conatus est. Sed modernistae, ut iam vidimus, non his facile terrentur armis: observantiam demissionemque animi affectantes summam, verba Pontificis Maximi in suas partes detorserunt, actus in alios quoslibet transtulere. Sic malum robustius in dies factum. Quamobrem, Venerabiles Fratres, moras diutius non interponere decretum est, atque efficaciora moliri.—Vos tamen oramus et obsecramus, ne in re tam gravi vigilantiam, diligentiam, fortitudinem vestram desiderari vel minimum patiamini. Quod vero a vobis petimus et expectamus, id ipsum et petimus aequae et expectamus, a ceteris animarum pastoribus, ab educatoribus et magistris sacrae iuventutis. Imprimis autem a summis religiosarum familiarum magistris.

I. Primo igitur ad audia quod attinet, volumus probeque mandamus ut philosophia scholastica studiorum sacrarum fundamentum ponatur.—Utique, "si quid a doctoribus scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quaesitum, vel parum considerate traditum; si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaerens vel denique quoquo modo non probabile; id nullo pacto in animo est aetati nostrae ad imitandum proponi."<sup>24</sup> Quod rei caput est, philosophiam scholasticam quam sequendam praescribimus, eam praecipue intelligimus, quae a sancto Thoma Aquinate est tradita; de qua quidquid a Deessore Nostro sancitum est, id omne vigere volumus, et qua sit opus instauramus et confirmamus, stricteque ab universis servari iubemus. Episcoporum erit, sicubi in Seminariis neglecta haec fuerint, ea ut in posterum custodiantur urgere atque exigere. Eadem religiosorum

<sup>24</sup> Leo XIII., Enc. "Aeterni Patris."

Ordinum moderatoribus praecipimus. Magistros autem monemus ut rite hoc teneant, Aquinatem deserere, praesertim in re metaphysica, non sine magno detrimento esse.

Hoc ita posito philosophiae fundamento, theologicum aedificium extruatur diligentissime.—Theologiae studium, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta potestis ope provehite, ut clerici e seminaris egredientes praeclara illius existimatione magnoque amore imbuantur, illudque semper pro deliciis habeant. Nam "in magna et multiplici disciplinarum copia quae menti veritatis cupidae obicitur, neminem latet sacram Theologiam ita principem sibi locum vindicare, ut vetus sapientium effatum sit, ceteris scientiis et artibus officium incumbere, ut ei inserviant ac velut ancillarum more famulentur."<sup>25</sup>—Addimus haec, eos etiam Nobis laude dignos videri, qui, incolunt reverentia erga Traditionem et Patres et ecclesiasticum magisterium, sapienti iudicio catholicisque usi normis (quod non aequè omnibus accidit) theologiam positivam, mutato a veri nominis historia lumine, collustrare studeant. Maior profecto quam antehac positivae theologiae ratio est habenda; id tamen sic fiat, ut nihili scholastica detrimenti capiat, hique reprehendantur, utpote qui modernistarum rem gerunt, quicumque positivam sic extolliunt ut scholasticam theologiam despiciere videantur.

De profanis vero disciplinis satis sit revocare quae Decessor Noster sapientissime dixit:<sup>26</sup> "In rerum naturalium consideratione strenue adlaboretis: quo in genere nostrorum temporum ingeniosa inventa et utiliter ausa, sicut iure admirantur aequales, sic posteris perpetua commendatione et laude celebrabunt." Id tamen nullo sacrorum studiorum damno; quod idem Decessor Noster gravissimis hisce verbis prosequutus monuit:<sup>27</sup> "Quorum causam errorum, si quis diligentius investigaverit, in eo potissimum sitam esse intelliget, quod nostris hisce temporibus, quanto rerum naturalium studia vehementius fervent, tanto magis severiores altioresque disciplinae defloruerint: quaedam enim fere in oblivione hominum conticescunt; quaedam remisse leviterque tractantur, et quod indignum est, splendore pristinae dignitatis delecto, pravitate sententiarum et immanibus opinionum portentis inficiuntur." Ad hanc igitur legem naturalium disciplinarum studia in sacris seminaris temperari praecipimus.

II. His omnibus praeceptionibus tum Nostris tum Decessoris Nostris oculos adici oportet, quum de Seminariorum vel Universitatum catholicarum moderatoribus et magistris eligendis agendum erit.—Quicumque modo quopiam modernismo imbuti fuerint, ii, nullo habito rei cuiusvis respectu, tum a regundi tum a docendi munere arceantur; eo si iam funguntur, removeantur: item qui modernismo clam aperte favent, aut modernistas laudando eorumque culpam excusando, aut Scholasticam et Patres et Magisterium ecclesiasticum carpendo, aut ecclesiasticae potestati, in quocumque ea demum sit, obedientiam detrectando: item qui in historica re, vel archeologica, vel biblica nova student: item qui sacras negligunt disciplinas, aut profanas anteponeere videntur.—Hoc in negotio, Venerabiles Fratres, praesertim in magistrorum delectu, nimia nunquam erit animadversio et constantia; ad doctorum enim exemplum plerumque componuntur discipuli. Quare, officii conscientia freti, prudenter hac in re at fortiter agitate.

Pari vigilantia et severitate ii sunt cognoscendi ac diligendi, qui sacris initiari postulent. Procul esto a sacro ordine novitatum amor: superbos et contumaces animos odit Deus!—Theologiae ac Iuris canonici laurea nullius in posterum donetur, qui statum curriculum in scholastica philosophia antea non elaboraverit. Quod si donetur, inaniter donatus esto.—Quae de celebrandis Universitatibus Sacrum Consilium Episcoporum et Religiosorum negotiis praepositum clericis Italiae tum saecularibus tum regularibus praecepit anno MDCCCXCVI; ea ad nationes omnes posthac pertinere decernimus.—Clerici et sacerdotes qui catholicae culpiam Universitati vel Instituto item catholico nomen dederint, disciplinas, de quibus magisteria in his fuerint, in civili Universitate ne ediscant. Sicubi id permissum, in posterum ut ne fiat edicimus.—Episcopi, qui huiusmodi Universitatibus vel Institutis moderandis praesunt, curent diligentissime ut quae hactenus imperavimus, ea constanter serventur.

III. Episcoporum pariter officium est modernistarum scripta quaeve modernismum olent provehantque, si in lucem edita ne legantur cavere, si nondum edita prohibere ne edantur.—Item libri omnes, ephemerides, commentaria quaevis huius generis neve adolescentibus in Seminaris neve auditoribus in Universitatibus permittantur: non enim minus haec nocitura, quam quae contra mores conscripta; immo etiam magis, quod christianae vitae initia vitiant.—Nec secus iudicandum de quorundam catholicorum scriptoribus, hominum ceteroqui non malae mentis, sed qui theologiae disciplinae expertes ac recentiori philosophia imbuti, hanc cum fide com-

<sup>25</sup> Leo XIII., Litt. ap. "In magna," 10 dec. 1889.

<sup>26</sup> Alloc. 7 martii 1880.

<sup>27</sup> Loc. cit.



ponere nituntur et ad fidei, ut inquit, utilitates transferre. Hae, quia nullo metu versantur ab auctorum nomen bonamque existimationem, plus periculi afferunt ut sensim ad modernismum quis vergat.

Generatim vero, Venerabiles Fratres, ut in re tam gravi praecipiamus, quicumque in vestra uniuscuiusque dioecesi prostant libri ad legendum perniciosi, li ut exulent, fortiter contendite, solemnem etiam interdictionem usi. Etsi enim Apostolica Sedes ad huiusmodi scripta e medio tollenda omnem operam impendat; adeo tamen iam numero crevere, ut vix notandis omnibus pares sint vires. Ex quo fit, ut serius quandoque paretur medicina, quam per longiores moras malum invaluit. Volumus igitur ut sacrorum Antistites, omni metu abiecto, prudentia carnis deposita, malorum clamoribus posthabitis, suaviter quidem sed constanter suas quisque partes suscipiant; memores quae Leo XIII. in Constitutione apostolica "Officiorum" praescribebat: "Ordinarii, etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae, libros aliaque scripta noxia in sua dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant." Ius quidem his verbis tributum sed etiam fidelium mandatur. Nec quisquam hoc munus officii implevisse autemet, si unum alterumve librum ad Nos detulerit, dum alii bene multi dividi passim ac pervulgari sinuntur.—Nihil autem vos teneat, Venerabiles Fratres, quod forte libri alicuius auctor ea sit alibi facultate donatus, quam vulgo "Imprimatur" appellant: tum quia simulata esse possit, tum quia vel negligentius data vel benignitate nimia nimiae fiducia de auctore concepta, quod postremum in Religiosorum forte ordinibus aliquando evenit. Accedit quod, sicut non idem omnibus convenit cibis, ita libri qui altero in loco sint adia phori, nocentes in altero ob rerum complexum esse queunt. Si igitur Episcopus, audita prudentum sententia, horum etiam librorum aliquem in sua dioecesi notandum censuerit, potestatem ultro facimus immo et officium mandamus. Res utique decenter fiat, prohibitionem, si sufficiat, ad clerum unum coercendo; integro tamen bibliopolarum catholicorum officio libros ab Episcopo notatos minime venales habendi.—Et quoniam de his sermo incidit, vigilent Episcopi ne, lucri cupiditate, malam librarii mercetur mercem: certe in aliquorum indicibus modernistarum libri abunde nec parva cum laude proponuntur. Hos, si obedientiam detrectent, Episcopi, monitione praemissa, bibliopolarum catholicorum titulo privare ne dubitent; item potioreque iure si episcopales audiant: qui vero pontificio titulo ornantur, eos ad Sedem Apostolicam deferant.—Universis demum in memoriam revocamus, quae memorata apostolica Constitutio "Officiorum" habet, articulo XXVI.: "Omnes, qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi ac retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos."

IV. Nec tamen pravorum librorum satis est lectionem impedire ac venditionem; editionem etiam prohiberi oportet. Ideo edendi facultatem Episcopi severitate summa impertiant.—Quomam vero magno numero ea sunt ex Constitutione "Officiorum," quae Ordinarii permissionem ut edantur postulent, nec ipse per se Episcopus praecognoscere universa potest; in quibusdam dioecesibus ad cognitionem faciendam censores ex officio sufficienti numero destinantur. Huiusmodi censorum institutum laudamus quam maxime: illudque ut ad omnes dioeceses propagetur non hortamur modo sed omnino praescribimus. In universis igitur curiis episcopalibus censores ex officio adsint, qui edenda cognoscant: hi autem e gemino clero eligantur, aetate, eruditione, prudentia commendati, quique in doctrinis probandis improbandisque medio tutoque itinere eant. Ad illos scriptorum cognitio deferatur, quae ex articulis XLI. et XLII. memoratae Constitutionis venia ut edantur indiget. Censor sententiam scripto dabit. Ea si fuerit. Episcopus potestatem edendi faciet per verbum "Imprimatur," cui tamen praeponeatur formula "Nihil obstat," adscripto censoris nomine.—In Curia, romana, non secus ac in ceteris omnibus, censores ex officio instituantur. Eos, audito prius Cardinali in Urbe Pontificis Vicario, tum vero annuente ac probante ipso Pontifice Maximo Magister sacri Palatii apostolici designabit. Huius erit ad scripta singula cognoscenda censorem destinare. Editionis facultas ab eodem Magistro dabitur nec non a Cardinali Vicario Pontificis vel Antistite eius vices gerente, praemissa a censore, prout supra diximus, approbationis formula, adiectoque ipsius censoris nomine.—Extraordinariis tantum in adiunctis ac per quam raro, prudenti Episcopi arbitrio, censoris mentio intermitteri poterit.—Auctoribus censoris nomen patebit nunquam, antequam hic faventem sententiam ediderit; ne quid molestiae censori exhibeatur vel dum scripta cognoscit, vel si editionem non probat.—Censores e religiosorum familiis nunquam eligantur, nisi prius moderatoris provinciae vel, si de Urbe agatur, moderatoris generalis secreto sententia audiat: is autem de eligendi moribus, scientia de doctrinae integritate pro officii conscientia testabitur.—Religiosorum moderatores de gravissimo officio monemus nunquam sinendi aliquid a suis subditis typis edi, nisi prius ipsorum et Ordinarii facultas intercesserit.—

Postremum edicimus et declaramus, censoris titulum, quo quis ornatur, nihili valere prorsus nec unquam posse afferri ad privatas eiusdem opiniones firmandas.

His universe dictis, nominatim servari diligentius praecipimus, quae articulo XLII. Constitutionis "Officiorum" in haec verba edicuntur: "Viri e clero seculari prohibentur quominus, absque praevia Ordinariorum venia, diaria vel folia periodica moderanda suscipiant." Qua si qui venia perniciose utantur, ea, moniti primum, priventur.—Ad sacerdotes quod attinet, qui "correspondentium" vel "collaboratorum" nomine vulgo veniunt, quoniam frequentius evenit eos in ephemeridibus vel commentariis scripta edere modernismi labe infecta; videant Episcopi ne quid hi peccent, si peccarint moneant atque a scribendo prohibeant. Idipsum religiosorum moderatores ut praestent gravissime admonemus: qui si negligentius agant, Ordinariorum auctoritate Pontificis Maximi provideant.—Ephemerides et commentaria, quae a catholicis scribuntur, quoad fieri possit, censore designatum habeant. Huius officium erit folia singula vel libellos, postquam sint edita, opportune perlegere: si quid dictum periculose fuerit, id quamprimum corrigendum iniungat. Eadem porro Episcopis facultas esto, etsi censor forte favorit.

V. Congressus publicosque coetus iam supra memoravimus, utpote in quibus suas modernistae opiniones tueri palam ac propagare student.—Sacerdotum conventus Episcopi in posterum haberi ne siverint, nisi rarissime. Quod si siverint, ea tantum lege sinent, ut nulla fiat rerum tractatio, quae ad Episcopos Sedemve Apostolicam pertinet; ut nihil proponatur vel postuletur, quod sacrae potestatis occupationem inferat; ut quidquid modernismum sapit, quidquid presbyterianismum vel laicismum, de eo penitus sermo conticescat.—Coetibus eiusmodi, quos singulatim, scripto, aptaque tempestate permitti oportet, nullus ex alia dioecesi sacerdos intersit, nisi litteris sui Episcopi commendatus.—Omnibus autem sacerdotibus animo ne excidant, quae Leo XIII. gravissime commendavit:<sup>28</sup> "Sancta sit apud sacerdotes Antistitem suorum auctoritas: pro certo habeant sacerdotale munus, nisi sub magisterio Episcoporum exerceatur, neque sanctum, nec satis utile, neque onustum futurum."

VI. Sed enim, Venerabiles Fratres, quid luerit iussa a Nobis praepositionesque dari, si non haec rite firmiterque serventur? Id ut feliciter pro votis cedat, visum est ad universas dioeceses proferre, quod Umbrorum Episcopi,<sup>29</sup> ante annos plures, pro suis prudentissime decreverunt. "Ad errores," sic illi, "iam diffusos expellendos atque ad impediendum quominus ulterius divigilentur, aut adhuc extent impletatis magistris per quos perniciosi perpetuentur effectus, qui ex illa divulgatione manarunt, sacer Conventus, sancti Caroli Borromei vestigiis inhaerens, institui in unaquaque dioecesi decernit probatorum utriusque cleri consilium, cuius sit pervigilare an et quibus artibus novi errores serpent aut disseminantur, atque Episcopum de hisce docere, ut collatis consiliis remedia capiat, quibus id mali ipso suo initio extingui possit, ne ad animarum perniciem magis magisque diffundatur, vel quod pelus est in dies confirmetur et crescat."—Tale igitur Consilium, quod "a vigilantia" dici placet, in singulis dioecesibus institui quamprimum decernimus. Viri, qui in illud adsciscantur, eo fere modo cooptabuntur, quo supra de censoribus statuimus. Altero quoque mense statoque die cum Episcopo convenient: quae tractarint decreverint, ea arcani lege custodiunt.—Officii munere haec sibi demandata habeant. Modernismi indicia ac vestigia tam in libris quam in magisteriis pervestigant vigilantiter; pro cleri iuventutis inculumitate, prudenter sed prompte et efficaciter praescribant.—Vocum novitatem caveant meminertintque Leonis XIII. monita.<sup>30</sup> "Probari non posse in catholicorum scriptis eam dicendi rationem quae, pravae novitati student, pietatem fidellum ridere videatur loquaturque novum christianae vitae ordinem, novas Ecclesiae praepositiones, nova moderni animi desideria, novam socialem cleri vocationem, novam christianam humanitatem, aliaque id genus multa." Haec in libris praelectionibusque ne patiantur.—Libros ne negligant, in quibus plae cuiusque loci traditiones aut sacrae Reliquiae tractantur. Ne sinant eiusmodi questiones agitari in ephemeridibus vel in commentariis fovendae pietati destinatis, nec verbis ludibrium aut despectum sapientibus, nec stabilibus sententiis, praesertim, ut fere accidit, si quae affirmantur probabilis fines non excedunt vel praeludicatis nituntur opinionibus.

De sacris Reliquiis haec teneantur. Si Episcopi, qui uni tunc haec re possunt, certo norint Reliquiam esse subditiellam, fidellum cultu removeant. Si Reliquiae cuiuspiam auctoritates, ob civiles forte perturbationes vel alio quovis casu, interierint; ne publice ea proponatur nisi rite ab Episcopo recognita. Praescriptionis argumentum vel fundatae praesumptionis tunc

<sup>28</sup> Litt. Enc. "Nobilissima Gallorum," 10 febr. 1884.

<sup>29</sup> Act. Consess. Epp. Umbriae, Novembri 1849, Tit. II., art. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EE. 27 jan. 1902.

tantum valebit, si cultus antiquitate commendetur; nimirum pro decreto anno MDCCCXCVI. a sacro Consilio indulgentis sacrisque Reliquiis cognoscendis edito, quo edicitur: "Reliquias antiquas conservandas esse in ea veneratione in qua hactenus fuerunt, nisi in casu particulari certa adsint argumenta eas falsas vel supposititias esse."—Quum autem de piis traditionibus iudicium fuerit, illud ineminisse oportet: Ecclesiam tanta in hac re uti prudentia, ut traditiones eiusmodi ne scripto narrari permittat nisi cautione multa adhibita praemissaque declaratione ab Urbano VIII. sancita; quod etsi rite fiat, non tamen facti veritatem adserit; sed, nisi humana ad credendum argumenta desint, credi modo non prohibet. Sic plane sacrum Consilium legitimis ritibus tuendis, abhinc annis XXX., edicebat:<sup>31</sup> "Eiusmodi apparitiones seu revelationes neque approbatas neque damnatas ab Apostolica Sede fuisse, sed tantum permissas tamquam pie credendas fide solum humana, iuxta traditionem quam ferunt, idoneis etiam testimoniis ac monumentis confirmatam." Hoc qui teneat, metu omni vacabit. Nam Apparitionis cuiusvis religio, prout factum ipsum spectat et "relativa" dicitur, conditionem semper habet implicitam de veritate facti: prout vero "absoluta" est, semper in veritate nititur, fertur enim in personas ipsas Sanctorum qui honorantur. Similiter de Reliquiis affirmandum.—Illud demum Consilio "vigilantiae" demandamus, ut ad socialia instituta itemque ad scripta quaevis de re sociali assidue ac diligenter adflicta oculos, ne quid in illis modernismi lateat, sed Romanorum Pontificum praeceptionibus respondeant.

VII. Haec quae praecepimus ne forte oblivioni dentur, volumus et mandamus ut singularum dioecesium Episcopi, anno exacto ab editione praesentium litterarum, postea vero tertio quoque anno, diligenti ac iurata enarratione referant ad Sedem Apostolicam de his quae hac Nostra Epistola decernuntur, itemque de doctrinis quae in clero vigent, praesertim autem in Seminaris ceterisque catholicis Institutis, his non exceptis quae Ordinarii auctoritati non subsunt. Idipsum Moderatoribus generalibus ordinum religiosorum pro suis alumniis iniungimus.

Haec vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, scribenda duximus ad salutem omni credenti. Adversarii vero Ecclesiae his certe abutentur ut veterem calumniam refricent, qua sapientiae atque humanitatis progressioni infesti traducimur. His accusationibus, quas christianae religionis historia perpetuis argumentis refellit, ut novi aliquid opponamus, mens est peculiare Institutum omni ope provehere, in quo, invanibus quotquot sunt inter catholicos sapientiae fama insignes, quidquid est scientiarum, quidquid omne genus eruditionis, catholica veritate duce et magistra, promoveatur. Faxit Deus ut proposita feliciter impleamus, suppetitis ferentibus quicumque Ecclesiam Christi sincero amore amplectuntur. Sed de his alias.—Interea vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, de quorum opera et studio vehementer confidimus, superni luminis copiam toto animo exoramus ut, in tanto animorum discrimine ex giscentibus undequaque erroribus, quae vobis agenda sint videatis, et ad implenda quae videritis omni vi ac fortitudine incumbatis. Adsit vobis virtute sua Iesus Christus, auctor et consummator fidei nostrae; adsit prece atque auxilio Virgo immaculata, cunctarum haeresum interemptrix.—Nos vero, pignus caritatis Nostrae divinique in adversis solatii, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis, cleris populisque vestris amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die VIII. Septembris MCMVII, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto.

PIVS PP. X.

<sup>31</sup> Decr. 2 maii 1877.

PIUS X. POPE.

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authority and brook no restraint; and, relying upon a false conscience, they attempt to ascribe to a love of truth that which is in reality the result of pride and obstinacy.

Once, indeed, we had hopes of recalling them to a better sense, and to this end we first of all showed them kindness as our children, then we treated them with severity, and at last we have had recourse, though with great reluctance, to public reproof. But you know, venerable brethren, how fruitless has been our action. They bowed their head for a moment, but it was soon uplifted more arrogantly than ever. If it were a matter which concerned them alone, we might perhaps have overlooked it; but the security of the Catholic name is at stake. Wherefore, as to maintain it longer would be a crime, we must now break silence, in order to expose before the whole Church in their true colors those men who have assumed this bad disguise.

#### DIVISION OF THE ENCYCLICAL.

But since the modernists (as they are commonly and rightly called) employ a very clever artifice, namely, to present their doctrines without order and systematic arrangement into one whole, scattered and disjointed one from another, so as to appear to be in doubt and uncertainty, while they are in reality firm and steadfast, it will be of advantage, venerable brethren, to bring their teachings together here into one group, and to point out the connection between them, and thus to pass to an examination of the sources of the errors and to prescribe remedies for averting the evil.

#### PART I.

##### ANALYSIS OF MODERNIST TEACHING.

To proceed in an orderly manner in this recondite subject, it must first of all be noted that every modernist sustains and comprises within himself many personalities; he is a philosopher, a believer, a theologian, an historian, a critic, an apologist, a reformer. These roles must be clearly distinguished from one another by all who would accurately know their system and thoroughly comprehend the principles and the consequences of their doctrines.

##### AGNOSTICISM ITS PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATION.

We begin, then, with the philosopher. Modernists place the foundation of religious philosophy in that doctrine which is usually called agnosticism. According to this teaching, human reason is confined entirely within the field of phenomena; that is to say, to things that are perceptible to the senses, and in the manner in which they are perceptible. It has no right and no power to transgress these limits. Hence it is incapable of lifting itself up to God and of recognizing His existence, even by means of visible things. From this it is inferred that God can never be the direct object of science, and that, as regards history, He must not be considered as an historical subject. Given these premises, all will readily perceive what becomes of natural theology, of the motives of credibility, of external revelation. The modernists simply make away with them altogether; they include them in intellectualism, which they call a ridiculous and long ago defunct system. Nor does the fact that the Church has formally condemned these portentous errors exercise the slightest restraint upon them. Yet the Vatican Council has defined: "If any one says that the one true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason by means of the things that are made, let him be anathema" (De Revel., can. 1); and also: "If any one says that it is not possible or not expedient that man be taught, through the medium of divine revelation, about God and the worship to be paid Him, let him be anathema" (*Ibid.*, can. 2); and, finally: "If any one says that divine revelation cannot be made credible by external signs, and that therefore men should be drawn to the faith only by their personal internal experience or by private inspiration, let him be anathema" (De Fide, can. 3). But how the modernists make the transition from agnosticism, which is a state of pure nescience, to scientific and historic atheism, which is a doctrine of positive denial; and, consequently, by what legitimate process of reasoning, starting from ignorance as to whether God has in fact intervened in the history of the human race or not, they proceed, in their explanation of this history, to ignore God altogether, as if He really had not intervened, let him answer who can. Yet it is a fixed and established principle among them that both science and history must be atheistic: and within their boundaries there is room for nothing but phenomena; God and all that is

divine are utterly excluded. We shall soon see clearly what, according to this most absurd teaching, must be held touching the most sacred person of Christ, what concerning the mysteries of His life and death, and of His resurrection and ascension into heaven.

#### VITAL IMMANENCE.

However, this agnosticism is only the negative part of the system of the modernist: the positive side of it consists in what they call vital immanence. This is how they advance from one to the other. Religion, whether natural or supernatural, must, like every other fact, admit of some explanation. But when natural theology has been destroyed, the road to revelation closed through the rejection of the arguments of credibility, and all external revelation absolutely denied, it is clear that this explanation will be sought in vain outside man himself. It must, therefore, be looked for in man; and since religion is a form of life, the explanation must certainly be found in the life of man. Hence the principle of religious immanence is formulated. Moreover, the first actuation, so to say, of every vital phenomenon, and religion, as has been said, belongs to this category, is due to a certain necessity or impulsion; but it has its origin, speaking more particularly of life, in a movement of the heart, which movement is called a sentiment. Therefore, since God is the object of religion, we must conclude that faith, which is the basis and the foundation of all religion, consists in a sentiment which originates from a need of the divine. This need of the divine, which is experienced only in special and favorable circumstances, cannot of itself appertain to the domain of consciousness; it is at first latent within the consciousness, or, to borrow a term from modern philosophy, in the sub-consciousness, where also its roots lie hidden and undetected.

Should any one ask how it is that this need of the divine which man experiences within himself grows up into a religion, the modernists reply thus: Science and history, they say, are confined within two limits, the one external, namely, the visible world, the other internal, which is consciousness. When one or other of these boundaries has been reached, there can be no further progress, for beyond is the unknowable. In presence of this unknowable, whether it is outside man and beyond the visible world of nature or lies hidden within the subconsciousness, the need of the divine, according to the principles of fideism, excites in a soul with a propensity towards religion a certain special sentiment, without any previous advertence of the mind: and this sentiment possesses, implied within itself both as its own object and as its intrinsic cause, the reality of the divine, and in a way unites man with God. It is this sentiment to which modernists give the name of faith, and this it is which they consider the beginning of religion.

But we have not yet come to the end of their philosophy, or, to speak more accurately, their folly. For modernism finds in this sentiment not faith only, but with and in faith, as they understand it, revelation, they say, abides. For what more can one require for revelation? Is not that religious sentiment which is perceptible in the consciousness revelation, or at least the beginning of revelation? Nay, is not God Himself, as He manifests Himself to the soul, indistinctly it is true, in this same religious sense, revelation? And they add: Since God is both the object and the cause of faith, this revelation is at the same time of God and from God; that is, God is both the revealer and the revealed.

Hence, venerable brethren, springs that ridiculous proposition of the modernists, that every religion, according to the different aspect under which it is viewed, must be considered as both natural and supernatural. Hence it is that they make consciousness and revelation synonymous. Hence the law, according to which religious consciousness is given as the universal rule, to be put on an equal footing with revelation, and to which all must submit, even the supreme authority of the Church, whether in its teaching capacity or in that of legislator in the province of sacred liturgy or discipline.

#### DEFORMATION OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY THE CONSEQUENCE.

However, in all this process, from which, according to the modernists, faith and revelation spring, one point is to be particularly noted, for it is of capital importance on account of the historico-critical corollaries which are deduced from it.—For the unknowable they talk of does not present itself to faith as something solitary and isolated, but rather in close conjunction with some phenomenon, which, though it belongs to the realm of science and history, yet to some extent oversteps their bounds. Such a phenomenon may be a fact of nature containing within itself something mysterious; or it may be a man, whose character, actions and words can-

not, apparently, be reconciled with the ordinary laws of history. Then faith, attracted by the unknowable, which is united with the phenomenon, possesses itself of the whole phenomenon, and, as it were, permeates it with its own life. From this two things follow. The first is a sort of transfiguration of the phenomenon, by its elevation above its own true conditions, by which it becomes more adapted to that form of the divine which faith will infuse into it. The second is a kind of disfigurement, which springs from the fact that faith, which has made the phenomenon independent of the circumstances of place and time, attributes to it qualities which it has not; and this is true particularly of the phenomena of the past, and the older they are, the truer it is. From these two principles the modernists deduce two laws, which, when united with a third which they have already got from agnosticism, constitute the foundation of historical criticism. We will take an illustration from the person of Christ. In the person of Christ, they say, science and history encounter nothing that is not human. Therefore, in virtue of the first canon deduced from agnosticism, whatever there is in His history suggestive of the divine must be rejected. Then, according to the second canon, the historical person of Christ was transfigured by faith; therefore, everything that raises it above historical conditions must be removed. Lastly, the third canon, which lays down that the person of Christ has been disfigured by faith, requires that everything should be excluded, deeds and words and all else that is not in keeping with His character, circumstances and education, and with the place and time in which He lived. A strange style of reasoning, truly; but it is modernist criticism.

Therefore, the religious sentiment, which through the agency of vital immanence emerges from the lurking-places of the subconsciousness, is the germ of all religion, and the explanation of everything that has been or ever will be in any religion. This sentiment, which was at first only rudimentary and almost formless, gradually matured, under the influence of that mysterious principle from which it originated, with the progress of human life, of which, as has been said, it is a form. This, then, is the origin of all religion, even supernatural religion; it is only a development of this religious sentiment. Nor is the Catholic religion an exception; it is quite on a level with the rest, for it was engendered, by the process of vital immanence, in the consciousness of Christ, who was a man of the choicest nature, whose like has never been, nor will be.—Those who hear these audacious, these sacrilegious assertions are simply shocked. And yet, venerable brethren, these are not merely the foolish babblings of infidels. There are many Catholics, yea, and priests, too, who say these things openly; and they boast that they are going to reform the Church by these ravings! There is no question now of the old error, by which a sort of right to the supernatural order was claimed for the human nature. We have gone far beyond that: we have reached the point when it is affirmed that our most holy religion, in the man Christ as in us, emanated from nature spontaneously and entirely. Than this there is surely nothing more destructive of the whole supernatural order. Wherefore the Vatican Council most justly decreed: "If any one says that man cannot be raised by God to a knowledge and perfection which surpasses nature, but that he can and should, by his own efforts and by a constant development, attain finally to the possession of all truth and good, let him be anathema" (*De Revel.*, can. 3).

#### THE ORIGIN OF DOGMAS.

So far, venerable brethren, there has been no mention of the intellect. Still it also, according to the teaching of the modernists, has its part in the act of faith. And it is of importance to see how.—In the sentiment of which we have frequently spoken, since sentiment is not knowledge, God indeed presents Himself to man, but in a manner so confused and indistinct that He can hardly be perceived by the believer. It is therefore necessary that a ray of light should be cast upon this sentiment, so that God may be clearly distinguished and set apart from it. This is the task of the intellect, whose office it is to reflect and to analyze, and by means of which man first transforms into mental pictures the vital phenomena which arise within him, and then expresses them in words. Hence the common saying of modernists: that the religious man must ponder his faith.—The intellect, then, encountering this sentiment, directs itself upon it, and produces in it a work resembling that of a painter who restores and gives new life to a picture that has perished with age. The simile is that of one of the leaders of modernism. The operation of the intellect in this work is a double one: First, by a natural and spontaneous act it expresses its concept in a simple, ordinary statement; then, on reflection and deeper consideration, or, as they say, by elaborating its thought, it expresses the idea in secondary propositions, which are derived from the first, but are more perfect and distinct.

These secondary propositions, if they finally receive the approval of the supreme magisterium of the Church, constitute dogma.

Thus we have reached one of the principal points in the modernists' system, namely, the origin and the nature of dogma. For they place the origin of dogma in those primitive and simple formulas, which, under a certain aspect, are necessary to faith; for revelation, to be truly such, requires the clear manifestation of God in the consciousness. But dogma itself, they apparently hold, is contained in the secondary formulas.

To ascertain the nature of dogma we must first find the relation which exists between the religious formulas and the religious sentiment. This will be readily perceived by him who realizes that these formulas have no other purpose than to furnish the believer with a means of giving an account of his faith to himself. These formulas therefore stand midway between the believer and his faith; in their relation to the faith they are the inadequate expression of its object, and are usually called symbols; in their relation to the believer they are mere instruments.

#### ITS EVOLUTION.

Hence it is quite impossible to maintain that they express absolute truth, for, in so far as they are symbols, they are the images of truth, and so must be adapted to the religious sentiment in its relation to man; and as instruments they are the vehicles of truth, and must therefore in their turn be adapted to man in his relation to the religious sentiment. But the object of the religious sentiment, since it embraces the absolute, possesses an infinite variety of aspects, of which now one, now another, may present itself. In like manner, he who believes may pass through different phases. Consequently the formulas, too, which we call dogmas, must be subject to these vicissitudes, and are therefore liable to change. Thus the way is open to the intrinsic evolution of dogma. An immense collection of sophisms this, that ruins and destroys all religion. Dogma is not only able, but ought to evolve and to be changed. This is strongly affirmed by the modernists, and as clearly flows from their principles. For amongst the chief points of their teaching is this which they deduce from the principle of vital immanence: that religious formulas, to be really religious and not merely theological speculations, ought to be living and to live the life of the religious sentiment. This is not to be understood in the sense that these formulas, especially if merely imaginative, were to be made for the religious sentiment; it has no more to do with their origin than with number or quality; what is necessary is that the religious sentiment, when needful, introduced some modification, should vitally assimilate them. In other words, it is necessary that the primitive formula be accepted and sanctioned by the heart; and, similarly, the subsequent work from which spring the secondary formulas must proceed under the guidance of the heart. Hence it comes that these formulas, to be living, should be, and should remain, adapted to the faith and to him who believes. Wherefore, if for any reason this adaptation should cease to exist, they lose their first meaning, and accordingly must be changed. And since the character and lot of dogmatic formulas is so precarious, there is not room for surprise that modernists regard them so lightly and in such open disrespect. And so they audaciously charge the Church both with taking the wrong road from inability to distinguish the religious and moral sense of formulas from their surface meaning and with clinging tenaciously and vainly to meaningless formulas whilst religion is allowed to go to ruin. Blind that they are, and leaders of the blind, inflated with a boastful science, they have reached that pitch of folly where they pervert the eternal concept of truth and the true nature of the religious sentiment; with that new system of theirs they are seen to be under the sway of a blind and unchecked passion for novelty, thinking not at all of finding some solid foundation of truth, but despising the holy and apostolic traditions, they embrace other vain, futile, uncertain doctrines condemned by the Church, on which, in the height of their vanity, they think they can rest and maintain truth itself. (Gregory XVI., *Encycl. "Singulari Nos,"* 7 Kal., Jul., 1834.)

#### THE MODERNIST AS BELIEVER: INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE AND RELIGIOUS CERTITUDE.

Thus far, venerable brethren, of the modernist considered as philosopher. Now if we proceed to consider him as believer, seeking to know how the believer, according to modernism, is differentiated from the philosopher, it must be observed that although the philosopher recognizes as the object of faith the divine reality, still this reality is not to be found but in the heart of the believer, as being an object of sentiment and affirmation; and therefore confined within the sphere of phenomena. But as to whether it exists



outside that sentiment and affirmation is a matter which in no way concerns the philosopher. For the modernist believer, on the contrary, it is an established and certain fact that the divine reality does really exist in itself and quite independently of the person who believes in it. If you ask on what foundation this assertion of the believer rests, they answer: In the experience of the individual. On this head the modernists differ from the rationalists only to fall into the opinion of the Protestants and pseudo-mystics. This is their manner of putting the question: In the religious sentiment one must recognize a kind of intuition of the heart which puts man in immediate contact with the very reality of God, and infuses such a persuasion of God's existence and His action both within and without man as to exceed greatly any scientific conviction. They assert, therefore, the existence of a real experience, and one of a kind that surpasses all rational experience. If this experience is denied by some, like the rationalists, it arises from the fact that such persons are unwilling to put themselves in the moral state which is necessary to produce it. It is this experience which, when a person acquires it, makes him properly and truly a believer.

How far off we are here from Catholic teaching we have already seen in the decree of the Vatican Council. We shall see later how, with such theories, added to the other errors already mentioned, the way is opened wide for atheism. Here it is well to note at once that, given this doctrine of experience, united with the other doctrine of symbolism, every religion, even that of paganism, must be held to be true. What is to prevent such experiences from being met with in every religion? In fact, that they are to be found is asserted by not a few. And with what right will modernists deny the truth of an experience affirmed by a follower of Islam? With what right can they claim true experiences for Catholics alone? Indeed, modernists do not deny, but actually admit, some confusedly, others in the most open manner, that all religions are true. That they cannot feel otherwise is clear. For on what ground, according to their theories, could falsity be predicated of any religion whatsoever? It must be certainly on one of these two: either on account of the falsity of the religious sentiment or on account of the falsity of the formula pronounced by the mind. Now, the religious sentiment, although it may be more perfect or is less perfect, is always one and the same; and the intellectual formula, in order to be true, has but to respond to the religious sentiment and to the believer, whatever be the intellectual capacity of the latter. In the conflict between different religions, the most that modernists can maintain is that the Catholic has more truth because it is more living, and that it deserves with more reason the name of Christian because it corresponds more fully with the origins of Christianity. That these consequences flow from the premises will not seem unnatural to anybody. But what is amazing is that there are Catholics and priests who, we would fain believe, abhor such enormities, yet act as if they fully approved of them. For they heap such praise and bestow such public honor on the teachers of these errors as to give rise to the belief that their admiration is not meant merely for the persons, who are perhaps not devoid of a certain merit, but rather for the errors which these persons openly profess, and which they do all in their power to propagate.

#### RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND TRADITION.

But this doctrine of experience is also under another aspect entirely contrary to Catholic truth. It is extended and applied to tradition, as hitherto understood by the Church, and destroys it. By the modernists tradition is understood as a communication to others, through preaching, by means of the intellectual formula, of an original experience. To this formula, in addition to its representative value, they attribute a species of suggestive efficacy which acts both in the person who believes to stimulate the religious sentiment should it happen to have grown sluggish and to renew the experience once acquired, and in those who do not yet believe to awake for the first time the religious sentiment in them and to produce the experience. In this way is religious experience propagated among the peoples; and not merely among contemporaries by preaching, but among future generations both by books and by oral transmission from one to another. Sometimes this communication of religious experience takes root and thrives, at other times it withers at once and dies. For the modernists to live is a proof of truth, since for them life and truth are one and the same thing. Hence again it is given to us to infer that all existing religions are equally true, for otherwise they would not live.

#### FAITH AND SCIENCE.

Having reached this point, venerable brethren, we have sufficient material in hand to enable us to see the relations which modernists establish between

faith and science, including history and also under the name of science. And in the first place it is to be held that the object of the one is quite extraneous to and separate from the object of the other. For faith occupies itself solely with something which science declares to be unknowable for it. Hence each has a separate field assigned to it: science is entirely concerned with the reality of phenomena, into which faith does not enter at all; faith, on the contrary, concerns itself with the divine reality, which is entirely unknown to science. Thus the conclusion is reached that there can never be any dissension between faith and science, for if each keeps on its own ground they can never meet, and therefore never be in contradiction. And if it be objected that in the visible world there are some things which appertain to faith, such as the human life of Christ, the modernists reply by denying this. For though such things come within the category of phenomena, still in as far as they are lived by faith and in the way already described have been by faith transfigured, and disfigured, they have been removed from the world of sense and translated to become material for the divine. Hence should it be further asked whether Christ has wrought real miracles, and made real prophecies, whether He rose truly from the dead and ascended into heaven, the answer of agnostic science will be in the negative and the answer of faith in the affirmative—yet there will not be on that account any conflict between them. For it will be denied by the philosopher as philosopher, speaking to philosophers and considering Christ only in His historical reality; and it will be affirmed by the believer, speaking to believers and considering the life of Christ as lived again by the faith and in the faith.

#### FAITH SUBJECT TO SCIENCE.

Yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that, given these theories, one is authorized to believe that faith and science are dependent of one another. On the side of science the independence is indeed complete, but it is quite different with regard to faith, which is subject to science not on one, but on three grounds. For in the first place it must be observed that in every religious fact, when you take away the divine reality and the experience of it which the believer possesses, everything else, and especially the religious formulas of it, belongs to the sphere of phenomena, and therefore falls under the control of science. Let the believer leave the world if he will, but so long as he remains in it he must continue, whether he like it or not, to be subject to the laws, the observation, the judgments of science and of history. Further, when it is said that God is the object of faith alone, the statement refers only to the divine reality, not to the idea of God. The latter also is subject to science, which while it philosophizes in what is called the logical order, soars also to the absolute and the ideal. It is therefore the right of philosophy and of science to form conclusions concerning the idea of God, to direct it in its evolution and to purify it of any extraneous elements which may become confused with it. Finally, man does not suffer a dualism to exist in him, and the believer therefore feels within him an impelling need so to harmonize faith with science that it may never oppose the general conception which science sets forth concerning the universe.

Thus it is evident that science is to be entirely independent of faith, while, on the other hand, and notwithstanding that they are supposed to be strangers to each other, faith is made subject to science. All this, venerable brothers, is in formal opposition with the teachings of our predecessor, Pius IX., where he lays it down that: In matters of religion it is the duty of philosophy not to command, but to serve; not to prescribe what is to be believed, but to embrace what is to be believed with reasonable obedience; not to scrutinize the depths of the mysteries of God, but to venerate them devoutly and humbly. (Brev. ad Ep. Wratislaw, 15 Jun., 1857.)

The modernists completely invert the parts, and to them may be applied the words of another predecessor of ours, Gregory IX., addressed to some theologians of his time: "Some among you, inflated like bladders with the spirit of vanity, strive by profane novelties to cross the boundaries fixed by the fathers, twisting the sense of the heavenly pages . . . to the philosophical teaching of the rationals, not for the profit of their hearers, but to make a show of science . . . these, seduced by strange and eccentric doctrines, make the head of the tall and force the queen to serve the servant." (Ep. ad Magistros theol. Paris non, Jul., 1224.)

#### THE METHODS OF MODERNISTS.

This becomes still clearer to anybody who studies the conduct of modernists, which is in perfect harmony with their teachings. In their writings and addresses they seem not unfrequently to advocate now one doctrine,

now another, so that one would be disposed to regard them as vague and doubtful. But there is a reason for this, and it is to be found in their ideas as to the mutual separation of science and faith. Hence in their books you find some things which might well be expressed by a Catholic, but in the next page you find other things which might have been dictated by a rationalist. When they write history, they make no mention of the divinity of Christ, but when they are in the pulpit they profess it clearly. Again, when they write history they pay no heed to the fathers and the councils, but when they catechize the people, they cite them respectfully. In the same way they draw their distinctions between theological and pastoral exegesis and scientific and historical exegesis. So, too, acting on the principle that science in no way depends upon faith, when they treat of philosophy, history, criticism, feeling no horror at treading in the footsteps of Luther." (Prop. 29 damn. a Leone X. Bull. "Exsurge Domine," 16 mail 1520. "Via nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et iudicanti eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quicquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit, sive reprobatur a quocumque Concilio.") They are wont to display a certain contempt for Catholic doctrines, for the Holy Fathers, for the Ecumenical Councils, for the ecclesiastical magisterium; and should they be rebuked for this, they complain that they are being deprived of their liberty. Lastly, guided by the theory that faith must be subject to science, they continuously and openly criticize the Church because of her sheer obstinacy in refusing to submit and accommodate her dogmas to the opinions of philosophy; while they, on their side, after having blotted out the old theology, endeavor to introduce a new theology which shall follow the vagaries of their philosophers.

#### THE MODERNIST AS THEOLOGIAN: HIS PRINCIPLES, IMMANENCE AND SYMBOLISM.

And thus, venerable brethren, the road is open for us to study the modernists in the theological arena—a difficult task, yet one that may be disposed of briefly. The end to be attained is the conciliation of faith with science, always, however, saving the primacy of science over faith. In this branch the modernist theologian avails himself of exactly the same principles which we have seen employed by the modernist philosopher, and applies them to the believer: the principles of immanence and symbolism. The process is an extremely simple one. The philosopher has declared: The principle of faith is immanent; the believer has added: This principle is God; and the theologian draws the conclusion: God is immanent in man. Thus we have theological immanence. So, too, the philosopher regards as certain that the representations of the object of faith are merely symbolical; the believer has affirmed that the object of faith is God in Himself; and the theologian proceeds to affirm that the representations of the divine reality are symbolical. And thus we have theological symbolism. Truly enormous errors both, the pernicious character of which will be seen clearly from an examination of their consequences. For, to begin with symbolism, since symbols are but symbols in regard to their objects, and only instruments in regard to the believer, it is necessary, first of all, according to the teachings of the modernists, that the believer do not lay too much stress on the formula, but avail himself of it only with the scope of uniting himself to the absolute truth which the formula at once reveals and conceals; that is to say, endeavors to express, but without succeeding in doing so. They would also have the believer avail himself of the formulas only in as far as they are useful to him, for they are given to be a help and not a hindrance; with proper regard, however, for the social respect due to formulas which the public magisterium has deemed suitable for expressing the common consciousness until such time as the same magisterium provide otherwise. Concerning immanence, it is not easy to determine what modernists mean by it, for their own opinions on the subject vary. Some understand it in the sense that God working in man is more intimately present in him than man is in even himself, and this conception, if properly understood, is free from reproach. Others hold that the divine action is one with the action of nature, as the action of the first cause is one with the action of the secondary cause, and this would destroy the supernatural order. Others, finally, explain it in a way which savors of pantheism, and this, in truth, is the sense which tallies best with the rest of their doctrines.

With this principle of immanence is connected another, which may be called the principle of divine permanence. It differs from the first in much the same way as the private experience differs from the experience transmitted by tradition. An example will illustrate what is meant, and this example is offered by the Church and the sacraments. The Church and the sacraments, they say, are not to be regarded as having been instituted by

Christ Himself. This is forbidden by agnosticism, which sees in Christ nothing more than a man whose religious consciousness has been like that of all men, formed by degrees; it is also forbidden by the law of immanence, which rejects what they call external application; it is further forbidden by the law of evolution, which requires for the development of the germs a certain time and a certain series of circumstances; it is, finally, forbidden by history, which shows that such, in fact, has been the course of things. Still, it is to be held that both Church and sacraments have been founded mediately by Christ. But how? In this way: All Christian consciences were, they affirm, in a manner virtually included in the conscience of Christ as the plant is included in the seed. But as the shoots live the life of the seed, so, too, all Christians are to be said to live the life of Christ. But the life of Christ is according to faith, and so, too, is the life of Christians. And since this life produced, in the course of ages, both the Church and the sacraments, it is quite right to say that their origin is from Christ and is divine. In the same way they prove that the Scriptures and the dogmas are divine. And thus the modernistic theology may be said to be complete. No great thing, in truth, but more than enough for the theologian who professes that the conclusions of science must always, and in all things, be respected. The application of these theories to the other points we shall proceed to expound anybody may easily make for himself.

#### DOGMA AND THE SACRAMENTS.

Thus far we have spoken of the origin and nature of faith. But as faith has many shoots, and chief among them the Church, dogma, worship, the books which we call "sacred," of these also we must know what is taught by the modernists. To begin with dogma, we have already indicated its origin and nature. Dogma is born of the species of impulse or necessity, by virtue of which the believer is constrained to elaborate his religious thought so as to render it clearer for himself and others. This elaboration consists entirely in the process of penetrating and refining the primitive formula, not indeed in itself and according to logical development, but as required by circumstances, or vitally, as the modernists more abstrusely put it. Hence it happens that around the primitive formula secondary formulas gradually continue to be formed, and these subsequently grouped into bodies of doctrine, or into doctrinal constructions, as they prefer to call them, and further sanctioned by the public magisterium as responding to the common consciousness, are called dogma. Dogma is to be carefully distinguished from the speculations of theologians, which, although not alive with the life of dogma, are not without their utility as serving to harmonize religion with science and remove opposition between the two in such a way as to throw light from without on religion, and it may be even to prepare the matter for future dogma. Concerning worship there would not be much to be said were it not that under this head are comprised the sacraments, concerning which the modernists fall into the gravest errors. For them the sacraments are the resultant of a double need—for, as we have seen, everything in their system is explained by inner impulses or necessities. In the present case the first need is that of giving some sensible manifestation to religion; the second is that of propagating it, which could not be done without some sensible form and consecrating acts, and these are called sacraments. But for the modernists the sacraments are mere symbols or signs, though not devoid of a certain efficacy—an efficacy, they tell us, like that of certain phrases vulgarly described as having "caught on," inasmuch as they have become the vehicle for the diffusion of certain great ideas which strike the public mind. What the phrases are to the ideas, that the sacraments are to the religious sentiment—that and nothing more. The modernists would be speaking more clearly were they to affirm that the sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith—but this is condemned by the Council of Trent: "If any one say that these sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith, let him be anathema." (Sess. VII. de Sacramentis in genere, can 5.)

#### THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

We have already touched upon the nature and origin of the sacred books. According to the principles of the modernists, they may be rightly described as a collection of experiences; not indeed of the kind that may come to anybody, but those extraordinary and striking ones which have happened in any religion. And this is precisely what they teach about our books of the Old and New Testament. But to suit their own theories they note with remarkable ingenuity that, although experience is something belonging to the present, still it may derive its material from the past and the future alike, inasmuch as the believer by memory lives the past over again after the manner of the present, and lives the future already by anticipation.

This explains how it is that the historical and apocalyptic books are included among the sacred writings. God does indeed speak in these books—through the medium of the believer, but only, according to modernistic theology, by vital immanence and permanence. Do we inquire concerning inspiration? Inspiration, they reply, is distinguished only by its vehemence from that impulse which stimulates the believer to reveal the faith that is in him by words or writing. It is something like what happens in poetical inspiration, of which it has been said: "There is a God in us, and when He stirreth He sets us afire." And it is precisely in this sense that God is said to be the origin of the inspiration of the sacred books. The modernists affirm, too, that there is nothing in these books which is not inspired. In this respect some might be disposed to consider them as more orthodox than certain other moderns, who somewhat restrict inspiration, as, for instance, in what have been put forward as tacit citations. But it is all mere juggling of words. For if we take the Bible, according to the tenets of agnosticism, to be a human work, made by men for men, but allowing the theologian to proclaim that it is divine by immanence, what room is there left in it for inspiration? General inspiration in the modernist sense it is easy to find, but of inspiration in the Catholic sense there is not a trace.

#### THE CHURCH.

A wider field for comment is opened when you come to treat of the vagaries devised by the modernist school concerning the Church. You must start with the supposition that the Church has its birth in a double need, the need of the individual believer, especially if he has had some original and special experience, to communicate his faith to others, and the need of the Mass when the faith has become common to many, to form itself into a society and to guard, increase and propagate the common good. What, then, is the Church? It is the product of the collective conscience; that is to say, of the society of individual consciences which, by virtue of the principle of vital permanence, all depend on one first believer, who for Catholics is Christ. Now, every society needs a directing authority to guide its members towards the common end, to conserve prudently the elements of cohesion, which in a religious society are doctrine and worship. Hence the triple authority in the Catholic Church—disciplinary, dogmatic, liturgical. The nature of this authority is to be gathered from its origin, and its rights and duties from its nature. In past times it was a common error that authority came to the Church from without; that is to say, directly from God; and it was then rightly held to be autocratic. But this conception has now grown obsolete. For in the same way as the Church is a vital emanation of the collectivity of consciences, so, too, authority emanates vitally from the Church itself. Authority, therefore, like the Church, has its origin in the religious conscience, and, that being so, is subject to it. Should it disown this dependence, it becomes a tyranny. For we are living in an age when the sense of liberty has reached its fullest development, and when the public conscience has in the civil order introduced popular government. Now, there are not two consciences in man, any more than there are two lives. It is for the ecclesiastical authority, therefore, to shape itself to democratic forms, unless it wishes to provoke and foment an intestine conflict in the consciences of mankind. The penalty of refusal is disaster. For it is madness to think that the sentiment of liberty, as it is now spread abroad, can surrender. Were it forcibly confined and held in bonds, terrible would be its outburst, sweeping away at once both Church and religion. Such is the situation for the modernists, and their one great anxiety is, in consequence, to find a way of conciliation between the authority of the Church and the liberty of believers.

#### THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

But it is not with its own members alone that the Church must come to an amicable arrangement—besides its relations with those within, it has others outside. The Church does not occupy the world all by itself; there are other societies in the world, with which it must necessarily have contact and relations. The rights and duties of the Church towards civil societies must, therefore, be determined, and determined, of course, by its own nature, as it has been already described. The rules to be applied in this matter are those which have been laid down for science and faith, though in the latter case the question is one of objects, while here we have one of ends. In the same way, then, as faith and science are strangers to each other, by reason of the diversity of their objects, Church and State are strangers by reason of the diversity of their ends, that of the Church being spiritual, while that of the State is temporal. Formerly it was possible to subordinate the temporal to the spiritual, and to speak of some

questions as mixed, allowing to the Church the position of queen and mistress in all such, because the Church was then regarded as having been instituted immediately by God as the author of the supernatural order. But this doctrine is to-day repudiated alike by philosophy and history. The State must, therefore, be separated from the Church, and the Catholic from the citizen. Every Catholic, from the fact that he is also a citizen, has the right and the duty to work for the common good in the way he thinks best, without troubling himself about the authority of the Church, without paying any heed to its wishes, its counsels, its orders—nay, even in spite of its reprimands. To trace out and prescribe for the citizen any line of conduct, on any pretext whatsoever, is to be guilty of an abuse of ecclesiastical authority, against which one is bound to act with all one's might. The principles from which these doctrines spring have been solemnly condemned by our predecessor, Pius VI., in his Constitution "Austorem fidei." (Prop. 2. "Propositio, quae statuit, potestatem a Deo datam Ecclesiae ut communicaretur Pastoribus, qui sunt eius ministri pro salute animarum; sic intellecta, ut a communitate fidelium in Pastores derivetur ecclesiastici ministerii ac regiminis potestas; haeretica.")—Prop. 3. "Insuper, quae statuit Romanum Pontificem esse caput ministeriale; sic explicata ut Romanus Pontifex non a Christo in persona beati Petri, sed ab Ecclesia potestatem ministerii accipiat, qua velut Petri successor, verus Christi vicarius ac totius Ecclesiae caput poliet in universa Ecclesia; haeretica.")

#### THE MAGISTERIUM OF THE CHURCH.

But it is not enough for the modernist school that the State should be separated from the Church. For as faith is to be subordinated to science, as far as phenomenal elements are concerned, so, too, in temporal matters the Church must be subject to the State. They do not say this openly as yet, but they will say it when they wish to be logical on this head. For, given the principle that in temporal matters the State possesses absolute mastery, it will follow that when the believer, not fully satisfied with his merely internal acts of religion, proceeds to external acts, such, for instance, as the administration or reception of the sacraments, these will fall under the control of the State. What will then become of ecclesiastical authority, which can only be exercised by external acts? Obviously, it will be completely under the dominion of the State. It is this inevitable consequence which impels many among liberal Protestants to reject all external worship, nay, all external religious community, and makes them advocate what they call individual religion. If the modernists have not yet reached this point, they do ask the Church in the meanwhile to be good enough to follow spontaneously where they lead her and adapt herself to the civil forms in vogue. Such are their ideas about disciplinary authority. But far more advanced and far more pernicious are their teachings on doctrinal and dogmatic authority. This is their conception of the magisterium of the Church: No religious society, they say, can be a real unit unless the religious conscience of its members be one, and one also the formula which they adopt. But this double unity requires a kind of common mind, whose office is to find and determine the formula that corresponds best with the common conscience, and it must have, moreover, an authority sufficient to enable it to impose on the community the formula which has been decided upon. From the combination and, as it were, fusion of these two elements the common mind which draws up the formula and the authority which imposes it arises, according to the modernists, the notion of the ecclesiastical magisterium. And as this magisterium springs, in its last analysis, from the individual consciences and possesses its mandate of public utility for their benefit, it follows that the ecclesiastical magisterium must be subordinate to them, and should therefore take democratic forms. To prevent individual consciences from revealing freely and openly the impulses they feel, to hinder criticism from impelling dogmas towards their necessary evolutions—this is not a legitimate use, but an abuse of a power given for the public utility. So, too, a due method and measure must be observed in the exercise of authority. To condemn and prescribe a work without the knowledge of the author, without hearing his explanations, without discussion, assuredly savors of tyranny. And thus here again a way must be found to save the full rights of authority on the one hand and of liberty on the other. In the meanwhile the proper course for the Catholic will be to proclaim publicly his profound respect for authority—and continue to follow his own bent. Their general directions for the Church may be put in this way: Since the end of the Church is entirely spiritual, the religious authority should strip itself of all that external pomp which adorns it in the eyes of the public. And here they forget that while religion is essentially for the soul, it is not exclusively for the soul, and that the honor paid to authority is reflected back on Jesus Christ, who instituted it.

## THE EVOLUTION OF DOCTRINE.

To finish with this whole question of faith and its shoots, it remains to be seen, venerable brethren, what the modernists have to say about their development. First of all, they lay down the general principle that in a living religion everything is subject to change, and must, in fact, change; and in this way they pass to what may be said to be among the chief of their doctrines, that of evolution. To the laws of evolution everything is subject—dogma, Church, worship, the books we revere as sacred, even faith itself—and the penalty of disobedience is death. The enunciation of this principle will not astonish anybody who bears in mind what the modernists have had to say about each of these subjects. Having laid down this law of evolution, the modernists themselves teach us how it works out. And first with regard to faith. The primitive form of faith, they tell us, was rudimentary and common to all men alike, for it had its origin in human nature and human life. Vital evolution brought with it progress, not by the accretion of new and purely adventitious forms from without, but by an increasing penetration of the religious sentiment in the conscience. This progress was of two kinds: negative, by the elimination of all foreign elements, such, for example, as the sentiment of family or nationality; and positive by that intellectual and moral refining of man, by means of which the idea was enlarged and enlightened, while the religious sentiment became more elevated and more intense. For the progress of faith no other causes are to be assigned than those which are adduced to explain its origin. But to them must be added those religious geniuses whom we call prophets, and of whom Christ was the greatest; both because in their lives and their words there was something mysterious which faith attributed to the divinity, and because it fell to their lot to have new and original experiences fully in harmony with the needs of their time. The progress of dogma is due chiefly to the obstacles which faith has to surmount, to the enemies it has to vanquish, to the contradictions it has to repel. Add to this a perpetual striving to penetrate ever more profoundly its own mysteries. Thus, to omit other examples, has it happened in the case of Christ: in Him that divine something which faith admitted in Him expanded in such a way that He was at last held to be God. The chief stimulus of evolution in the domain of worship consists in the need of adapting itself to the uses and customs of peoples, as well as the need of availing itself of the value which certain acts have acquired by long usage. Finally, evolution in the Church itself is fed by the need of accommodating itself to historical conditions and of harmonizing itself with existing forms of society. Such is religious evolution in detail. And here, before proceeding further, we would have you note well this whole theory of necessities and needs, for it is at the root of the entire system of the modernists, and it is upon it that they will erect that famous method of theirs called the historical.

Still continuing the consideration of the evolution of doctrine, it is to be noted that evolution is due no doubt to those stimulants styled needs, but if left to their action alone it would run a great risk of bursting the bounds of tradition, and thus, turned aside from its primitive vital principle, would lead to ruin instead of progress. Hence, studying more closely the ideas of the modernists, evolution is described as resulting from the conflict of two forces, one of them tending towards progress, the other towards conservation. The conserving force in the Church is tradition, and tradition is represented by religious authority, and this both by right and in fact: for by right it is the very nature of authority to protect tradition, and, in fact, for authority, raised as it is above the contingencies of life, feels hardly or not at all the spurs of progress. The progressive force, on the contrary, which responds to the inner needs, lies in the individual conscience and ferments there—especially in such of them as are in most intimate contact with life. Note here, venerable brethren, the appearance already of that most pernicious doctrine which would make of the faith a factor of progress in the Church. Now, it is by a species of compromise between the forces of conservation and of progress—that is to say, between authority and individual consciences—that changes and advances take place. The individual consciences of some of them act on the collective conscience, which brings pressure to bear on the depositaries of authority until the latter consent to a compromise, and, the pact being made, authority sees to its maintenance.

With all this in mind, one understands how it is that the modernists express astonishment when they are reprimanded or punished. What is imputed to them as a fault they regard as a sacred duty. Being in intimate contact with consciences, they know better than anybody else, and certainly better than the ecclesiastical authority, what needs exist—nay, they embody them, so to speak, in themselves. Having a voice and a pen, they use both publicly, for this is their duty. Let authority rebuke them as much as it

pleases, they have their own conscience on their side and an intimate experience which tells them with certainty that what they deserve is not blame, but praise. Then they reflect that, after all, there is no progress without a battle, and no battle without its victim; and victims they are willing to be, like the prophets and Christ Himself. They have no bitterness in their hearts against the authority which uses them roughly, for, after all, it is only doing its duty as authority. Their sole grief is that it remains deaf to their warnings, because delay multiplies the obstacles which impede the progress of souls, but the hour will most surely come when there will be no further chance for tergiversation, for if the laws of evolution may be checked for awhile, they cannot be ultimately destroyed. And so they go their way, reprimands and condemnations notwithstanding, masking an incredible audacity under a mock semblance of humility. While they make a show of howing their heads, their hands and minds are more intent than ever on carrying out their purposes. And this policy they follow willingly and wittingly, both because it is part of their system that authority is to be stimulated, but not dethroned, and because it is necessary for them to remain within the ranks of the Church in order that they may gradually transform the collective conscience—thus unconsciously avowing that the common conscience is not with them, and that they have no right to claim to be its interpreters.

Thus, then, venerable brethren, for the modernists, both as authors and propagandists, there is to be nothing stable, nothing immutable in the Church. Nor, indeed, are they without precursors in their doctrines, for it was of these that our predecessor, Pius IX., wrote: "These enemies of divine revelation extol human progress to the skies, and with rash and sacrilegious daring would have it introduced into the Catholic religion, as if this religion were not the work of God, but of man, or some kind of philosophical discovery susceptible of perfection by human efforts." (Encycl. "Qui pluribus," 9 Nov., 1846.) On the subject of revelation and dogma in particular, the doctrine of the modernists offers nothing new. We find it condemned in the syllabus of Pius IX., where it is enunciated in these terms: "Divine revelation is imperfect, and therefore subject to continual and indefinite progress, corresponding with the progress of human reason." (Syll. Prop. 5.) And condemned still more solemnly in the Vatican Council: "The doctrine of the faith which God has revealed has not been proposed to human intelligences to be perfected by them as if it were a philosophical system, but as a divine deposit entrusted to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly interpreted. Hence the sense, too, of the sacred dogmas is that which our Holy Mother the Church has once declared, nor is this sense ever to be abandoned on plea or pretext of a more profound comprehension of the truth." (Const. "Dei Filius," cap. iv.) Nor is the development of our knowledge, even concerning the faith, impeded by this pronouncement; on the contrary, it is aided and promoted. For the same council continues: "Let intelligence and science and wisdom, therefore, increase and progress abundantly and vigorously in individuals and in the mass, in the believer and in the whole Church, throughout the ages and the centuries—but only in its own kind; that is, according to the same dogma, the same sense, the same acceptance." (Loc. cit.)

#### THE MODERNIST AS HISTORIAN AND CRITIC.

After having studied the modernist as philosopher, believer and theologian, it now remains for us to consider him as historian, critic, apologist, reformer.

Some modernists, devoted to historical studies, seem to be greatly afraid of being taken for philosophers. About philosophy, they tell you, they know nothing whatever—and in this they display remarkable astuteness, for they are particularly anxious not to be suspected of being prejudiced in favor of philosophical theories, which would lay them open to the charge of not being objective, to use the word in vogue. And yet the truth is that their history and their criticism are saturated with their philosophy, and that their historico-critical conclusions are the natural fruit of their philosophical principles. This will be patent to anybody who reflects. Their three first laws are contained in those three principles of their philosophy already dealt with: the principle of agnosticism, the principle of the transfiguration of things by faith, and the principle which we have called disfiguration. Let us see what consequences flow from each of them. Agnosticism tells us that history, like every other science, deals entirely with phenomena, and the consequence is that God, and every intervention of God in human affairs, is to be relegated to the domain of faith as belonging to it alone. In things where a double element, the divine and the human, mingles—in Christ, for example, or the Church, or the sacraments, or the many other objects of the same kind, a division must be made and the human element



assigned to history, while the divine will go to faith. Hence we have that distinction, so current among the modernists, between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith, between the Church of history and the Church of faith, between the sacraments of history and the sacraments of faith, and so on. Next we find that the human element itself, which the historian has to work on as it appears in the documents, has been by faith transfigured; that is to say, raised above its historical conditions. It becomes necessary, therefore, to eliminate also the accretions which faith has added, to assign them to faith itself and to the history of faith. Thus, when treating of Christ the historian must set aside all that surpasses man in his natural condition, either according to the psychological conception of him or according to the place and period of his existence. Finally, by virtue of the third principle even those things which are not outside the sphere of history they pass through the crucible, excluding from history and relegating to faith everything which, in their judgment, is not in harmony with what they call the logic of facts and in character with the persons of whom they are predicted. Thus, they will not allow that Christ ever uttered those things which do not seem to be within the capacity of the multitudes that listened to Him. Hence they delete from His real history and transfer to faith all the allegories found in His discourses. Do you inquire as to the criterion they adopt to enable them to make these divisions? The reply is that they argue from the character of the man, from his condition of life, from his education, from the circumstances under which the facts took place—in fact, from criteria which, when one considers them all, are purely subjective. Their method is to put themselves into the position and person of Christ, and then to attribute to Him what they would have done under like circumstances. In this way, absolutely a priori and acting on philosophical principles, which they admit they hold, but which they affect to ignore, they proclaim that Christ, according to what they call His real history, was not God and never did anything divine, and that as man He did and said only what they, judging from the time in which He lived, can admit Him to have said or done.

#### CRITICISM AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

And as history receives its conclusions ready-made from philosophy, so, too, criticism takes its own from history. The critic, on the data furnished him by the historian, makes two parts of all his documents. Those that remain after the triple elimination above described go to form the real history; the rest is attributed to the history of the faith, or, as it is styled, to internal history. For the modernists distinguish very carefully between these two kinds of history, and it is to be noted that they oppose the history of the faith to real history precisely as real. Thus we have a double Christ: a real Christ and a Christ, the one of faith, who never really existed; a Christ who has lived at a given time and in a given place and a Christ who has never lived outside the pious meditations of the believer—the Christ, for instance, whom we find in the Gospel of St. John, which is pure contemplation from beginning to end.

But the dominion of philosophy over history does not end here. Given that division, of which we have spoken, of the documents into two parts, the philosopher steps in again with his principle of vital immanence, and shows how everything in the history of the Church is to be explained by vital emanation. And since the cause or condition of every vital emanation whatsoever is to be found in some need, it follows that no fact can antedate the need which produced it—historically, the fact must be posterior to the need. See how the historian works on this principle. He goes over his documents again, whether they be found in the sacred books or elsewhere, draws up from them his list of the successive needs of the Church, whether relating to dogma or liturgy or other matters, and then he hands his list over to the critic. The critic takes in hand the documents dealing with the history of faith and distributes them, period by period, so that they correspond with the lists of needs, always guided by the principle that the narration must follow the facts, as the facts follow the needs. It may at times happen that some part of the Sacred Scriptures, such as the Epistles, themselves constitute the fact created by the need. Even so, the rule holds that the age of any document can only be determined by the age in which each need has manifested itself in the Church. Further, a distinction must be made between the beginning of a fact and its development, for what is born one day requires time for growth. Hence the critic must once more go over his documents, ranged as they are through the different ages, and divide them again into two parts, and divide them into two lots, separating those that regard the first stage of the facts from those that deal with their development, and these he must again range according to their periods.

Then the philosopher must come in again to impose on the historian the obligation of following in all his studies the precepts and laws of evolution.

It is next for the historian to scrutinize his documents and conditions affecting the Church during the different periods, the conserving force she has put forth, the needs, both internal and external, that have stimulated her to progress, the obstacles she has had to encounter; in a word, everything that helps to determine the manner in which the laws of evolution have been fulfilled in her. This done, he finishes his work by drawing up in its broad lines a history of the development of the facts. The critic follows and fits in the rest of the documents with this sketch; he takes up his pen and soon the history is made complete. Now we ask here: Who is the author of this history? The historian? The critic? Assuredly, neither of these, but the philosopher. From beginning to end everything in it is "a priori," and "a priori" in a way that reeks of heresy. These men are certainly to be pitied, and of them the apostle might well say: "They became vain in their thoughts . . . professing themselves to be wise, they became fools." (Rom. i, 21, 22.) But at the same time they excite just indignation when they accuse the Church of torturing the texts, arranging and confusing them after its own fashion, and for the needs of its cause. In this they are accusing the Church of something for which their own conscience plainly reproaches them.

#### HOW THE BIBLE IS DEALT WITH.

The result of this dismembering of the sacred books and this partition of them throughout the centuries is naturally that the Scriptures can no longer be attributed to the authors whose names they bear. The modernists have no hesitation in affirming commonly that these books, and especially the Pentateuch and the first three Gospels, have been gradually formed by additions to a primitive brief narration—by interpolations of theological or allegorical interpretation, by transitions, by joining different passages together. This means, briefly, that in the sacred books we must admit a vital evolution, springing from and corresponding with the evolution of faith. The traces of this evolution, they tell us, are so visible in the books that one might almost write a history of them. Indeed, this history they do actually write, and with such an easy security that one might believe them to have with their own eyes seen the writers at work through the ages amplifying the sacred books. To aid them in this they call to their assistance that branch of criticism which they call textual, and labor to show that such a fact or such a phrase is not in its right place, and adducing other arguments of the same kind. They seem, in fact, to have constructed for themselves certain types of narration and discourses, upon which they base their decision as to whether a thing is out of place or not. Judge if you can how men with such a system are fitted for practicing this kind of criticism. To hear them talk about their works on the sacred books, in which they have been able to discover so much that is defective, one would imagine that before them nobody ever even glanced through the pages of Scripture, whereas the truth is that a whole multitude of doctors, infinitely superior to them in genius, in erudition, in sanctity, have sifted the sacred books in every way, and so far from finding imperfections in them, have thanked God more and more the deeper they have gone into them for His divine bounty in having vouchsafed to speak thus to men. Unfortunately, these great doctors did not enjoy the same aids to study that are possessed by the modernists for their guide and rule—a philosophy borrowed from the negation of God, and a criterion which consists of themselves.

We believe, then, that we have set forth with sufficient clearness the historical method of the modernists. The philosopher leads the way, the historian follows, and then in due order come internal and textual criticism. And since it is characteristic of the first cause to communicate its virtue to secondary causes, it is quite clear that the criticism we are concerned with is an agnostic, immanentist and evolutionist criticism. Hence anybody who embraces it and employs it makes profession thereby of the errors contained in it, and places himself in opposition to Catholic faith. This being so, one cannot but be greatly surprised by the consideration which is attached to it by certain Catholics. Two causes may be assigned for this: First, the close alliance, independent of all differences of nationality and religion, which the historians and critics of this school have formed among themselves; second, the boundless effrontery of these men. Let one of them but open his mouth and the others applaud him in chorus, proclaiming that science has made another step forward. Let an outsider but hint at a desire to inspect the new discovery with his own eyes, and they are on him in a body. Deny it, and you are an ignoramus; embrace it and defend it, and there is no praise too warm for you. In this way they win over many who, did they but realize what they are doing, would shrink back with horror. The impudence and the domineering of some, and the thoughtlessness and

Imprudence of others have combined to generate a pestilence in the air which penetrates everywhere and spreads the contagion. But let us pass to the apologist.

#### THE MODERNIST AS APOLOGIST.

The modernist apologist depends in two ways on the philosopher. First, indirectly, inasmuch as his theme is history—history dictated, as we have seen, by the philosopher; and, secondly, directly, inasmuch as he takes both his laws and his principles from the philosopher. Hence that common precept of the modernist school that the new apologetics must be fed from psychological and historical sources. The modernist apologists, then, enter the arena by proclaiming to the rationalists that though they are defending religion, they have no intention of employing the data of the sacred books or the histories in current use in the Church, and composed according to old methods, but real history, written on modern principles and according to rigorously modern methods. In all this they are not using an "argumentum ad hominem," but are stating the simple fact that they hold that the truth is to be found only in this kind of history. They feel that it is not necessary for them to dwell on their own sincerity in their writings—they are already known to and praised by the rationalists as fighting under the same banner, and they not only plume themselves on these encomiums, which are a kind of salary to them, but would only provoke nausea in a real Catholic, but use them as an offset to the reprimands of the Church.

But let us see how the modernist conducts his apologetics. The aim he sets before himself is to make the non-believer attain that experience of the Catholic religion which, according to the system, is the basis of faith. There are two ways open to him, the objective and the subjective. The first of them proceeds from agnosticism. It tends to show that religion, and especially the Catholic religion, is endowed with such vitality as to compel every psychologist and historian of good faith to recognize that its history hides some unknown element. To this end it is necessary to prove that this religion, as it exists to-day, is that which was founded by Jesus Christ; that is to say, that it is the product of the progressive development of the germ which He brought into the world. Hence it is imperative first of all to establish what this germ was, and this the modernist claims to be able to do by the following formula: Christ announced the coming of the kingdom of God, which was to be realized within a brief lapse of time, and of which He was to become the Messiah, the divinely-given agent and ordainer. Then it must be shown how this germ, always immanent and permanent in the bosom of the Church, has gone on slowly developing in the course of history, adapting itself successively to the different mediums through which it has passed, borrowing from them by vital assimilation all the dogmatic, cultural, ecclesiastical forms that served its purpose; whilst, on the other hand, it surmounted all obstacles, vanquished all enemies and survived all assaults and all combats. Anybody who well and duly considers this mass of obstacles, adversaries, attacks, combats and the vitality and fecundity which the Church has shown throughout them all must admit that if the laws of evolution are visible in her life, they fail to explain the whole of her history—the unknown rises forth from it and presents itself before us. Thus do they argue, never suspecting that their determination of the primitive germ is an "a priori" of agnostic and evolutionist philosophy, and that the formula of it has been gratuitously invented for the sake of buttressing their position.

But while they endeavor by this line of reasoning to secure access for the Catholic religion into souls, these new apologists are quite ready to admit that there are many distasteful things in it. Nay, they admit openly, and with ill-concealed satisfaction, that they have found that even its dogma is not exempt from errors and contradictions. They add also that this is not only excusable, but, curiously enough, even right and proper. In the sacred books there are many passages referring to science or history where manifest errors are to be found. But the subject of these books is not science or history, but religion and morals. In them history and science serve only as a species of covering to enable the religious and moral experiences wrapped up in them to penetrate more readily among the masses. The masses understood science and history as they are expressed in these books, and it is clear that had science and history been expressed in a more perfect form this would have proved rather a hindrance than a help. Then, again, the sacred books being essentially religious, are consequently necessarily living. Now, life has its own truth and its own logic—quite different from rational truth and rational logic, belonging as they do to a different order, viz., truth of adaptation and of proportion both with the medium in which it exists and with the end towards which it tends. Finally, the

modernists, losing all sense of control, go so far as to proclaim as true and legitimate everything that is explained by life.

We, venerable brethren, for whom there is but one and only truth, and who hold that the sacred books, written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, have God for their author (Conc. Vat., *De Revel.*, c. 2), declare that this is equivalent to attributing to God Himself the lie of utility or officious lie, and we say with St. Augustine: "In an authority so high, admit but one officious lie, and there will not remain a single passage of those apparently difficult to practice or to believe, which on the same most pernicious rule may not be explained as a lie uttered by the author willfully and to serve a purpose." (Epist. 28.) And thus it will come about, the holy doctor continues, that everybody will believe and refuse to believe what he likes or dislikes. But the modernists pursue their way gaily. They grant also that certain arguments adduced in the sacred books, like those, for example, which are based on the prophecies, have no rational foundation to rest on. But they will defend even these as artifices of preaching, which are justified by life. Do they stop here? No, indeed; for they are ready to admit, nay, to proclaim, that Christ Himself manifestly erred in determining the time when the coming of the kingdom of God was to take place, and they tell us that we must not be surprised at this, since even Christ was subject to the laws of life! After this, what is to become of the dogmas of the Church? The dogmas brim over with flagrant contradictions, but what matter that, since, apart from the fact that vital logic accepts them, they are not repugnant to symbolical truth. Are we not dealing with the infinite, and has not the infinite an infinite variety of aspects? In short, to maintain and defend these theories they do not hesitate to declare that the noblest homage that can be paid to the Infinite is to make it the object of contradictory propositions! But when they justify even contradictions, what is it that they will refuse to justify?

#### SUBJECTIVE ARGUMENTS.

But it is not solely by objective arguments that the non-believer may be disposed to faith. There are also subjective ones at the disposal of the modernists, and for those they return to their doctrine of immanence. They endeavor, in fact, to persuade their non-believer that down in the very depths of his nature and his life lie the need and the desire for religion, and this not a religion of any kind, but the specific religion known as Catholicism, which, they say, is absolutely postulated by the perfect development of life. And here we cannot but deplore once more, and grievously, that there are Catholics who, while rejecting immanence as a doctrine, employ it as a method of apologetics, and who do this so imprudently that they seem to admit that there is in human nature a true and rigorous necessity with regard to the supernatural order—and not merely a capacity and a suitability for the supernatural, such as has at all times been emphasized by Catholic apologetists. Truth to tell, it is only the moderate modernists who make this appeal to an exigency for the Catholic religion. As for the others, who might be called integralists, they would show to the non-believer, hidden away in the very depths of his being, the very germ which Christ Himself bore in His conscience, and which He bequeathed to the world. Such, venerable brethren, is a summary description of the apologetic method of the modernists, in perfect harmony, as you may see, with their doctrines—methods and doctrines brimming over with errors, made not for edification, but for destruction; not for the formation of Catholics, but for the plunging of Catholics into heresy; methods and doctrines that would be fatal to any religion.

#### THE MODERNIST AS REFORMER.

It remains for us now to say a few words about the modernist as reformer. From all that has preceded, some idea may be gained of the reforming mania which possesses them: in all Catholicism there is absolutely nothing on which it does not fasten. Reform of philosophy, especially in the seminaries: the scholastic philosophy is to be relegated to the history of philosophy among obsolete systems, and the young men are to be taught modern philosophy, which alone is true and suited to the times in which we live. Reform of theology: rational theology is to have modern philosophy for its foundation, and positive theology is to be founded on the history of dogma. As for history, it must be for the future written and taught only according to their modern methods and principles. Dogmas and their evolution are to be harmonized with science and history. In the catechism no dogmas are to be inserted except those that have been duly reformed and are within the capacity of the people. Regarding worship, the number of external devotions is to be reduced, or at least steps must be taken to prevent their further increase, though, indeed, some of the

admirers of symbolism are disposed to be more indulgent on this head. Ecclesiastical government requires to be reformed in all its branches, but especially in its disciplinary and dogmatic parts. Its spirit and its external manifestations must be put in harmony with the public conscience, which is now wholly for democracy; a share in ecclesiastical government should therefore be given to the lower ranks of the clergy, and even to the laity, and authority should be decentralized. The Roman congregations, and especially the Index and the Holy Office, are to be reformed. The ecclesiastical authority must change its line of conduct in the social and political world; while keeping outside political and social organization, it must adapt itself to those which exist in order to penetrate them with its spirit. With regard to morals, they adopt the principle of the Americanists, that the active virtues are more important than the passive, both in the estimation in which they must be held and in the exercise of them. The clergy are asked to return to their ancient lowliness and poverty, and in their ideas and action to be guided by the principles of modernism; and there are some who, echoing the teaching of their Protestant masters, would like the suppression of ecclesiastical celibacy. What is there left in the Church which is not to be reformed according to their principles?

#### MODERNISM AND ALL THE HERESIES.

It may be, venerable brethren, that some may think we have dwelt too long on this exposition of the doctrines of the modernists. But it was necessary, both in order to refute their customary charge that we do not understand their ideas and to show that their system does not consist in scattered and unconnected theories, but in a perfectly organized body, all the parts of which are solidly joined, so that it is not possible to admit one without admitting all. For this reason, too, we have had to give this exposition a somewhat didactic form and not to shrink from employing certain uncouth terms in use among the modernists. And now can anybody who takes a survey of the whole system be surprised that we should define it as the synthesis of all heresies? Were one to attempt the task of collecting together all the errors that have been broached against the faith and to concentrate the sap and substance of them all into one, he could not better succeed than the modernists have done. Nay, they have done more than this, for, as we have already intimated, their system means the destruction not of the Catholic religion alone, but of all religion. With good reason do the rationalists applaud them, for the most sincere and the frankest among the rationalists warmly welcome the modernists as their most valuable allies.

For let us return for a moment, venerable brethren, to that most disastrous doctrine of agnosticism. By it every avenue that leads the intellect to God is barred, but the modernists would seek to open others available for sentiment and action. Vain efforts! For, after all, what is sentiment but the reaction of the soul on the action of the intelligence or the senses? Take away the intelligence, and man, already inclined to follow the senses, becomes their slave. Vain, too, from another point of view, for all these fantasies on the religious sentiment will never be able to destroy common sense, and common sense tells us that emotion and everything that leads the heart captive proves a hindrance instead of a help to the discovery of truth. We speak, of course, of truth in itself—as for that other purely subjective truth, the fruit of sentiment and action, if it serves its purpose for the jugglery of words, it is of no use to the man who wants to know above all things whether outside himself there is a God into whose hands he is one day to fall. True, the modernists do call in experience to eke out their system, but what does this experience add to sentiment? Absolutely nothing beyond a certain intensity and a proportionate deepening of the conviction of the reality of the object. But these two will never make sentiment into anything but sentiment, nor deprive it of its characteristic, which is to cause deception when the intelligence is not there to guide it; on the contrary, they but confirm and aggravate this characteristic, for the more intense sentiment is, the more it is sentimental. In matters of religious sentiment and religious experience, you know, venerable brethren, how necessary is prudence, and how necessary, too, the science which directs prudence. You know it from your own dealings with souls, and especially with souls in whom sentiment predominates: you know it also from your reading of ascetical books—books for which the modernists have but little esteem, but which testify to a science and a solidity very different from theirs, and to a refinement and subtlety of observation of which the modernists give no evidence. Is it not really folly, or at least sovereign imprudence, to trust one's self without control to modernists' experiences? Let us for a moment put the question: If experiences have so much value in their eyes, why do they not attach equal weight to the experience that thousands upon thousands of Catholics have that the modernists are on the

wrong road? Is it, perchance, that all experiences except those felt by the modernists are false and deceptive? The vast majority of mankind holds, and always will hold firmly, that sentiment and experience alone, when not enlightened and guided by reason, do not lead to the knowledge of God. What remains, then, but the annihilation of all religion—atheism? Certainly it is not the doctrine of symbolism that will save us from this. For if all the intellectual elements, as they call them, of religion are pure symbols, will not the very name of God or of divine personality be also a symbol? And if this be admitted, will not the personality of God become a matter of doubt and the way opened to pantheism? And to pantheism that other doctrine of the divine immanence leads directly. For does it, we ask, leave God distinct from man or not? If yes, in what does it differ from Catholic doctrine, and why reject external revelation? If no, we are at once in pantheism. Now, the doctrine of immanence in the modernist acceptance holds and professes that every phenomenon of conscience proceeds from man as man. The rigorous conclusion of this is the identity of man with God, which means pantheism. The same conclusion follows from the distinction modernists make between science and faith. The object of science, they say, is the reality of the knowable. Now, what makes the unknowable unknowable is its disproportion with the intelligible—a disproportion which nothing whatever, even in the doctrine of the modernist, can suppress. Hence the unknowable remains, and will eternally remain, unknowable to the believer as well as to the man of science. Therefore, if any religion at all is possible, it can only be the religion of an unknowable reality. And why this religion might not be that universal soul of the universe, of which a rationalist speaks, is something we do not see. Certainly, this suffices to show superabundantly by how many roads modernism leads to the annihilation of all religion. The first step in this direction was taken by Protestantism; the second is made by modernism; the next will plunge headlong into atheism.

## PART II.

### THE CAUSE OF MODERNISM.

To penetrate still deeper into modernism, and to find a suitable remedy for such a deep sore, it behooves us, venerable brethren, to investigate the causes which have engendered it and which foster its growth. That the proximate and immediate cause consists in a perversion of the mind cannot be open to doubt. The remote causes seem to us to be reduced to two: curiosity and pride. Curiosity by itself, if not prudently regulated, suffices to explain all errors. Such is the opinion of our predecessor, Gregory XVI., who wrote: "A lamentable spectacle is that presented by the aberrations of human reason when it yields to the spirit of novelty, when, against the warnings of the apostle, it seeks to know beyond what it is meant to know; and when relying too much on itself it thinks it can find the truth outside the Church, wherein truth is found without the slightest shadow of error." (Ep. Encycl. Singulari nos, 7 Kal. July, 1834.)

But it is pride which exercises an incomparably greater sway over the soul to blind it and plunge into error; and pride sits in modernism as in its own house, finding sustenance everywhere in its doctrines and an occasion to flaunt itself in all its aspects. It is pride which fills modernists with that confidence in themselves and leads them to hold themselves up as the rule for all, pride which puffs them up with that vainglory which allows them to regard themselves as the sole possessors of knowledge and makes them say, inflated with presumption, "We are not as the rest of men," and which, to make them really not as other men, leads them to embrace all kinds of the most absurd novelties. It is pride which rouses in them the spirit of disobedience, and causes them to demand a compromise between authority and liberty; it is pride that makes of them the reformers of others, while they forget to reform themselves, and which begets their absolute want of respect for authority, not excepting the supreme authority. No, truly, there is no road which leads so directly and so quickly to modernism as pride. When a Catholic layman or a priest forgets that precept of the Christian life which obliges us to renounce ourselves if we would follow Jesus Christ, and neglects to tear pride from his heart, ah! but he is a fully ripe subject for the errors of modernism. Hence, venerable brethren, it will be your first duty to thwart such proud men, to employ them only in the lowest and obscurest offices; the higher they try to rise, the lower let them be placed, so that their lowly position may deprive them of the power of causing damage. Sound your young clerics, too, most carefully, by yourselves and by the directors of your seminaries, and when you find the spirit of pride among any of them, reject them with-

out compunction from the priesthood. Would to God that this had always been done with the proper vigilance and constancy.

If we pass from the moral to the intellectual causes of modernism, the first which presents itself, and the chief one, is ignorance. Yes, these very modernists who pose as doctors of the Church, who puff out their cheeks when they speak of modern philosophy, and show such contempt for scholasticism, have embraced the one with all its false glamor because their ignorance of the other has left them without the means of being able to recognize confusion of thought, and to refute sophistry. Their whole system, with all its errors, has been born of the alliance between faith and false philosophy.

#### METHODS OF PROPAGANDISM.

If only they had displayed less zeal and energy in propagating it! But such is their activity and such their unwearied capacity for work on behalf of their cause that one cannot but be pained to see them waste such labor in endeavoring to ruin the Church when they might have been of such service to her had their efforts been better employed. Their artifices to delude men's minds are of two kinds, the first to remove obstacles from their path, the second to devise and apply actively and patiently every instrument that can serve their purpose. They recognize that the three chief difficulties for them are scholastic philosophy, the authority of the fathers and tradition, and the magisterium of the Church, and on these they wage unrelenting war. For scholastic philosophy and theology they have only ridicule and contempt. Whether it is ignorance or fear, or both, that inspires this conduct in them, certain it is that the passion for novelty is always united in them with hatred of scholasticism, and there is no surer sign that a man is on the way to modernism than when he begins to show his dislike for this system. Modernists and their admirers should remember the proposition condemned by Pius IX.: "The method and principles which have served the doctors of scholasticism when treating of theology no longer correspond with the exigencies of our time or the progress of science." (Syll. Prop. 13.) They exercise all their ingenuity in diminishing the force and falsifying the character of tradition, so as to rob it of all its weight. But for Catholics the second Council of Nicea will always have the force of law, where it condemns those "who dare, after the impious fashion of heretics, to deride the ecclesiastical traditions, to invent novelties of some kind . . . or endeavor by malice or craft to overthrow any of the legitimate traditions of the Catholic Church." And Catholics will hold for law also the profession of the fourth Council of Constantinople: "We therefore profess to conserve and guard the rules bequeathed to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church by the holy and most illustrious apostles, by the orthodox councils, both general and local, and by every one of those divine interpreters, the fathers and doctors of the Church." Wherefore, the Roman Pontiffs, Pius IV. and Pius IX., ordered the insertion in the profession of faith of the following declaration: "I most firmly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions and other observations and constitutions of the Church." The modernists pass the same judgment on the most holy fathers of the Church as they pass on tradition, decreeing, with amazing effrontery, that, while personally most worthy of all veneration, they were entirely ignorant of history and criticism, for which they are only excusable on account of the time in which they lived. Finally, the modernists try in every way to diminish and weaken the authority of the ecclesiastical magisterium itself by sacrilegiously falsifying its origin, character and rights, and by freely repeating the calumnies of its adversaries. To all the band of modernists may be applied those words which our predecessor wrote with such pain: "To bring contempt and odium on the mystic Spouse of Christ, who is the true light, the children of darkness have been wont to cast in her face before the world a stupid calumny, and perverting the meaning and force of things and words, to depict her as the friend of darkness and ignorance and the enemy of light, science and progress" (*Motu-proprio*, *Ut mysticum*, 14 March, 1891). This being so, venerable brethren, no wonder the modernists vent all their gall and hatred on Catholics who sturdily fight the battles of the Church. But of all the insults they heap on them, those of ignorance and obstinacy are the favorites. When an adversary rises up against them with an erudition and force that render him redoubtable, they try to make a conspiracy of silence around him to nullify the effects of his attack, while, in flagrant contrast with this policy towards Catholics, they load with constant praise the writers who range themselves on their side, hailing their works, exuding novelty in every page, with choruses of applause; for them the scholarship of a writer is in direct proportion to the recklessness of his attacks on antiquity, and of his efforts to undermine tradition and the ecclesiastical magisterium. When one of their number falls under the condemnations of

the Church, the rest of them, to the horror of good Catholics, gather around him, heap public praise upon him, venerate him almost as a martyr of truth. The young, excited and confused by all this clamor of praise and abuse, some of them afraid of being branded as ignorant, others ambitious to be considered learned, and both classes, goaded internally by curiosity and pride, often surrender and give themselves up to modernism.

And here we have already some of the artifices employed by modernists to exploit their wares. What efforts they make to win new recruits! They seize upon chairs in the seminaries and universities, and gradually make of them chairs of pestilence. From these sacred chairs they scatter, though not always openly, the seeds of their doctrines; they proclaim their teachings without disguise in congresses; they introduce them and make them the vogue in social institutions. Under their own names and under pseudonyms they publish numbers of books, newspapers, reviews, and sometimes one and the same writer adopts a variety of pseudonyms to trap the incautious reader into believing in a whole multitude of modernist writers—in short, they leave nothing untried, in action, discourses, writings, as though there was a frenzy of propaganda upon them. And the results of all this? We have to lament at the sight of many young men, once full of promise and capable of rendering great services to the Church, now gone astray. And there is another sight that saddens us, too—that of so many other Catholics who, while they certainly do not go so far as the former, have yet grown into the habit, as though they had been breathing a poisoned atmosphere, of thinking and speaking and writing with a liberty that ill becomes Catholics. They are to be found among the laity and in the ranks of the clergy, and they are not wanting even in the last place where one might expect to meet them—in religious institutes. If they treat of Biblical questions, it is upon modernist principles; if they write history, it is to search out with curiosity and to publish openly, on the pretext of telling the whole truth and with a species of ill-concealed satisfaction, everything that looks to them like a stain in the history of the Church. Under the sway of certain *a priori* rules, they destroy as far as they can the pious traditions of the people, and bring ridicule on certain relics highly venerable from their antiquity. They are possessed by the empty desire of being talked about, and they know they would never succeed in this were they to say only what has been always said. It may be that they have persuaded themselves that in all this they are really serving God and the Church—in reality they only offend both, less perhaps by their works themselves than by the spirit in which they write and by the encouragement they are giving to the extravagances of the modernists.

### PART III.

#### REMEDIES.

Against this host of grave errors, and its secret and open advance, our predecessor, Leo XIII., of happy memory, worked strenuously, especially as regards the Bible, both in his words and his acts. But, as we have seen, the modernists are not easily deterred by such weapons; with an affectation of submission and respect they proceeded to twist the words of the Pontiff to their own sense, and his acts they described as directed against others than themselves. And the evil has gone on increasing from day to day. We therefore, venerable brethren, have determined to adopt at once the most efficacious measure in our power, and we beg and conjure you to see to it that in this most grave matter nobody will ever be able to say that you have been in the slightest degree wanting in vigilance, zeal or firmness. And what we ask of you and expect of you we ask and expect also of all other pastors of souls, of all educators and professors of clerics, and in a very special way of the superiors of religious institutions.

#### I. THE STUDY OF SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

I. In the first place, with regard to studies, we will and ordain that scholastic philosophy be made the basis of the sacred sciences. It goes without saying that if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as an excess of subtlety, or which is altogether destitute of probability, we have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations. (Leo XIII. Enc. "Aeterni Patris.") And let it be clearly understood above all things that the scholastic philosophy we prescribe is that which the Angelic Doctor has bequeathed to us, and we, therefore, declare that all the ordinances of our predecessor on this subject continue fully in force, and, as far as may be necessary, we do decree anew and confirm and ordain that they be by all strictly observed. In seminaries where they may have been neglected let the Bishops impose



them and require their observance, and let this apply also to the superiors of religious institutions. Further, let professors remember that they cannot set St. Thomas aside, especially in metaphysical questions, without grave detriment.

On this philosophical foundation the theological edifice is to be solidly raised. Promote the study of theology, venerable brethren, by all means in your power, so that your clerics on leaving the seminaries may admire and love it, and always find their delight in it. For in the vast and varied abundance of studies opening before the mind desirous of truth everybody knows how the old maxim describes theology as so far in front of all others that every science and art should serve it and be to it as hand-maidens. (Leo XIII., Lett. ap. "In Magna," Dec. 10, 1889.) We will add that we deem worthy of praise those who, with full respect for tradition, the Holy Fathers and the ecclesiastical magisterium, undertake, with well-balanced judgment, and guided by Catholic principles (which is not always the case), seek to illustrate positive theology by throwing the light of true history upon it. Certainly, more attention must be paid to positive theology than in the past, but this must be done without detriment to scholastic theology, and those are to be disapproved as of modernist tendencies who exalt positive theology in such a way as to seem to despise the scholastic.

With regard to profane studies, suffice it to recall here what our predecessor has admirably said: "Apply yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times, which have won such applause by our contemporaries, will be an object of perpetual praise for those that come after us." (Leo XIII. Alloc., March 7, 1880.) But this do without interfering with sacred studies, as our predecessor in these most grave words prescribed: "If you carefully search for the cause of those errors, you will find that it lies in the fact that in these days, when the natural sciences absorb so much study, the more severe and lofty studies have been proportionately neglected; some of them have almost passed into oblivion, some of them are pursued in a half-hearted or superficial way, and, sad to say, now that they are fallen from their old estate, they have been disfigured by perverse doctrines and monstrous errors (*loco cit*). We ordain, therefore, that the study of natural science in the seminaries be carried on under this law."

## II. PRACTICAL APPLICATION.

II. All these prescriptions and those of our predecessor are to be borne in mind whenever there is question of choosing directors and professors for seminaries and Catholic universities. Anybody who in any way is found to be imbued with modernism is to be excluded without compunction from these offices, and those who already occupy them are to be withdrawn. The same policy is to be adopted towards those who favor modernism either by extolling the modernists or excusing their culpable conduct, by criticizing scholasticism, the Holy Father, or by refusing obedience to ecclesiastical authority in any of its depositories; and towards those who show a love of novelty in history, archaeology, Biblical exegesis, and finally towards those who neglect the sacred sciences or appear to prefer them to the profane. In all this question of studies, venerable brethren, you cannot be too watchful or too constant, but most of all in the choice of professors, for as a rule the students are modeled after the pattern of their masters. Strong in the consciousness of your duty, act always prudently, but vigorously.

Equal diligence and severity are to be used in examining and selecting candidates for holy orders. Far, far from the clergy be the love of novelty! God hates the proud and the obstinate. For the future the doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anybody who has not made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred, it shall be held as null and void. The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics, both secular and regular, of Italy, concerning the frequenting of the universities, we now decree to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic institute or university must not in the future follow in civil universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic institutes to which they belong. If this has been permitted anywhere in the past, we ordain that it be not allowed for the future. Let the Bishops who form the governing board of such Catholic institutes or universities watch with all care that these our commands be constantly observed.

## III. EPISCOPAL VIGILANCE OVER PUBLICATIONS.

III. It is also the duty of the Bishops to prevent writings infected with modernism or favorable to it from being read when they have been published, and to hinder their publication when they have not. No book or

paper or periodical of this kind must ever be permitted to seminarists or university students. The injury to them would be equal to that caused by immoral reading—nay, it would be greater, for such writings poison Christian life at its very fount. The same decision is to be taken concerning the writings of some Catholics, who, though not badly disposed themselves, but ill instructed in theological studies and imbued with modern philosophy, strive to make this harmonize with the faith, and, as they say, to turn it to the account of the faith. The name and reputation of these authors cause them to be read without suspicion, and they are, therefore, all the more dangerous in preparing the way for modernism.

To give you some more general directions, venerable brethren, in a matter of such moment, we bid you do everything in your power to drive out of your dioceses, even by solemn interdict, any pernicious books that may be in circulation there. The Holy See neglects no means to put down writings of this kind, but the number of them has now grown to such an extent that it is impossible to censure them all. Hence it happens that the medicine sometimes arrives too late, for the disease has taken root during the delay. We will, therefore, that the Bishops, putting aside all fear and the prudence of the flesh, despising the outcries of the wicked, gently, by all means, but constantly, do each his own share of this work, remembering the injunctions of Leo XIII. in the Apostolic Constitution "Officiorum:" "Let the ordinaries, acting in this also as delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses." In this passage the Bishops, it is true, receive a right, but they have also a duty imposed on them. Let no Bishop think that he fulfills this duty by denouncing to us one or two books while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated. Nor are you to be deterred by the fact that a book has obtained the "imprimatur" elsewhere, both because this may be merely simulated and because it may have been granted through carelessness or easiness or excessive confidence in the author, as may sometimes happen in religious orders. Besides, just as the same food does not agree equally with everybody, it may happen that a book harmless in one way, on account of the different circumstances, be hurtful in another. Should a Bishop, therefore, after having taken the advice of prudent persons, deem it right to condemn any of such books in his diocese, we not only give him ample faculty to do so, but we impose it upon him as a duty to do so. Of course, it is our wish that in such action proper regard be used, and sometimes it will suffice to restrict the prohibition to the clergy; but even in such cases it will be obligatory on Catholic booksellers not to put on sale books condemned by the Bishop. And while we are on this subject of booksellers we wish the Bishops to see to it that they do not, through desire for gain, put on sale unsound books. It is certain that in the catalogues of some of them the books of the modernists are not infrequently announced with no small praise. If they refuse obedience, let the Bishops have no hesitation in depriving them of the title of Catholic booksellers; so, too, and with more reason, if they have the title of episcopal booksellers, and if they have that of pontifical let them be denounced to the Apostolic See. Finally, we remind all of the twenty-sixth article of the above-mentioned Constitution "Officiorum:" "All those who have obtained an apostolic faculty to read and keep forbidden books are not thereby authorized to read books and periodicals forbidden by the local ordinaries, unless the apostolic faculty expressly concedes permission to read and keep books condemned by anybody."

#### IV. CENSORSHIP.

IV. But it is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books: it is also necessary to prevent them from being printed. Hence, let the Bishops use the utmost severity in granting permission to print. Under the rules of the Constitution "Officiorum," many publications require the authorization of the ordinary, and in some dioceses it has been made the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest praise for this institution, and we not only exhort, but we order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors be chosen from both ranks of the clergy, secular and regular, men of age, knowledge and prudence, who will know how to follow the golden mean in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine everything which requires permission for publication according to Articles XLI. and XLII. of the above-mentioned constitution. The censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favorable, the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word "Imprimatur," which must always be preceded by the "Nihil obstat" and the name of the censor. In the Curia of Rome official censors shall be appointed just

as elsewhere, and the appointment of them shall appertain to the master of the sacred palaces, after they have been proposed to the Cardinal Vicar and accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff. It will also be the office of the master of the sacred palaces to select the censor for each writing. Permission for publication will be granted by him as well as by the Cardinal Vicar or his vicegerent; and this permission, as above prescribed, must always be preceded by the "Nihil obstat" and the name of the censor. Only on very rare and exceptional occasions, and on the prudent decision of the Bishop, shall it be possible to omit mention of the censor. The name of the censor shall never be made known to the authors until he shall have given a favorable decision, so that he may not have to suffer annoyance either while he is engaged in the examination of a writing or in case he should deny his approval. Censors shall never be chosen from the religious orders until the opinion of the provincial, or, in Rome, of the general, has been privately obtained; and the provincial or the general must give a conscientious account of the character, knowledge and orthodoxy of the candidate. We admonish religious superiors of their solemn duty never to allow anything to be published by any of their subjects without permission from themselves and from the ordinary. Finally, we affirm and declare that the title of censor has no value, and can never be adduced to give credit to the private opinions of the person who holds it.

#### PRIESTS AS EDITORS.

Having said this much in general, we now ordain in particular a more careful observance of Article XLII. of the above-mentioned Constitution "Officiorum." It is forbidden to secular priests, without the previous consent of the ordinary, to undertake the direction of papers or periodicals. This permission shall be withdrawn from any priest who makes a wrong use of it after having been admonished. With regard to priests who are correspondents or collaborators of periodicals, as it happens not unfrequently that they write matter infected with modernism for their papers or periodicals, let the Bishops see to it that this is not permitted to happen, and should it happen, let them warn the writers or prevent them from writing. The superiors of religious orders, too, we admonish with all authority to do the same; and should they fall in this duty, let the Bishops make due provision with authority delegated by the Supreme Pontiff. Let there be, as far as this is possible, a special censor for newspapers and periodicals written by Catholics. It shall be his office to read in due time each number after it has been published, and if he find anything dangerous in it, let him order that it be corrected. The Bishop shall have the same right even when the censor has seen nothing objectionable in a publication.

#### V. CONGRESSES.

V. We have already mentioned congresses and public gatherings as among the means used by the modernists to propagate and defend their opinions. In the future Bishops shall not permit congresses of priests except on very rare occasions. When they do permit them, it shall only be on condition that matters appertaining to the Bishops or the Apostolic See be not treated in them, and that no motions or postulates be allowed that would imply a usurpation of sacred authority; and that no mention be made in them of modernism, presbyterianism or laicism. At congresses of this kind, which can only be held after permission in writing has been obtained in due time and for each case, it shall not be lawful for priests of other dioceses to take part without the written permission of their ordinary. Further, no priest must lose sight of the solemn recommendation of Leo XIII.: "Let priests hold as sacred the authority of their pastors; let them take it for certain that the sacerdotal ministry, if not exercised under the guidance of the Bishops, can never be either holy or very fruitful or respectable." (Lett. Encyc. "Nobilissima Gallorum," 10 Feb., 1884.)

#### VI. DIOCESAN WATCH COMMITTEES.

VI. But of what avail, venerable brethren, will be all our commands and prescriptions if they be not dutifully and firmly carried out? And in order that this may be done it has seemed expedient to us to extend to all dioceses the regulations laid down with great wisdom many years ago by the Bishops of Umbria for theirs.

"In order," they say, "to extirpate the errors already propagated, and to prevent their further diffusion, and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated, this sacred assembly, following the example of St. Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged

with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and to inform the Bishop of the whole, so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for nipping the evil in the bud and preventing it spreading for the ruin of souls, or, worse still, gaining strength and growth." (Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria, Nov., 1849, tit. 2, art. 6.) We decree, therefore, that in every diocese a council of this kind, which we are pleased to name "the Council of Vigilance," be instituted without delay. The priests called to form part in it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day under the presidency of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and their function shall be as follows: They shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of modernism, both in publications and in teaching, and, to preserve from it the clergy and the young, they shall take all prudent, prompt and efficacious measures. Let them combat novelties of words, remembering the admonitions of Leo XIII. (Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EE, 27 Jan., 1902): "It is impossible to approve in Catholic publications of a style inspired by unsound novelty, which seems to deride the piety of the faithful and dwells on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new directions of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilization." Language of this kind is not to be tolerated either in books or from chairs of learning. The councils must not neglect the books treating of the pious traditions of different places or of sacred relics. Let them not permit such questions to be discussed in periodicals destined to stimulate piety, neither with expressions savoring of mockery or contempt, nor by dogmatic pronouncements, especially when, as is often the case, what is stated as a certainty either does not pass the limits of probability or is merely based on prejudiced opinion. Concerning sacred relics, let this be the rule: When Bishops, who alone are judges in such matters, know for certain that a relic is not genuine, let them remove it at once from the veneration of the faithful; if the authentications of a relic happen to have been lost through civil disturbances, or in any other way, let it not be exposed for public veneration until the Bishop has verified it. The argument of prescription or well-founded presumption is to have weight only when devotion to a relic is commendable by reason of its antiquity, according to the sense of the decree issued in 1896 by the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics: "Ancient relics are to retain the veneration they have always enjoyed, except when in individual instances there are clear arguments that they are false or supposititious." In passing judgment on pious traditions, be it always borne in mind that in this matter the Church uses the greatest prudence, and that she does not allow traditions of this kind to be narrated in books except with the utmost caution and with the insertion of the declaration imposed by Urban VIII., and even then she does not guarantee the truth of the fact narrated; she simply does not forbid belief in things for which human arguments are not wanting. On this matter the Sacred Congregation of Rites, thirty years ago, decreed as follows: "These apparitions and revelations have neither been approved nor condemned by the Holy See, which has simply allowed that they be believed on purely human faith, on the tradition which they relate, corroborated by testimonies and documents worthy of credence." (Decree, May 2, 1877.) Anybody who follows this rule has no cause for fear. For the devotion based on any apparition, in as far as it regards the fact itself—that is to say, in as far as it is relative—always implies the hypothesis of the truth of the fact; while in as far as it is absolute, it must always be based on the truth, seeing that its object is the persons of the saints who are honored. The same is true of relics. Finally, we entrust to the Councils of Vigilance the duty of overseeing assiduously and diligently social institutions, as well as writings on social questions, so that they may harbor no trace of modernism, but obey the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.

#### VII. TRIENNIAL RETURNS.

VII. Lest what we have laid down thus far should fall into oblivion, we will and ordain that the Bishops of all dioceses, a year after the publication of these letters, and every three years thenceforward, furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on all the prescriptions contained in them, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy, and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions, and we impose the like obligation on the generals of religious orders with regard to those under them.

This, venerable brethren, is what we have thought it our duty to write to you for the salvation of all who believe. The adversaries of the Church will doubtless abuse what we have said to refurbish the old calumny by which we are traduced as the enemy of science and of the progress of

humanity. In order to oppose a new answer to such accusations, which the history of the Christian religion refutes by never-failing arguments, it is our intention to establish and develop by every means in our power a special institute in which, through the coöperation of those Catholics who are most eminent for their learning, the progress of science and other realms of knowledge may be promoted under the guidance and teaching of Catholic truth. God grant that we may happily realize our design with the ready assistance of all those who bear a sincere love for the Church of Christ. But of this we will speak on another occasion.

Meanwhile, venerable brethren, fully confident in your zeal and work, we beseech for you with our whole heart and soul the abundance of heavenly light, so that in the midst of this great perturbation of men's minds from the insidious invasions of error from every side, you may see clearly what you ought to do and may perform the task with all your strength and courage. May Jesus Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, be with you by His power; and may the Immaculate Virgin, the destroyer of all heresies, be with you by her prayers and aid. And we, as a pledge of our affection and of divine assistance in adversity, grant most affectionately and with all our heart to you, your clergy and people the apostolic benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 8th day of September, 1907, the fifth year of our pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND UP TO THE DEATH  
OF HENRY VIII.

THE great "conquests" of the English in Ireland had dwindled down to a small area round Dublin—smaller than Desmond's property in the south—when Henry VIII. came to the throne of England. All English law was practically limited to the Pale; Kildare was a greater force in Ireland than the English King. Viceroy after viceroy had written home to their Parliaments that there was peace—but there was no peace, and the Irish had never as a race been wholly under English sway. O'Neill and the chiefs obeyed when it suited them and broke off allegiance when they pleased. The governing power was weak; the officials, like vampires, preyed on the poor, and no party suffered so keenly as the English-speaking colonists of the Pale. The latter were doubly taxed—by the Irish chiefs and the ruling English nobles. Brehon law and the clan system were as strong outside the Pale as when Henry II. first came to Dublin. Any one who compares the records of the first Parliaments held in Ireland<sup>1</sup> and the records of Henry VIII.'s reign must see how little was the progress made by English "civilization" during the intervening centuries. The enactments on the statute books, passed for the improvement of Ireland and for its better behavior, were simply futile and puerile. The policy of the Statute of Kilkenny and Poyning's Act were the last efforts of a "superior" race to maintain its individuality. The old law of conquest was reversed; the conquerors were assimilated into the conquered. The English had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." There was a spirit of rebellion abroad amongst the chieftains, whilst they had no unifying bond of country—each simply fought for the extension or protection of his clan. The chieftain was all; the unit was nothing in this system. Such were the broad conditions in which Ireland was situated in the beginning of Henry's reign.

The Church, too, was in an evil plight; the root principles of its government were evil. There were two sharp divisions in the Irish Church—the one the native Irish element, the other the English priests. The Church was also made subservient to the State, at least that part of it which was English in tone. Though there were many well-meaning men and zealous among the English ecclesiastics, such as Hedian of Cashel, Talbot of Dublin and others, still one would naturally expect that the Irish people would not take kindly to the foreign priests, for they were the kinsmen of those who had

<sup>1</sup> "Irish Archæological Miscellany," Vol. I., p. 15.

brought evil on their land. And such was the case. They were sent over by England and very often filled State positions; they were crown officials—justices, chancellors, executors, etc.—a fact which told in their disfavor. These English ecclesiastics were worldly, shrewd men who watched the political compass in the home country and got decrees passed in the Irish Parliament (such as the non-obtaining of provisions from Rome in Edward III.'s reign (25 Ed. III., Stat. I., 1351), the refusal to pay Peter's pence, etc.), when they knew that such enactments would win favor at home. They were better courtiers than churchmen; they were the open enemies of the Irish.

With disunion amongst the chiefs in Ireland, without one spark of national sentiment in their public actions, the thing called "the Irish nation" did not exist. The Irish Church also stood in need of reform. There was discord among the Irish and English religious orders; there was the need of a stronger central government, of a closer bond of union among its rulers and a general reformation all around. A "Reformation" came which was a Revolution. It produced results which its apostles never dreamt of; it taught the Irish people that they had one common country and one national foe. The Church was freed from the influence of Canterbury and Windsor and was flung on its own native strength. It was no longer a mere State dependent, and though it has passed through a bitter baptism of blood, it has come out from the struggle of the centuries strong and looking bravely towards the future days.

#### THE PARLIAMENT IN HENRY VIII.'S REIGN.

To understand the reformation in Ireland it is necessary to know something of the constitution of the Irish Parliament of the day. There were two houses, the Upper and the Lower. In the Upper House were the spiritual lords and the peers; the Lower House consisted of members from towns, shires, boroughs and the lower clergy were represented by "proctors." Davies writes:<sup>2</sup> "Before the 33rd year of Henry VIII. we do not find any to have place in Parliament but the English blood or English of birth onlie—for, the mere Irish in those days were never admitted, as well because their countries lying out of limites of cuntrye, could send no knights nor burgess to Parliament; and besides that the State did not hold them fit to be trusted with the council of the realm." The Irish were thus excluded. The country in the beginning was divided into fifteen counties, but in Henry VIII.'s time there were only twelve.<sup>3</sup> The Upper House, or House of Lords, consisted of peers of the realm,

<sup>2</sup> Leland, Vol. II., appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Ware's "Antiq.," ch. xxvi.

bishops and the superiors of twenty-four religious houses—English, of course. Davies continues, speaking of the “knights in the Lower House:” “Before the 34th year of Henry VIII. the number of knights must have been small, since the ancient cities were but four in number, and the borroughs which sent burgess not above twenty; the entire body cannot have been more than one hundred persons.” Davies does not state that abbots or priors or the proctors representing the lower clergy had any seats in the Lower House; but this fact is indisputable.<sup>4</sup> Ware gives the names of fourteen abbots and ten priors who “before the suppression had place and voice among the lords in Parliament. But as to their certain number it is far short of what appears in the records.”<sup>5</sup> The Parliament was wholly a one-sided affair, for Davies in the same document writes: “As for the Archbishops and Bishops, though their number was greater than at present, yet such as were resident in the *mere Irish counties and did not acknowledge the King to be their patron were never summoned to any Parliament.*” Thus by its very constitution the Upper House could not and did not represent the higher Irish classes, lay or clerical. The Lower House was equally exclusive of the Celt. In 1417 it had been made law that “all Archbishops, Bishops, abbots, priors of the Irish nation that shall make any collation or presentment to benefices in Ireland or bring with them any *Irish rebels to the Parliament, councils or assemblies within same land (Ireland) to know the privities or state of Englishmen*, their temporalities shall be seized.”<sup>6</sup>

The question is disputed whether the proctors who represented the lower clergy possessed the right of voting or whether their duties were simply to give advice. Protestant writers would hold that they possessed no such right and were merely clerks to the assembly; but evidence seems to be against this view. The Parliamentary summons ran thus: “To the Archbishops, Bishops, abbots and priors and clerks who hold an earldom.” All these were expected to attend. “To these and to other privileged persons who had jurisdiction, that by the assent of the clergy there may be elected for every deanery and archdeaconry and for themselves, the archdeacons and deacons, *two wise and competent men who were to come and to remain in Parliament to answer and support and consent to do whatever each of the said deaneries would have done if present.*”<sup>7</sup> From other references it can be shown that the proctors possessed a voting right in Parliament.<sup>8</sup> The King was of the first degree; the

<sup>4</sup> Mason, “Parliaments in Ireland,” pp. 51-53.

<sup>5</sup> Ware’s “Antiquities,” ch. xxvi., p. 116; and “Annals ad an, 1539,” p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> “Cox Hibernica,” p. 151; “Monasticon Hibernica,” p. 3; “Ware Annals,” ch. xxxi.

<sup>7</sup> Malone, Vol. II., appendix MM; Ware, “Antiq.” p. 80.



Archbishops, Bishops, abbots and peers were of the "second degree;" the proctors of the lower clergy were of the third; earls, barons and their peers were of the fourth, and knights of liberties and counties were of the fifth.<sup>9</sup> Now, if the proctors held only a nominal position in Parliament, they would not get such prominence. As the Bishops, etc., preceded the lay lords in the Upper House, so also the proctors of the clergy took equal prominence among the Commons.

A clerk was appointed to attend to the special business of the proctors, and when a doubtful case came up for discussion members were elected from the proctors as well as from the other degrees to discuss and settle the question. The proctors signed the acts of Parliament as well as the other members of the Parliament.<sup>10</sup> Their voting power is also evident from the statutes of Edward IV.<sup>11</sup> In one of these statutes it is stated that "the clergy came at great expense and danger from the Irish enemies," so that the habit grew up of sending bogus representatives for the clergy and boroughs in the remote districts; and it was made law that unless "*proctors and knights in Parliament should produce their warrants all acts would be declared void.*"<sup>12</sup> An enactment which shows that proctors held more than a mere nominal position. "The proctors had same privileges as lords."<sup>13</sup> In fact, the business of Parliament could be conducted by the clergy alone in the absence of the earls,<sup>14</sup> and in 1377 the chapter of Cashel was fined for not sending proctors to the English Parliament. The English King wanted to tax the clergy; the proctors pleaded clerical immunities from such a tax, and that they could not tax themselves in such a case, and that their position then was merely to give advice about such clerical taxation. But the King insisted that they could tax themselves, that it was their right to do so; and accordingly £2,000, a large sum for those days, was voted to him by the proctors. Those representatives of the lower clergy were not present in the early Parliament;<sup>15</sup> but towards the end of the thirteenth century the second order of clergy were summoned and mixed freely, unlike their brethren in the English house, among the members of the council.<sup>16</sup> From all these facts it can be seen that the clergy had an influential voice and a vote in

<sup>9</sup> "Rothe Analecta," p. 267.

<sup>10</sup> Ware, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Mason's "Parliament," p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Statutes, 19 Edw. IV., c. xx.; also 18 Edw. IV.; Irish Statutes (Vesey), p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Robbins' Abridgement, p. 487.

<sup>14</sup> Liber Munerum (seventh part of Edw. IV.); Robbins, *ibid.*, cap. 3, third year of Edward IV., p. 487; Irish Statutes (Vesey), p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Malone, p. 71—Selden Prymes.

<sup>16</sup> "Irish Archæological Miscellany," Vol. I., p. 15. Earliest record of Parliament in Ireland.

<sup>17</sup> Malone, Vol. II., pp. 58-69 (notes and references).

the parliamentary debates up to the time of Henry VIII.; and those who hold the contrary are actuated more by a desire to uphold the justice-loving character of that monarch than by the truth of historical facts. But more of this anon.

THE INTRODUCTION OF REFORMATION INTO IRELAND.

"Like as the King's Majesty justly and righteously is and ought to be the supreme Head of the Church in England; so in like manner the land of Ireland inasmuch as it is depending and belonging justly to the imperial crown of England."<sup>17</sup> Such were the first words of the act of Parliament which proclaimed Henry VIII. of England Head of the Irish Church. The first intimation that the Irish Parliament received of this new doctrine was in 1534, when Henry suddenly discovered "that the abominable abuses and usurpations of the Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction by his provisions and otherwise hath not onlie destroyed the Church in Ireland, but hath been the occasion of dissensions among the people."<sup>18</sup> The deputy was ordered to "resist said Bishops provisions, the lyke to be passed there next Parliament." And thus the Reformation was ushered in.

The country was too disturbed in 1535 by the Rebellion of Silken Thomas for Parliament to devote its time to the King's religious intentions. Henry was growing impatient of the law's delay, and sharply reminded the Irish Parliament that whereas "he hath now made a new conquest of Ireland (forsooth, by the conquest of the Kildare family), to his great charge and cost, he wished an act of Parliament to be devised there whereby he may have the lands of all persons, both spiritual and temporal."<sup>19</sup> There was, after all, some little worldliness in Henry's zeal for the destruction of the Popish monasteries. In May, 1536, the Parliament sat to pass those measures dear to the heart of the King. From the outset the proctors of the clergy "*were obstinate and did somewhat stick in diverz of these acts; and lothe they are that the King's Grace shuld be the supreme Head of the Church.*"<sup>20</sup>

In 1535 an ex-Augustinian friar named Browne—one of Henry's right-hand men in England—"a man of cheerful countenance; in his acts and deeds plain down right," had been appointed by Henry to the vacant Archbishopric of Dublin. The people, high and low, did not take kindly to the new doctrines which he proclaimed. His mission to these people, he tells us, was "fraught with danger to his life." The Archbishop of Armagh did not want Browne's reformation nor Henry to be Head of the Church. "The Archbishop of

<sup>17</sup> Quotation from Acts 28 Henry VIII., cap. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Irish State Papers, Vol. II., p. 215.

<sup>19</sup> Carew Mss. (1515—), p. 68.

<sup>20</sup> Irish State Papers, Vol. II., p. 316.

Armagh hath been the chief oppugner," so wrote Browne. This Archbishop united his clergy to oppose the new doctrines and despatched messengers at once to Rome. "As for the common people, they were more zealous in their blunders than were the saints and martyrs in the truth at the beginning of the Gospel." Browne's first efforts in introducing the "reformed" religion were *not* a success. At the opening of Parliament in 1536 Browne's speech "*startled the other Bishops and peers,*" and created such a sensation in the house that it was with great difficulty allowed "to go through." Brabazon, another creature of the King, seconded him. Evidently the members were not yet prepared for such novel doctrines as the following: That Henry was spiritual Head of the Church. "Behold," he began, "your obedience to your King is the observing of your God and of Christ, for He paid tribute to Cæsar." Then, by specious arguments, how the early Popes obeyed the Emperors. Browne declared that it was a shame for the Pope not to obey Henry, and that he (Browne) himself "without scruple voted Henry his superior in ecclesiastical affairs, and that no one was a true subject unless this decree of supremacy be approved."<sup>21</sup> The spiritualitie in the Upper House "were willing to grant Henry at first the twentieth part of every man's revenues and rent for ten years," but there was no mention of supremacy.<sup>22</sup> "All the sticking was in the Common house by seduction of certain proscribed." These were the followers of the Kildare family in the Lower House who urged on the others to resist the King's demands. The Commons were opposed to the King's supremacy; and we find even a crown official and another follower of Kildare being sent to England because they held "froward opinions." "One Patrick Barnewell, who was the King's sergeant, said openly in the Common House that he would not grant that the King as Head of the Church had so large power as the Bishop of Rome—his power extending only to reform abuses but not to execute manes laws, ne to dissolve abbeys, or to alterate the function of them to any temporal abuse."<sup>23</sup> These words show that Henry's position and actions were clearly understood in the Lower House at least. The Parliament continued into 1537, and still no acts of the King's supremacy were passed. There were rumors of Fitzgerald's return abroad in the February of this year, "which astonished the Commons; and the spiritualitie hath taken such an audacity as they litle agree to pass anything." The Viceroy Grey's reports were gloomy reading for his King.<sup>24</sup> The "spiritualitie" were the great obstacle to the passing of the act of supremacy.

<sup>21</sup> Ware's "Antiquities." "Life of Browne," pp. 148, 149.

<sup>22</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 371.

<sup>23</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 370.

<sup>24</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 404.

The proctors were thereupon deprived of their right of voting in the assembly. When the Bishops in the Upper House saw this "move" of the viceroy they absolutely refused to debate till the question was decided about the proctors' right of voting; and accordingly they now opposed the bill of the twentieth part and other bills which were passed in the Common House. "Whereupon," writes Grey to Cromwell, "considering their obstinacy, Parliament was prorogued and a remedy provided against them in next session. It is a crafty cast between themselves and the Bishops."<sup>25</sup> The King's party in the Parliament—for there were now two camps—seem to have felt the illegality of depriving the proctors of their votes; but they had recourse to stratagem to carry their measure.<sup>26</sup> Even the wording of the act depriving the clergy of their rights shows that their action was unconstitutional and contrary to tradition. "For as much as at every Parliament begun and holden in this land, two proctors of every diocese in Ireland were accustomed to be summoned to Parliament, it was decreed that proctors have no right to vote."<sup>27</sup> After the removal of the proctors there was no further difficulty in the passing of the act of supremacy. The Bishops were outvoted in the Upper House and the government had so arranged matters that there was "no opposition." There was a Privy Council which managed things somewhat like the Star Chamber in England.<sup>28</sup> The Commons who were summoned were only from the neighborhood of the Pale.<sup>29</sup> After a year and a half the act of supremacy was passed in Ireland; the Reformation was declared "open." All the acts similar to those in England were "rushed through," for there was "no opposition" now. Acts declaring Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn valid, acts of first fruits, acts forbidding "provisions" and "bulls" from Rome, acts against Papal taxes, etc. It was declared high treason to refuse to take the oath of supremacy.<sup>30</sup> Mostly all, however, were aimed against the power of the Pope. Acts had been passed in Ireland previous to Henry's time against Peter's pence.<sup>31</sup> The only new enactments were the King's supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries. The latter increased Henry's revenue by many thousands, but such an item would not appeal to such a religious reformer. He kept a good side out, but he knew his own mind. But it is necessary to go back to the year 1534.

<sup>25</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 434.

<sup>26</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 534; "Rothe Analecta," p. 267; also on power of proctors—"qui representant corpus totius cleri."

<sup>27</sup> Irish Statutes (Vesey), p. 103.

<sup>28</sup> Mason's "Irish Parliament," p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Irish Statutes (Vesey), p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> Robbins' Abridgement, p. 487; Carew Bk. of Howth, p. 453; 40 Edw. IV. (28-32 Henry VI.); 16 Edw. IV.

## THE REFORMATION—ITS RECEPTION BY NOBLES AND PEOPLE.

The Earl of Kildare, the father of Silken Thomas, had been called over to England to answer some charges made against him by the Butlers and his enemies in the Irish Parliament. Kildare was not long abroad when the enemies of his house spread reports of his death. His son Thomas—called Silken Thomas on account of his dress—vain, hot-headed and enthusiastic, swallowed the lie, rushed to the council chamber, resigned his sword of state and declared himself an enemy of the King's, and in a speech said among other hard things that "Henry should be a byword for his heresy, lechery and tyranny."<sup>32</sup> Archbishop Cromer, of Armagh, used all his influence in vain against his hasty rebellion. Letters were sent to the Pope and Charles V. of Germany, asking for their assistance "in wresting this island from a schismatic King."<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately for Silken Thomas' cause, Archbishop Alen, of Dublin, was murdered by a few of his soldiers, and he himself, among others, was excommunicated. He laid waste the country around Dublin and marched into Ossory, Butler's country; but, fearing a fight with the latter's forces, he suggested a compromise—namely, that they should divide Ireland between them. Butler sent back a contemptuous reply which nettled Silken Thomas, who proceeded at once to O'Neill for aid.<sup>34</sup> Kildare held out till the end of 1535, when he was deserted by O'Neill and the other northern chiefs, who grew afraid of the newly-appointed commander of the army, Lord Grey.<sup>35</sup> The unfortunate Silken Thomas ended his life on Tyburn in 1537, and his five uncles were treacherously arrested and put to death. The rebellion spread to the south and was kept in flame by James, Earl of Desmond, who was finally defeated by Grey. The latter, however, was connected with the Kildare family by marriage and consequently did not wish to push his victories too far in crushing those who had befriended Silken Thomas. Butler—the old enemy of the Kildares—obtained a large portion of their confiscated property by grant; so Grey sent his troops to waste Ossory's territory, for which he was charged afterwards. Butler was a loyalist in his day. The Irish chiefs—Con O'Neill, O'Brien and O'Connor—seeing the turn of events, made peace in July, 1535. Ireland became of great political importance by this rebellion, for it could be used as a strong ally against the English. There were reports of help from France and Scotland, so that Henry grew afraid for his Irish estate. One effect of this rebellion on the Reformation was that it brought into prominence

<sup>32</sup> Campion Hist., p. 176.

<sup>33</sup> "Rothe Analecta," p. 267; Carew, p. 65; State Papers, p. 243.

<sup>34</sup> Carte Ormond, Introduction xc., etc.

<sup>35</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 243.

before the Irish people, who loved the Kildare family, Henry's new position as a tyrant and a heretic. It was the followers of Silken Thomas who led the opposition to his supremacy in the Common House.

The Earl of Ossory was the first of the Irish—Anglo-Irish—nobles to renounce the supremacy of the Pope. This Butler was looked upon as "a black sheep" by the other chieftains, for he proved himself a mere sycophant of the King; his interests were identified with those of England.<sup>86</sup> As early as May, 1534, even before the Irish Parliament had been notified of the King's intention of making himself Pope, Butler had written to Henry his full belief in his supremacy. In his indentures to Henry he wrote: "The Bishop of Rome's jurisdiction and provisions have been the chief cause of the desolation of this land;" that it was "on account of the Pope that churches, monasteries have been in utter ruin and destroyed—appointing murderers, thieves and others of detestable disposition." Butler knew the kind of letter that would please his royal master. The Irish chiefs were not long at peace. Henry wanted the surrender of young Gerald Fitzgerald, a boy of twelve years, but the Irish refused to give him up. O'Neill and O'Donel in the north, the chiefs of Connaught, O'Brien and Desmond in the south—all joined in a league to defend the young lad.<sup>87</sup> "The inhabitants of the county of Kildare were the principal offenders in this rebellion," according to the state papers.<sup>88</sup> The young Fitzgerald escaped to Rome; peace was again made; the usual promises were handed in by some of the chieftains. Manus O'Donnell professed friendship to Grey, but in his letter stated that "he did not wish to act against God's law and Holy Church," which shows that he understood the turn things were taking. This was in 1537. There was no progress made yet in the "reforming" direction. In the same year Alen the Commissioner, writing on the state of Ireland, said: "Irishmen hath supposed the legal estate of this land to consist in the Bishop of Rome for the time being, and the lordship of the Kings of England to be but a governance under same, which causeth them to have more respect to the Bishop of Rome than Henry."<sup>89</sup> He suggested that the oath of supremacy be put into execution, "for as yet the said oath is not put into execution." Henry was growing impatient for the revenues of the abbeys, and Grey set about "reforming" at once. In 1537 he robbed the abbey of Kyllagh, in Offaly (belonging to the Observant Friars), "of two organs and other necessary things for the King's College of Maynooth, and as much glass as glazed

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

<sup>88</sup> Carew, p. 115.

<sup>89</sup> State Papers, p. 480.

part of windows of said college and part of windows of the King's castle at Maynooth."<sup>40</sup> This abbey was situated among "the wilde Irish," and religion does not seem to be in decay there.<sup>41</sup> One Mac GilliPatrick, who lived near the Pale, was the first native Irish chief to renounce the Papacy. Soon after James of Desmond, when hard pressed by the King's forces, promised to "clerely relinquish the false and usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome."<sup>42</sup>

The Reformation had made no progress since Browne preached his first sermon in 1536, "setting forth the word of God." There was nothing gained for his cause; on the contrary, he met with open opposition from priests and people, and the Irish chieftains had given a religious coloring to their actions in helping the Fitzgeralds. Browne himself was a reformer in the continental sense. Henry only claimed in the beginning supremacy of the Church while maintaining its doctrines. Browne himself received a sharp reproof from Henry "for his lightness in behavior and the elation of his mind in pride," and advised him "to reforme himself and to do his duty in preaching and in the advancement of the King's state."<sup>43</sup> This letter "made him trymble in body." It was dangerous to be near the throne.

In January, 1538, Browne wrote: "Neither by gentill exhortation, evangelical instruction nor by oathes of them taken solemnly can I perswade any, either religious or secular, since my coming over to preache the worde of God or the just title of our prince. They *preach in corners and such company as they can trust and so motche as in them lyeth, hindereth and ploketh back among the people the labour that I do.* They little regard myn auctoritie and the observaunts be the worste of all others."<sup>44</sup> Grey he considered as his enemy also in this matter, for the Deputy, though he robbed monasteries, was not prepared for Browne's Reformation doctrines. Browne, in despair, asked for "a straitte commandment over all ecclesiastical parsons," as there was "never an Archbishop ne Bishop but myself made by the King but he is repelled even now by provision from Rome." He suggested that a Master of Faculties be set up (sic) and "dispensacions" be granted by the new Pope—Henry; for "many of the Irish availed themselves of the Pope's indulgence lately sent to Ireland, and in all things these men were always ready to admit the Bishop of Rome's letters and were sturdy against Henry's power."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> State Papers, pp. 512 and 534.

<sup>41</sup> McFirlis Annals ad an 1451.

<sup>42</sup> State Papers, p. 537.

<sup>43</sup> State Papers, p. 465.

<sup>44</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 539.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

The Pope sent a reply to Archbishop Cromer's letter encouraging the Irish to resist the new doctrines, and a letter was also sent to O'Neill to stir him up in the cause of religion. The war, which was begun in aid of young Gerald Fitzgerald, now took on the aspect of a religious uprising. The clergy of the north urged on the Irish princes to unite.<sup>46</sup> In Dublin several incumbents resigned rather than yield. Even amongst the government party there were only a few anxious for the Reformation as Browne preached it. They were prepared to swear that Henry was spiritual Head of the Church, but they did not understand nor want the continental change in religion. Henry was always a Catholic at heart. We find Staples, who was appointed to Meath by Henry, charging Browne with having "an abhorrence of the Mass" and introducing new tenets in his "Form of the Beads." He called Browne "a heretic and a beggar" and other things "that every honest ear glowed to hear."<sup>47</sup>

This "Form of the Beads" was a prayer drawn up by Browne to be recited in the churches. It was the thin end of the wedge, and what with Staples, who called him a heretic, and Grey, who was a Catholic, he had to be careful in his preaching. The prayer was cleverly worded. It began with a petition for the Universal Catholic Church and for Henry, its supreme Head. The person reciting the prayer was to understand that "the Bishop of Rome's authority was lawfully by act of Parliament and by the consent of the Oxford bishops extinct," and that the Pope's name should be erased from their books, and they were to say a Pater Noster and Ave for the various intentions. (Note the Ave!) There were disturbances in the churches—especially in St. Patrick's, Dublin—over this form. Priest refused to read it.<sup>48</sup> Browne imprisoned the prebend of St. Patrick's, but Grey set him at liberty.<sup>49</sup> In the spring of 1538 public feeling was growing stronger day by day against the King's supremacy. "*The Papistical sect spreading; general recourse daily to Rome by religious men of the Irish nacion and papysticalls never so much as at present; the Observauntes worse than all others in stirring up the people; the common voice is that the King's supremacy is maintained by power and not reasoned by learning*"—such were the despatches to England.<sup>50</sup>

There was continual dissension between Grey and the Council. He was accused of "favoring the Irish and his friends the Kildare secte; that he did not press his opportunities against them; that no man durst speak against the Bishop of Rome's authority of whose

<sup>46</sup> Leland, Vol. II., pp. 170-172; "Hibernia Dominicana."

<sup>47</sup> State Papers, Vol. II., p. 569; and Vol. III., p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Carew, p. 141; and State Papers, Vol. II., p. 563; Vol. III., p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> State Papers, Vol. III., p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.



secte he is the chief principal in this land."<sup>51</sup> He was not advanced enough in his religious opinions for Butler and Browne, but certainly in public he maintained the supremacy of Henry. In July of 1538 he went on an expedition through the south of Ireland, and in clear terms O'Carrol, Clanricarde, James of Desmond, Uleck Burke, O'Brien "renounced the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome."<sup>52</sup> How far such a renunciation, wrung from the chiefs by the presence of a large army, was sincere must be left to the reader. The Deputy passed on to Limerick with a large retinue, intending thereby to impress the natives with a sense of England's strength. The chiefs around Limerick also "renounced"—whatever that may mean in the official documents—the Papal supremacy; and, furthermore, adds Grey: "I called before me the Bishop of Limerick and had him sworn in lykwyse." Thence he marched for Galway and "there the Mayor and Bishop of Galway swore as at Limerick." (Was there a Bishop of Galway at that time?)<sup>53</sup> O'Connor of Connaught earned doubtful praise "for his faithfulness and for renouncing the Bishop of Rome." On this march of the Deputy they sacked monasteries as they went, and so ruthless were the English soldiers in their destruction "of idols and images *that the King commanded that images bet set up again and worshipped as much as ever.*"<sup>54</sup>

This incident shows that Henry did not intend to be a reformer in the sense in which Protestants claim. Browne had only a small following in the Council. A bishop and a friar were arrested and Browne wanted to have them imprisoned, yet he adds complainingly: "Yet our masters of the law and all others (*except very few beside*) are such papistes, ypocrites and worshippers of idols that they (Bishop and friar) were not indited;" and the reforming party were "afraid to go into the chapel lest they might *occasion the people*. Nothwithstanding My Lord Deputy very devoutly kneeling before the statue of our Lady of Trim heard 3 or 4 masses."<sup>55</sup> The Reformation had not progressed beyond Browne's circle of friends. In December of 1538 he went on an expedition with the army, "not onlie for the publishing of the King's injunctions, setting forth the word of God and plucking down the Bishop of Rome's authority, but also as well for levieng of the first fruits and twentieth part with other revenues." They went to Lord Butler, who entertained them for the Christmas.<sup>56</sup> This "army of the Lord," as some would call it, next proceeded to Kilkenny, where they published the Articles of

<sup>51</sup> State Papers, Vol. III, p. 34.

<sup>52</sup> State Papers, Vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>53</sup> State Papers, Vol. III, p. 59; Carew MSS., p. 146.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Faith and the King's translation of the "Pater Noster." Then on the evangelizing army went towards Ross and Waterford. At Wexford "some malefactors were executed;" at Waterford "four felons with another thief were hanged—the latter in his habit and so to remain upon the gallows for a mirror to all other his bredern to live trulie." Gerald MacShane, a chief of Waterford, refused to pay taxes or deny the Pope's supremacy. There was a "sessions" called in the city by the Deputy, but there were only a few people present. The next halting place was at Clonmel, where, according to the Council, who seemed to have been "drawing the long bow," for the facts, as will be shown, cannot fit in with their statement, two Archbishops and eight Bishops took the oath of supremacy. Several Irish bishops did take the oath of the King's supremacy, but it cannot have been at Clonmel; and only four "southern" bishops can be proved to have taken the oath. But the Council wanted to report good news to the King, and what matter a few bishops more or less!

The year 1539 did not open very favorably for the government, notwithstanding Browne's triumphal march. The northern chiefs, under O'Neill and O'Donel, had joined forces and intended to go south to join James FitzMaurice, Earl of Desmond, the leader of the southern clans. They marched into Meath and ravaged the country. The Annals write: "They seized an immense booty, and on return of their forces there was exultation, boasting, vain glory." Grey fell upon the disorganized troops at Belahoa, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Irish, and so destroyed all chance of their union with the southern forces. This confederacy of the Irish chieftains struck terror into the English Council, as it had the approval of the Pope and there were rumors of help from Scotland. Even the government were not certain of having the dwellers in the Pale on their side, for the Geraldines had a strong following there. "Whate for the favour many of them bore to the Geraldines and the favour many of them bore the Church of Rome," no wonder there was uneasiness in the English Council. O'Neill had notions of the Kingship of Ireland; the Irish nobles were rallying round his standard. James of Desmond "began the daunce" and attacked the English allies, Ormond and Butler; the other southern chiefs were up in arms. But the Deputy—Grey—who at all events was a good soldier, soon outwitted the Irish forces; he repulsed with great loss Desmond and O'Brien. The remaining chieftains grew afraid, and on this expedition he made no less than twenty treaties with those petty lords. A yearly tax was imposed, but there was no mention made of the King's supremacy. It would not have been wise, for, as the state papers say, "the cause of this treacherous conspiracy,

as they openly declare, is that the King's Highness is a heretic against the Faith."<sup>57</sup> "Their followers called all Englishmen heretics."

The war was carried on in a desultory manner in the north after the submission of the southern chieftains. The "rebels" were still troublesome, notwithstanding the treaties, and they still persisted in their purpose against the King's supremacy and in helping the Geraldines.<sup>58</sup> In March of 1540 young Gerald escaped to the Continent. O'Neill, after much hesitation, sent in his resignation in June, made a very humble apology and acknowledged Henry as supreme Head of the Church.<sup>59</sup> This action of O'Neill induced the minor chiefs to do likewise, and soon after "resignations" and renunciations of the Pope's authority came in from these princes of the people—O'More and O'Connor of Connaught, the Kavanaghs, the O'Tooles, the Byrnes. Grey, who had been summoned to England to answer charges put forward by his enemies in the Council, was accused of high treason to his King on the following grounds: "That he left all the King's artillery in Ireland in Galway, *which was and is more redie there for the Bishop of Rome or Spaniards than the King*; that he delivered out of Dublin Castle the Dean of Derry and Bishop of Enactuensis taken on high treason; that he favoured the Geraldines and Papists."<sup>60</sup> And the last charge brought against him seems strange—namely, that "he burned the church of Down Patrick and was guilty of many other sacrilegious actions." His accusers, who plundered monasteries for Henry, saw no inconsistency in charging Grey with "sacrilege." He was executed in 1541; and thus he was rewarded for his services to the new Pope of England.

Brereton replaced Grey, who was in turn succeeded by Sir Anthony St. Leger. This Deputy intended to govern Ireland rather by quiet intrigue than by the threat of arms. His policy was to keep the Irish at variance among themselves, and that the weaker party should be under the protection of the government. A spirit of distrust of themselves had crept up among the Irish chiefs. Each one made war on his own account, for they had no common bond of country; each sought only the glory of his clan. Thus we find in the Annals of the Four Masters—who wrote under correction of the O'Donnells, in whose territory their monastery was situated—this significant statement in praise of Hugh O'Donnell, who died in 1537: "A man who did not suffer the power of England to come into the country, for he formed a league of friendship with the King of England when the Irish would not yield superiority to any among

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 169; Carew MSS., p. 155.

<sup>58</sup> Vol. III., pp. 175, 182.

<sup>59</sup> Vol. III., pp. 207, 217.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249; Carew MSS., p. 166; and Annals ad an 1538.

themselves." Surely the Annalists went "in a round about way" to praise their patron; but the essential fact was that mutual jealousy prevented anything like united action against their common foe. They had grown tired of petty wars, and there was a rush of "resignations," and with the resignations also the denial of Papal supremacy. All the great chiefs took the oath. Desmond, McWilliam of Connaught, O'Donnell had sent in their peace indentures early in 1541.<sup>61</sup> In June, 1541, Parliament was called by St. Leger and the title "King of Ireland" was bestowed on Henry VIII. Previous to this the English sovereigns were only "lords of Ireland." There were present at the passing of this act Desmond and many lords—not chieftains, for they adopted the English titles—of Munster; McWilliam from Connaught, now Earl of Clanrickarde, and O'Brien of Thomond. "It was joyfully and three times read; and it passed the Lower House with no less joy"—so say the state papers. This was the first public act of the Irish chieftains which marked the downward way. Instead of defending their country against an encroaching enemy, there was a scramble for government titles and for government favor. There was feasting and rejoicing in Dublin; "Te Deums" were sung, and Henry was pleased with his Irish subjects. True, O'Neill was "in rebellion" at this time; but towards the end of 1541 he, too, sent in his submission. This chapter in Irish history does not add to the glory of the grand names of old. But there was murmuring and discontent among the people at the action of their leaders, and the enthusiasm was not felt beyond Dublin.<sup>62</sup>

This Parliament was prorogued at intervals, but lasted for two years and five months. The government did not press the question of the King's supremacy and were content with passing acts which would better secure the peace of the country, the spread of British rule in the island and the increase in the King's revenue. Acts were passed against Papal authority, and all monasteries were declared to be the property of the King. For the Irish in Munster and Connaught, who practically ignored the fact that there was an English Parliament in Dublin, a modified code of laws were drawn up; and it was prudently decided that the only fact to be put forward in those districts was that Henry was King of Ireland; the supremacy was not to be mentioned. At this Parliament there were several bishops who, of course, subscribed ipso facto to the King's spiritual supremacy, for the wording of the acts was clear. It was decided that all Archbishops and Bishops be permitted to use their jurisdiction in every diocese through the land. They were appointed to

<sup>61</sup> *Annals ad 1537.*

<sup>62</sup> *Carew, p. 174.*

be the judges in all cases of dispute—the cases to be decided according to English, not Irish, law. Some of them were appointed crown arbitrators to lay down the law “according to the English method”—this was the essential point.<sup>63</sup>

By the end of 1541 all the Irish chiefs had submitted to the new code. They promised to lay aside their language and customs and to adopt the English ways. “It grew fashionable to affect a zeal for the government.”<sup>64</sup> O’Neill went to the English court with his chaplain and was created Earl. Henry knew how to play the patron, and with the title he often made gifts of the abbeys and lands to these degenerate lords.<sup>65</sup>

It was a strange thing to see Manus O’Donnell of Tyrone, the founder of the monastery of Donegal, sending his son to be “trained” in the English court, craving a title from an apostate King and swearing that he, as far as in him lay, would destroy the power of Rome among his people.<sup>66</sup> Later on, in 1543, this same Manus asked Henry to appoint his chaplain to the vacant See of Elphin.<sup>67</sup> O’Reilly, “chief captain of his nation” as he loved to call himself, was a suppliant to Henry for “a lytell ferym.” Murough O’Brien was created Earl of Thomond; Burke, Earl of Clanrickarde. There is not much more to relate about the Irish chiefs. They had mutual squabbles, and they went to the English Deputy to settle the differences between them. During the remaining years there were reports of a French invasion of Ireland, as Henry and Francis I. of France were at war. But the Irish chiefs were too dispirited to respond and preferred to remain at peace under the protecting shadow of England. So low had they sunk in national spirit that they came together to send “a testimonial” to Henry on Sentleger’s great capabilities to rule Ireland. The opening of the address was as follows: “We who were formerly styled Irishmen, testify that we acknowledge no other King or Master on earth save Your Highness.” And all this from the princes of the people! A few minor chieftains broke through their agreements—O’Conor of Offaly and O’More—but the Deputy marched against them, ravaged their country and sacked all the monasteries in their territories. There were frequent rumors of a French and Scotch invasion. Strange vessels were seen off the Irish coast, and the government was disturbed. Its policy was to hold the Irish chiefs in touch with the King, and consequently it did not urge very strongly in the latter years of his

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<sup>63</sup> Cox, p. 270.

<sup>64</sup> Ware, “*Antiq. Annals*,” p. 104; Cox, p. 268; Carew, p. 180; *State Papers*, p. 308.

<sup>65</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 349, 320.

<sup>66</sup> Ware, p. 104.

<sup>67</sup> *State Papers*, pp. 312, 362; Carew, p. 183.

reign the principle of his supremacy, as it would prove obnoxious to the people.

Many seek to excuse the action of the Irish chiefs in this matter; but they must stand condemned by the facts of history of having shamelessly abandoned their country and religious principles, at a time, too, when their united action could have easily driven the Saxon from their shores. Some put their action down to ignorance of the real issues at stake, but this view cannot hold. The people knew what was wanted of them, for were not "all Englishmen heretics in their eyes." At the first introduction of the measure into Parliament there was open opposition in both houses, and the Observant Friars openly preached against the King's supremacy. The rebellion of 1539 was partly religious, partly political. Were there not letters sent to Rome by the Irish people and priests? And was not Con O'Neill styled "a champion for the honour of God and the Church of Rome" by Pope Paul III. in the very year in which he openly renounced Papal infallibility and all Popish tendencies?<sup>68</sup> Did not some of the chieftains explain to Henry that it was through ignorance they had not embraced his doctrines sooner? And yet, despite these facts, there are some who say that they confused the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope, and while yielding on the former, they did not renounce the latter. True, there was some confusion of the two notions, and we find that even Henry urged among his titles to the Kingship of Ireland the fact that "his ancestors got a grant of it from the Pope's predecessors." But the struggle had been made clear to the chieftains, and it does not require much theology to see that a man like Henry claiming supreme authority under Christ thereby destroyed the fundamental principle of the Church. It was neither ignorance nor loyalty that urged them on; but when circumstances looked black against them they did not hesitate to sacrifice great principle for a tyrant's favor. How far their actions were the result of fear cannot be known, and surely fear—there was no great reason for it then—could not justify their conduct. They gave the lie direct to their past by proclaiming Henry King of Ireland and Head of the Church. We see them barter all they were professedly fighting for, which would make one agree with Cox, who describes them thus: "The Irish potentates began generally to own themselves champions of the Papacy and Liberty in order to clothe their designs of robbery and plunder."<sup>69</sup> The majority of these petty lords were reduced to a state of poverty. Even the great Desmond, who corresponded with the Emperor Charles V., was reduced to hard straits. He was "surprised" at

<sup>68</sup> *State Papers*, p. 471.

<sup>69</sup> "*Hibernia Dominicana*," p. 106.

home one day by some visitors, who found him "very rude in gesture and apparel, having for want of nurture as much good manners as his kerns and followers could teach him."<sup>70</sup> The spoliation of the monasteries must have been a veritable God-send to those broken-down lords; for "their occupation was gone," and they would probably have sworn that Henry was an angel without wings if he had asked them. Religion seems never to have troubled them during life, but when the hey-day of the blood was tame they entered a monastery and the Annalists love to tell how the chief died in a Franciscan habit. Even on the supposition that the submissions of the Irish chieftains were insincere, as after events would go to show, still great national or Catholic principles should always be upheld before the face of the world. The chain of gold which O'Neill received from the King was a symbol of the slavery in which the Irish chiefs were held; for a petty favor, a title, from Henry they sold their birthright of faith and country.

But the people showed opposition to the action of their chiefs; for, when they went after having signed all that Henry wanted them to sign, they found their clansmen in rebellion. There were open hostilities among the Burkes of Connaught over the election of a chief, for a strong party was in arms against the son of the lately created Earl.<sup>71</sup> O'Donnell's people were also in revolt, and in order to quell the revolt one of the O'Donnells "brought English captains with them into Tyrconnell." It was the same story of discontent at the action of their leaders among the O'Rorkes, the Maguires and O'Briens. The Annals are suspiciously silent over the conduct of the chieftains; they give us, moreover, no insight into the workings of Irish life, and there is not a word of the chieftains yielding to Henry on the question of his Kingship or supremacy. The people were firm against the Reformation doctrines, or, rather, against Henry's spiritual supremacy; for the Reformation as we know it now was not preached in Henry's time. And, somehow or other, heresy never seemed to have the power of catching on in Ireland. Previous to Henry's time some heresies were started, but they made no progress; they were isolated efforts and mostly always came from the English clergy.<sup>72</sup> One Henry Crump taught the novel doctrine that "Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar was only a glass through which the body of Christ in heaven was seen."<sup>73</sup> Others put forward occasionally theories against the divinity of Christ and the chastity of the Blessed Virgin, but the failure of these cases only serves to show more clearly the tenacity of the Irish to the old faith.

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<sup>70</sup> Cox, p. 261.

<sup>71</sup> Hooker, "Chronicles of Ireland," p. 106.

<sup>72</sup> Annals ad 1543-1544; Donovan, p. 1,479.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1,495.

The Irish people were "cribbed, cabined, confined" within the cast-iron laws of the clan system—a system which, if it deprived the individual of all initiative, was also a protection against innovations from without. It was the clan which resolved and acted. Conservative of old rights and customs—with their bards to sing of the glories of days gone by, with their ollaves to weave the achievements of the clan into heroic tales, and their monks who were identified with all their sorrows and triumphs—the people were too much bound up with their past to break up all traditions at once at the command of an English King. In temporals, they acknowledged only their chief; in spirituals, the Pope was their spiritual ruler. Beyond these two facts the mass of the people could not see. And it must have been the greatest joke imaginable to the Irish to hear that Henry of England—the man of many wives—actually claimed to be the supreme ruler of the Church.

The Irish people were not "educated" up to that point that they could understand what the Reformation meant or the other questions that were troubling men's minds on the Continent. Ireland at this time was an anachronism among the peoples in the sixteenth century. She was cut off from the movements abroad by her insular position, her political state, her internal constitutions, her conservatism, her language. While the continental or English tradesman was discussing in his tap-room the relations between Church and State, the Irish Celt was following his lord to battle or eking out a miserable existence in the wilds and fastnesses. There was none of the restlessness or kicking against the goad which was felt amongst the lower classes in England. Browne of Dublin had to confess that his efforts at reforming the Irish were a failure. The people were urged on by the Franciscan friars to resist all changes in religion; and, furthermore, their racial feelings prompted them to resist the foreigners in whatever measures they imposed. Even amongst the English settlers of the Pale sympathy was for the Catholic religion against Browne and his new tenets.<sup>74</sup> From the Dublin clergy—especially the chapter of St. Patrick's—Browne received determined opposition, and several clergymen, Englishmen, resigned rather than conform to the King's supremacy.<sup>75</sup> Irish was the language of the country which was spoken even within the Pale. We have seen that there was dissension among the Council even on the question of supremacy; and so Browne had to fight against fearful odds, and he dared not be too open in pushing forward the continental theories which he believed himself. Henry did not want these extreme changes, for he knew—good easy man—that these doctrines were

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<sup>74</sup> Dalton's "History of Ireland," p. 424.

<sup>75</sup> Ware's Writers, Bk. I., p. 86.



opposed to the true religion. He was a keen theologian; but he wanted money, he wanted to revenge himself on the Pope, and under the cloak of a religious reformer he had himself elected Pope, and under his zeal for monastic reform he plundered the monasteries. Thus far did he go, and no farther. Even he was not overanxious to press his supremacy on the Irish people, if we are to judge from his policy after 1541.<sup>76</sup> The only persons who would be in favor of a change in religion were the usual place-hunters and hangers-on of the government. Those of the clergy of England who came over to preach "the true worde of God" were the offscourings of the English Church—men who had got into difficulties in their own country and whose morals would not attract many followers into the new Gospel.<sup>77</sup> Killeen, the Protestant historian, writes that in Henry's time "there was no intelligent professor of the reformed faith in Ulster, Connaught, Munster"—probably Browne would constitute the intelligence of Leinster.<sup>78</sup> "There was only one sermon made in the country for three years, and that by the Bishop of Meath (Staples)," writes a contemporary.<sup>79</sup> "Preaching we have none, without which the ignorant cannot have knowledge," writes another.<sup>80</sup> The change in ritual was not recognized.<sup>81</sup> There was plenty of blowing of trumpets on paper; acts of Parliament were passed; copies of the "Form of the Beads" and translations of the Lord's prayer were made in English for people who spoke only Irish; but let it be clearly understood that there was no "reformation" in Ireland in Henry's time, and the mass of the people were no more affected by these measures than the inhabitants of Timbuctoo. Browne wrote in 1545 his last letter to Henry: "Assuring your Majesty I think they be weary of us all that be Englishmen here."<sup>82</sup> And a Protestant historian has summed up the case when he wrote regarding the Reformation: "It may scarcely be said to have taken place at all beyond the limits of the parchment on which it was enacted."<sup>83</sup>

JOHN HENEGHAN.

Maynooth, Ireland.

<sup>76</sup> State Papers, Vol. III., pp. 111, 117, 137.

<sup>77</sup> Mant; Leland, Vol. II., p. 170.

<sup>78</sup> Cox, p. 275; Marrin Rolls, pp. 97, 103.

<sup>79</sup> Brewer Carew MSS., pp. xvii., xxiv.

<sup>80</sup> Killeen Hist., Vol. I., p. 353.

<sup>81</sup> Leland, Vol. II., p. 193.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Killeen, p. 353.

<sup>84</sup> State Papers, Vol. III., p. 557.

<sup>85</sup> "Liber Munerum," Vol. I., p. 34.

## DECRETUM DE SPONSALIBUS ET MATRIMONIO.

IUSSU ET AUCTORITATE SS. D. N. PII PAPAE X. A S. CONGREGATIONE  
CONCILII EDITUM.

**N**E TEMERE inirentur clandestina coniugia, quae Dei Ecclesia iustissimis de causis semper detestata est atque prohibuit, provide cavit Tridentinum Concilium, Cap. I., Sess. XXIV. de reform. matrim. edicens: "Qui aliter quam praesente parochio vel alio sacerdote de ipsius parochi seu Ordinarii licentia et duobus vel tribus testibus matrimonium contrahere attentabunt, eos Sancta Synodus ad sic contrahendum omnino inhabiles reddit, et huiusmodi contractus irritos et nullos esse decernit."

Sed cum idem Sacrum Concilium praecepisset, ut tale decretum publicaretur in singulis paroeciis, nec vim haberet nisi iis in locis ubi esset promulgatum; accidit ut plura loca, in quibus publicatio illa facta non fuit, beneficio tridentinae legis caruerint, hodieque careant, et haesitationibus atque incommodis veteris disciplinae adhuc obnoxia maneant.

Verum nec ubi viguit nova lex, sublata est omnis difficultas. Saepe namque gravis exstitit dubitatio in decernenda persona parochi, quo praesente matrimonium sit contrahendum. Statuit quidem canonica disciplina, proprium parochum eum intelligi debere, cuius in paroecia domicilium sit, aut quasi domicilium alterutrius contrahentis. Verum quia nonnunquam difficile est iudicare, certo ne constet de quasi-domicilio, haud pauca matrimonia fuerunt obiecta periculo ne nulla essent: multa quoque, sive inscitia hominum sive fraude, illegitima prorsus atque irrita deprehensa sunt.

Haec dudum deplorata, eo crebrius accidere nostra aetate videmus, quo facilius ac celerius commeatus cum gentibus, etiam disiunctissimis, perficiuntur. Quamobrem sapientibus viris ac doctissimis visum est expedire ut mutatio aliqua induceretur in iure circa formam celebrandi connubii. Complures etiam sacrorum Antistites omni ex parte terrarum, praesertim e celebrioribus civitatibus, ubi gravior appareret necessitas, supplices ad id preces Apostolicae Sedi admoverunt.

Flagitatum simul est ab Episcopis, tum Europae plerisque, tum aliarum regionum, ut incommodis occurreretur, quae ex sponsalibus, idest mutuis promissionibus futuri matrimonii privatim initis, derivantur. Docuit enim experientia satis, quae secum pericula ferant eiusmodi sponsalia: primum quidem incitamenta peccandi causamque cur inexpertae puellae decipiantur; postea dissidia ac lites inextricabiles.

His rerum adiunctis permotus SSmus D. N. Pius PP. X. pro ea quam gerit omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine, cupiens ad memorata damna et pericula removenda temperatione aliqua uti, commisit S. Congregationi Concilii ut de hac re videret, et quae opportuna aestimaret, Sibi proponeret.

Voluit etiam votum audire Consilii ad ius canonicum in unum redigendum constituti, nec non Eminentiorum Cardinalium qui pro eodem codice parando speciali commissione delecti sunt: a quibus, quemadmodum et a S. Congregatione Concilii, conventus in eum finem saepius habiti sunt. Omnium autem sententiis obtentis SSmus Dominus S. Congregationi Concilii mandavit, ut decretum ederet quo leges a Se, ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione probatae, continerentur, quibus sponsalium et matrimonii disciplina in posterum regeretur, eorumque celebratio expedita, certa atque ordinata fieret.

In executionem itaque Apostolici mandati S. Concilii Congregatio praesentibus litteris constituit atque decernit ea quae sequuntur.

#### DE SPONSALIBUS.

I. Ea tantum sponsalia habentur valida et canonicos sortiuntur effectus, quae contracta fuerint per scripturam subsignatam a partibus et vel a parocho, aut a loci Ordinario, vel saltem a duobus testibus.

Quod si utraque vel alterutra pars scribere nesciat, id in ipsa scriptura adnotetur; et alius testis addatur, qui cum parocho, aut loci Ordinario, vel duobus testibus, de quibus supra, scripturam subsignet.

II. Nomine parochi hic et in sequentibus articulis venit non solum qui legitime praeest paroeciae canonice erectae; sed in regionibus, ubi paroecia canonice erectae non sunt, etiam sacerdos cui in aliquo definito territorio cura animarum legitime commissa est, et parocho aequiparatur; et in missionibus, ubi territoria necdum perfecte divisa sunt, omnis sacerdos a missionis Moderatore ad animarum curam in aliqua statione universaliter deputatus.

#### DE MATRIMONIO.

III. Ea tantum matrimonia valida sunt, quae contrahuntur coram parocho vel loci Ordinario vel sacerdote ab alterutro delegato, et duobus saltem testibus, iuxta tamen regulas in sequentibus articulis expressas, et salvis exceptionibus quae infra n. VII. et VIII. ponuntur.

IV. Parochus et loci Ordinarius valide matrimonio adstant:

1. Die tantummodo adeptae possessionis beneficii vel initi officii,

nisi publico decreto nominatim fuerint excommunicati vel ab officio suspensi.

2. Intra limites dumtaxat sui territorii: in quo matrimoniis nedum suorum subditorum, sed etiam non subditorum valide ad-sistunt.

3. Dummodo invitati ac rogati, et neque vi neque metu gravi constricti requirant excipiantque contrahentium consensum.

V. Licite autem adsistunt:

1. Constito sibi legitime de libero statu contrahentium, servatis de iure servandis.

2. Constito insuper de domicilio, vel saltem de menstrua com-moratione alterutrius contraentis in loco matrimonii.

3. Quod si deficiat, ut parochus et loci Ordinarius licite matri-monio adsint, indigent licentia parochi vel Ordinarii proprii alterutrius contrahentis, nisi gravis intercedat necessitas, quae ab ea excuset.

4. Quoad *vagos*, extra casum necessitatis parochus ne liceat eorum matrimoniis adsistere, nisi re ad Ordinarium vel ad sacerdotem ab eo delegatum delata, licentiam adsistendi impetraverit.

5. In quolibet autem casu pro regula habeatur, ut matrimonium coram sponsae parochus celebretur, nisi aliqua iusta causa excuset.

VI. Parochus et loci Ordinarius licentiam concedere possunt alio sacerdoti determinato ac certo, ut matrimoniis intra limites sui ter-ritorii adsistat.

Delegatus autem, ut valide et licite adsistat, servare tenetur limites mandati, et regulas pro parochus et loci Ordinario n. IV. et V. superius statutas.

VII. Imminente mortis periculo, ubi parochus, vel loci Ordi-narius, vel sacerdos ab alterutro delegatus, haberi nequeat, ad con-sulendum conscientiae et (si casus ferat) legitimationi prolis, matrimonium contrahi valide ac licite potest coram quolibet sacerdote et duobus testibus.

VIII. Si contingat ut in aliqua regione parochus locive Ordi-narius, aut sacerdos ab eis delegatus, coram quo matrimonium celebrari queat, haberi non possit, eaque rerum conditio a mense iam perseveret, matrimonium valide ac licite iniri potest emissio a sponsis formali consensu coram duobus testibus.

IX. 1. Celebrato matrimonio, parochus, vel qui eius vices gerit, statim describat in libro matrimoniorum nomina coniugum ac testium, locum et diem celebrati matrimonii, atque alia, iuxta modum in libris ritualibus vel a proprio Ordinario praescriptum; idque licet alius sacerdos vel a se vel ab Ordinario delegatus matrimonio adstiterit.

2. Praeterea parochus in libro quoque baptizatorum adnotet,

coniugem tali die in sua parochia matrimonium contraxisse. Quod si coniux alibi baptizatus fuerit, matrimonii parochus notitiam initi contractus ad parochum baptismi sive per se, sive per curiam episcopalem transmittat, ut matrimonium in baptismi libri referatur.

3. Quoties matrimonium ad normam n. VII. aut VIII. contrahitur, sacerdos in priori casu, testes in altero, tenentur in solidum cum contrahentibus curare, ut initum coniugium in praescriptis libris quam primum adnotetur.

X. Parochi qui haec hactenus praescripta violaverint, ab Ordinariis pro modo et gravitate culpae puniantur. Et insuper si alicuius matrimonio adstiterint contra praescriptum 2 et 3 n. V., emolumenta *stolae* sua ne faciant, sed proprio contrahentium parochi remittant.

XI. 1. Statutis superius legibus tenentur omnes in catholica Ecclesia baptizati et ad eam ex haeresi aut schismate conversi (licet sive hi, sive illi ab eadem postea defecerint), quoties inter se sponsalia vel matrimonium ineant.

2. Vigent quoque pro iisdem de quibus supra catholicis, si cum acatholicis sive baptizatis, sive non baptizatis, etiam post obtentam dispensationem ab impedimento mixtae religionis vel disparitatis cultus, sponsalia vel matrimonium contrahunt; nisi pro aliquo peculiari loco aut regione aliter a S. Sede sit statutum.

3. Acatolici sive baptizati sive non baptizati, si inter se contrahunt, nullibi ligantur ad catholicam sponsalium vel matrimonii formam servandam.

Praesens decretum legitime publicatum et promulgatum habeatur per eius transmissionem ad locorum Ordinarios: et quae in eo disposita sunt ubique vim legis habere incipiant a die solemni Paschae Resurrectionis D. N. I. C. proximi anni 1908.

Interim vero omnes locorum Ordinarii curent hoc decretum quamprimum in vulgus edi, et in singulis suarum dioecesium parochialibus ecclesiis explicari, ut ab omnibus rite cognoscatur.

Praesentibus valituris de mandato speciali SSmi D. N. Pii PP. X., contrariis quibuslibet etiam peculiari mentione dignis minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae die 2a mensis Augusti anni 1907.

✠ VINCENTIUS Card. Ep. Praenest., *Praefectus*.

C. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.

## DECREE CONCERNING SPONSALIA AND MATRIMONY.

ISSUED BY THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL BY THE  
ORDER AND WITH THE AUTHORITY OF OUR HOLY  
FATHER POPE PIUS X.

THE Council of Trent, Cap. I., Sess. XXIV. de reform. matrim., made prudent provision against the rash celebration of clandestine marriages, which the Church of God for most just reasons has always detested and forbidden, by decreeing: "Those who otherwise than in the presence of the parish priest himself or of another priest acting with the license of the parish priest or of the Ordinary, and in the presence of two or three witnesses, shall attempt to contract matrimony, the Holy Synod renders them altogether incapable of contracting marriage thus, and decrees that contracts of this kind are null and void."

But as the same Sacred Council prescribed that said decree should be published in all the parishes and was not to have force except in those places in which it had been promulgated, it has happened that many places in which the publication has not been made have been deprived of the benefit of the Tridentine law, and are still without it, and continue to be subject to the doubts and inconveniences of the old discipline.

Nor has all difficulty been removed in those places where the new law has been in force. For often there has been grave doubt in deciding as to the person of the parish priest before whom a marriage is to be celebrated. The canonical discipline did indeed decide that he is to be regarded as the parish priest in whose parish one or other of the contracting parties has his or her domicile or quasi-domicile. But as it is sometimes difficult to judge whether a quasi-domicile really exists in a specified case, not a few marriages were exposed to the danger of nullity; many, too, either owing to ignorance or fraud, have been found to be quite illegitimate and void.

These deplorable results have been seen to happen more frequently in our own time on account of the increased facility and celerity of intercommunication between the different countries, even those most widely separated. It has therefore seemed expedient to wise and learned men to introduce some change into the law regulating the form of the celebration of marriage, and a great many Bishops in all parts of the world, but especially in the more populous States where the necessity appears more urgent, have petitioned the Holy See to this end.

It has been asked also by very many Bishops in Europe, as well by others in various regions, that provision should be made to prevent the inconveniences arising from sponsalia, that is, mutual promises of marriage privately entered upon. For experience has sufficiently shown the many dangers of such sponsalia, first as being an incitement to sin and causing the deception of inexperienced girls, and afterwards giving rise to inextricable dissensions and disputes.

Influenced by these circumstances, our Holy Father Pope Pius X., desiring, in the solicitude he bears for all the churches, to introduce some modifications with the object of removing these drawbacks and dangers, committed to the S. Congregation of the Council the task of examining into the matter and of proposing to himself the measures it should deem opportune.

He was pleased also to have the opinion of the commission appointed for the codification of canon law, as well as of the eminent Cardinals chosen on this special commission for the preparation of the new code, by whom, as well as by the S. Congregation of the Council, frequent meetings have been held for this purpose. The opinions of all having been taken, His Holiness ordered the Sacred Congregation of the Council to issue a decree containing the laws, approved by himself on sure knowledge and after mature deliberation, by which the discipline regarding sponsalia and marriage is to be regulated for the future and the celebration of them carried out in a sure and orderly manner.

In execution, therefore, of the Apostolic mandate the S. Congregation of the Council by these letters lays down and decrees what follows:

#### CONCERNING SPONSALIA.

I. Only those are considered valid and produce canonical effects which have been contracted in writing, signed by both the parties and by either the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place, or at least by two witnesses.

In case one or both the parties be unable to write, this fact is to be noted in the document and another witness is to be added who will sign the writing as above, with the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or the two witnesses.

II. Here and in the following articles by parish priest is to be understood not only a priest legitimately presiding over a parish canonically erected, but in regions where parishes are not canonically erected the priest to whom the care of souls has been legitimately entrusted in any specified district and who is equivalent to a parish priest; and in missions where the territory has not yet been perfectly divided, every priest generally deputed by the superior of the mission for the care of souls in any station.

CONCERNING MARRIAGE.

III. Only those marriages are valid which are contracted before the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of these, and at least two witnesses, according to the rules laid down in the following articles, and saving the exceptions mentioned under VII. and VIII.

IV. The parish priest and the Ordinary of the place validly assist at a marriage:

1. Only from the day they have taken possession of the benefice or entered upon their office, unless they have been by a public decree excommunicated by name or suspended from the office.

2. Only within the limits of their territory; within which they assist validly at marriages not only of their own subjects, but also of those not subject to them.

3. Provided when invited and asked, and not compelled by violence or by grave fear, they demand and receive the consent of the contracting parties.

V. They assist licitly:

1. When they have legitimately ascertained the free state of the contracting parties, having duly complied with the conditions laid down by the law.

2. When they have ascertained that one of the contracting parties has a domicile or at least has lived for a month in the place where the marriage takes place.

3. If this condition be lacking the parish priest and the Ordinary of the place, to assist licitly at a marriage, require the permission of the parish priest or the Ordinary of one of the contracting parties, unless it be a case of grave necessity, which excuses from this permission.

4. Concerning persons without fixed abode (*vagos*), except in case of necessity it is not lawful for a parish priest to assist at their marriage until they report the matter to the Ordinary or to a priest delegated by him and obtain permission to assist.

5. In every case let it be held as the rule that the marriage is to be celebrated before the parish priest of the bride, unless some just cause excuses from this.

VI. The parish priest and the Ordinary of the place may grant permission to another priest, specified and certain, to assist at marriages within the limits of their district.

The delegated priest, in order to assist validly and licitly, is bound to observe the limits of his mandate and the rules laid down above, in IV. and V., for the parish priest and the Ordinary of the place.

VII. When danger of death is imminent and where the parish



priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of these cannot be had, in order to provide for the relief of conscience and (should the case require it) for the legitimation of offspring, marriage may be contracted validly and licitly before any priest and two witnesses.

VIII. Should it happen that in any district the parish priest or the Ordinary of the place or a priest delegated by either of them, before whom marriage can be celebrated, is not to be had, and that this condition of things has lasted for a month, marriage may be validly and licitly entered upon by the formal declaration of consent made by the spouses in the presence of two witnesses.

IX. 1. After the celebration of a marriage the parish priest or he who takes his place is to write at once in the book of marriages the names of the couple and of the witnesses, the place and day of the celebration of the marriage and the other details, according to the method prescribed in the ritual books or by the ordinary; and this even when another priest delegated either by the parish priest himself or by the Ordinary has assisted at the marriage.

2. Moreover, the parish priest is to note also in the book of baptisms that the married person contracted marriage on such a day in his parish. If the married person has been baptized elsewhere the parish priest who has assisted at the marriage is to transmit, either directly or through the episcopal curia, the announcement of the marriage that has taken place, to the parish priest of the place where the person was baptized, in order that the marriage may be inscribed in the book of baptisms.

3. Whenever a marriage is contracted in the manner described in VII. and VIII., the priest in the former case, the witnesses in the latter are bound conjointly with the contracting parties to provide that the marriage be inscribed as soon as possible in the prescribed books.

X. Parish priests who violate the rules thus far laid down are to be punished by their Ordinaries according to the nature and gravity of their transgression. Moreover, if they assist at the marriage of anybody in violation of the rules laid down in 2 and 3 of No. V., they are not to appropriate the stole-fees, but must remit them to the parish priest of the contracting parties.

XI. 1. The above laws are binding on all persons baptized in the Catholic Church and on those who have been converted to it from heresy or schism (even when either the latter or the former have fallen away afterwards from the Church) whenever they contract sponsalia or marriage with one another.

2. The same laws are binding also on the same Catholics as above, if they contract sponsalia or marriage with non-Catholics,

baptized or unbaptized, even after a dispensation has been obtained from the impediment *mixta religionis* or *disparitatis cultus*; unless the Holy See decree otherwise for some particular place or region.

3. Non-Catholics, whether baptized or unbaptized, who contract among themselves are nowhere bound to observe the Catholic form of *sponsalia* or marriage.

The present decree is to be held as legitimately published and promulgated by its transmission to the Ordinaries, and its provisions begin to have the force of law from the solemn feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, next year, 1908.

Meanwhile, let all the Ordinaries of places see that this decree be made public as soon as possible, and explained in the different parochial churches of their dioceses in order that it may be known by all.

These presents are to have force by the special order of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius X., all things to the contrary, even those worthy of special mention, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome on the 2d day of August in the year 1907.

✠ VINCENT, Card. Bishp. of Palestrina, *Prefect.*

C. DE LAI, *Secretary.*

## Book Reviews

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THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY. Edited by the Rev. J. W. Wilhelm, Ph. D.

HISTORY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By L'Abbe Jaquien. Vol. I, Epistles of St. Paul. Translated from the French edition by the Rev. James Duggan. 8vo., cloth, gilt top. Price, net, \$2.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the first volume of a series of books which under the editorship of Rev. J. Wilhelm, Ph. D., is to be published by Messrs. Kegan, Paul & Co. The purpose of the International Library is to make English Catholics acquainted with what is being done by Catholic thinkers on the Continent. It makes a common possession of what might have remained purely local.

In Dr. Wilhelm's introduction to the series he says: "A great number of Catholic scholars of every country are laboring at this task (of making clear to all the real harmony between faith and science). The proximate object of the International Library is to offer to English students and writers the best results of their labors, and a further object is to facilitate between workers in the various fields of ecclesiastical science through the comparison of ideas and ideals a better understanding, an *entente cordiale*, making peace and union."

The book before us is already well known and appreciated in the original. It is familiar to many English students of the Holy Scripture because it has been for some time in use as the text-book of the Southwark Diocesan Seminary. The author thus explains his purpose and plan:

"The book is an attempt to narrate the various circumstances that contributed to the writing of the books of the New Testament with a view to showing in what environment they stand historically and dogmatically. For this purpose we have had to state the events that gave rise to them, we have had to study the philosophical and religious ideas of the authors, and we have had to describe the intellectual and social conditions of those for whom these books were originally intended. We have also had to deal with the question of authenticity, since with regard to most of these books it has been for one reason or another disputed; this discussion will, we hope, be found of practical value in leading the reader towards a thorough knowledge of each book. We have also given an analysis of each book explaining the leading ideas and showing how they are connected one with the other. We have not laid much stress on matters that properly belong to criticism; we have confined ourselves rather to history and dogma."

The author explains his reason for beginning with the history of St. Paul in this paragraph: "We deal with the books in chronological order as far as it can be ascertained. We begin with the Epistles of St. Paul, since their dates are fairly well known to us. In the next place, we take the books according to their probable dates—the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles and the Johannine writings."

The author's characteristics are excellency of arrangement, keenness of analytical power, liberality in quoting and clearness of style. He presents a very interesting subject in a very attractive manner.

**TEN LECTURES ON THE MARTYRS.** By *Paul Allard*. With a preface by Mgr. Pechenard, rector of the Catholic University of Paris. Authorized translation by Luigi Cappadelta. 8vo., cloth; gilt top. Price, \$2.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The translator of this book has had the unusual advantage of having had his translation read and approved by the author, who made several valuable suggestions. The book contains ten lectures, which were delivered by M. Paul Allard at the Catholic University of Paris. They attracted large audiences, who followed them with rapt attention. Their excellence was at once recognized, and the demand for their publication soon became general. The author was already well known by his previous works as one who stood in the first rank of our contemporary apologists. His work on the persecutions attracted the attention not only of Catholics, but even of the opponents of the true faith. They have acknowledged his high qualities, breadth of his scholarship, the sureness of his criticism, the strength of his methods, the moderation of his conclusions and the courtesy which has never failed him in dealing with an adversary.

The purpose of the lectures may be stated in a few words: They show forth under its many aspects a great fact of history—the violent death of an innumerable multitude of Christians of every age and sex, and country, and condition, who have willingly given testimony to Christ, to His life and death and resurrection and to the truth of His doctrine, and who preferred to lose their lives rather than be false to their religious convictions.

This task has been admirably performed. The writer has shown with all the amplitude which such a subject demands, the motives which occasioned the testimony, the situation in which it was given, the number of those who gave it, the proceedings taken against them, the tortures and sufferings which they endured, the impression made by their testimony on the minds of contemporaries, the honors bestowed on their relics and the inferences which we are entitled to draw from all this. It is a beautiful subject and one which appeals

to every man in whom the higher qualities are developed even in an imperfect degree. As one reads these lectures he finds his heart glowing within him, as the hearts of the disciples on the way to Emaus glowed, while the Saviour explained to them the prophecies of the Old Testament which proved His Divinity. To the old law have been added these witnesses of the new, and combining they make Christianity irresistible.

**THE BLIND SISTERS OF ST. PAUL.** By *Maurice De La Sizeranne*. Authorized translation by L. M. Leggatt. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1907.

The reputation of the author, himself totally blind since 1866, and his constant and successful labors for the amelioration and elevation of his afflicted brethren, entitle him to a hearing irrespective of his merits in the present undertaking. But a hearing will beget interest, admiration, approbation.

"The hitherto practically unknown community of the Blind Sisters of St. Paul deserves wider fame. It is sufficiently attractive to study the religious congregations of our time from a psychological and social point of view, since we can thus analyze and classify many needs of the present day, the spirit of self-sacrifice and those forms of physical or moral indigence differing so widely from those which a gift can relieve. But is not a still keener interest aroused when it is a question of nuns whose blindness places them under such special conditions? In this community all the Sisters are not blind or threatened with blindness; there are many nuns with perfect eyesight; still the name of "Blind Sisters of St. Paul" was given to the congregation to emphasize the fact that it was founded for the blind and is their true home. Before penetrating into the convent or describing the origin, the charitable aims or the future of the congregation, it seems indispensable—though we must not overlook the problem of the blind girl's vocation or the type of abnegation which leads a woman with eyesight to live in the midst of the blind—to speak even at great length of blindness in woman. It is necessary to analyze the impressions she receives from things and from people, and to discuss what her place in a home can be. Can she be useful or active? Can she love and be loved? Finally, what is to be her physical or mental share of life? These questions, though preliminary, nevertheless demand wide development, given the fact of how little we realize the real physical and moral condition of the blind. In the first part of this book, therefore, I have endeavored to portray the sensations of blind women, how they feel, live and act; I have quoted as much as possible from their own words, to give a sincere test of their impressions. I have also quoted largely from writers who appear unconsciously to have recorded purely tactile

and oral impressions, so as to show that 'contact of the blind with nature' is not chimerical, since these perceptions and sensations which I claim for them have been felt and expressed by certain well-known and appreciated writers. It is, therefore, quite intentionally that I have multiplied quotations in this book, in spite of the disadvantages of such a method. I would add that it is always a pleasure to come across pages of charming writings, and if these extracts induce the reader to finish the book, he cannot blame me. Such is this modest work, and in spite of its want of cohesion, not to mention other defects, it seemed to me that this subject might interest philanthropists and students of psychology."

**MADAME LOUISE DE FRANCE.** By *Leon De La Briere*. Authorized translation by Meta and Mary Brown. With illustrations. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See.

This is an intensely interesting book. Any one who reads it, and follows the King's daughter from the glare of the palace into the shadow of the cell of the Carmelite nun, there to offer her prayers and mortifications for the conversion of her worldly, sinful father, will be deeply touched and edified. In the visits of the father to his child we catch a glimpse of his better side and the beginning of the working of the grace of God. Do we not see the value of the sacrifice of the Princess in the dismissal of the mistress and the penitent death of the sovereign, a victim of small-pox? It is a strong sidelight on history.

"We have many books which paint for us the dark side of the reign of Louis XV.; and indeed the dark side is only too painfully apparent. The splendors of the reign of Louis XIV. had hidden the canker that was eating into the heart of French society. When, however, the 'grand monarque' had passed away and the regency fell into the hands of the profligate Duc d'Orleans, all veils of exterior decency were cast aside and the court of France became a scandal to the world. For a short time after reaching his majority the young King endeavored to fulfill the duties of his high office. Unfortunately the effort did not last long, and soon Louis sank even deeper than his predecessor into the depths of vice and ignominy. France and her people were forgotten, whilst her King drowned all sense of duty in the whirl of his vile pleasures.

"Such is the picture history has handed down to us of the court of Louis XV.

"Yet in the midst of this heartless, Godless frivolity, in the very Palace of Versailles, was a little group who lived untainted by a single breath of the corruption around them. This group consisted of the neglected Queen, Marie Leczinska, and her daughters.

"This little book, which we have translated for English readers,

tells the life story of one of these daughters, and gives a glimpse of this tiny court within a court, where history had not time to linger. It throws a curious light on the private life of Louis XV., and perhaps some will be surprised to see flashes of virtue which might have made Louis a great and good man.

"We may remark as a characteristic of French life, and no doubt the life of other Southern Catholic countries, that even where the practice of faith is altogether neglected, and faith itself seems hardly existent, there is yet an undercurrent which at supreme moments will come to the surface. Centuries have rooted the faith so deeply that it is in their very blood."

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**THE GODDESS OF REASON.** A Drama in Five Acts. By *Mary Johnston*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1907. Pp. 234. Price, \$2.00, net; postage, 15 cents.

The drama is a tragedy and deals with the period of the French Revolution. The plot, whose main characteristics can be surmised fairly well from the incidents of the First Act, is interesting nevertheless, and affords opportunity for a number of striking scenes and incidents which occasionally produce complications attaining to dramatic climaxes. The hero is De Vardes, newly succeeded to the baronage of Morbec, in Brittany. The time is the summer of 1791; and Act I. presents us with the capture of some neighboring peasants who had unsuccessfully attacked the château of Morbec. In repelling the feeble attack De Vardes recalled in Yvette, the peasant girl who led it, the memory of a certain beautiful Diana whom he had come across in the dreamy wood of Paimpont—a vision which had fled his approach all too hastily for his happiness. At her intercession he now pardons the peasants, and soon discovers himself deeply in love with Yvette. But Yvette, in the progress of the story, is also loved by the Deputy Lalain, in boyhood as closely knit in bonds of affection to De Vardes as David had been to Jonathan, but now a most active anti-aristocrat. Yvette, although a hot Republican in her sympathies, in secret loves De Vardes, but thinks him in love with the Marquise de Blancheforet. The Revolution progresses to the Terror, in which Yvette becomes "the Goddess of Reason" worshiped by the mob in Nantes. Thither happens De Vardes, now proscribed by the Revolution. The love plot becomes tangled through the jealous misapprehensions of Yvette and the revulsion of feeling experienced by De Vardes at seeing her worshiped as "the Goddess." Finally De Vardes is captured and condemned to death, whereupon Yvette cries out from the gallery of the judgment hall: "I denounce the Republic!" is herself condemned

and, thus finally united with De Vardes in a mutual love freed from all misunderstanding, is cast with him into the watery grave of the Loire.

Our first criticism has to deal with the plot, in which we find, on two occasions, the hero performing feats of valor so far beyond the probabilities of the case as to remind us forcibly that Mary Johnston is the author of the successful novel "To Have and to Hold." In that novel, if our memory plays us not false, the hero, after an exhausting experience of toil and wreck, and after a 'fast of two days' duration, encounters in succession several pirates, who, although expert swordsmen, are defeated by him in single combat in one-two-three order. It is only a woman's hero who could achieve such feats, which deserve to rank beside those of the gallant Falstaff. In the present drama De Vardes repulses the peasants' attack almost single-handed and with only a sword for a weapon:

The maenad with a sickle he puts by;  
Runs through the arm a clamourer of corvée,  
Brings howling to his knees a sans-culotte,  
And strikes a flail from out a claw-like hand!

We naturally wonder what the twenty or thirty peasants were doing during this display of swordsmanship. Again, hard pressed at Nantes by "seven or eight red-capped men armed with pikes," he and his friend De Buc, with naught but swords, deal wondrous blows of death. What were the men with the pikes a-doing meanwhile?

An extremely unpleasant feature of the plot is the fact that Yvette, knowing herself and known as the illegitimate child of De Vardes' father, is nevertheless loved by De Vardes—a more repulsive situation than that which has given to "Tristan and Isolde" an unpleasant notoriety. Also, while it may add something to the vividness of the atmosphere of the play, every reader must regret that a woman should place on the page the song assigned to "A Woman's Voice" (pp. 222-3), or should repeat so often the phrase applied to Yvette, "the Right of the Seigneur," or should also repeat that other, "Baiser des mariées" (as a privilege of the seigneur), or place on Seraphine's lips the taunt addressed to Yvette, "kept by an aristocrat;" or, even as referred to the Du Barry, the words of "The Woman" (p. 109): "Ho! ho! The courtesan, she'll kiss no more!" Doubtless it is quite old-fashioned, in this day of female daring in current literature, to object to such expressions in a play written by a woman, or to the song we have referred to. But we shall have many sympathizers, we doubt not, in our protest.

The characterization in the drama is, in some respects, unfortunate. The object of the author is to portray types, not exceptions. But the conduct of the noblesse in the prison at Nantes, which is



doubtless intended to illustrate the high spirit and courage of the noblesse, does in fact suggest rather bravado than bravery; and the portraiture of the abbé in the First Act is not that of a prevalent type. Many abbés were doubtless courtiers, and some, perhaps, gallants; but our abbé is the only one introduced into the drama, and he should have been either omitted (his presence does not in the slightest way affect the course of the action, and he is introduced merely as part of the atmosphere of the drama) or he should represent the prevalent type of abbé.

Finally, the blank verse might, we fancy, receive much attention from the file, at least in the first half of the drama. As an illustration both of uncertain metre and of the poetic character of the author's muse, the following may serve (p. 31):

I rode from Morbec here to Chantillon,  
And through the wood of Palmont fared alone.  
It is a forest where enchantments thrive,  
And a fair dream doth drop from every tree!  
The old, old world of bitterness and strife  
Is remote as winter, remote as death.  
It was high noon in the turbulent town;  
But clocks never strike in the elfin wood,  
And the sun's ruddy gold is elsewhere spent.  
The light was dim in the depths of Palmont,  
Green, reverend, and dim as the light may be  
In a sea king's palace under the sea.  
The wind did not blow; the flowering bough  
Was still as the rose on a dead man's breast.  
On velvet hoof the doe and fawn went by;  
In other woods the lark and linnet sang;  
A stealthy way was taken by the fox;  
The badger trod upon the softest moss;  
And like a shadow flitted past the hare.  
Without a sound the haunted fountain played.  
The oak boughs dreamed; the pine was motionless;  
Its silver arms the beech in silence spread;  
The poplar had forgot its lullaby.

The occasional lyrics are happily conceived and expressed (barring, always, the one to which objection has been already taken).

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DE SACRAMENTO EXTREMAE UNCTIONIS TRACTATUS DOGMATICUS auctore  
*Joseph Kern, S. J.* Ratisbonæ et Neo-Eboraci (New York): Pustet &  
Co., 1907. Pp. 412, price 4 marks.

It may seem an exaggeration to say that the present dogmatic treatise on the Sacrament of Extreme Unction—from the hand it may be mentioned, by the way, of a professor of theology at the University of Innsbruck—contains some opinions which are likely to appear new, even at this late time, to the average student of divinity. The author anticipates as much when he says that not only laymen but priests as well wonder when they hear it defended that Christ instituted the Sacrament of Extreme Unction as a preservation from the pains of Purgatory and a means of immediate entrance

to heaven. Indeed, the author admits that he himself was astonished (*se quoque obstupuisse*) when studying the great doctors of the thirteenth century he found that they place the proximate purpose of that sacrament to be the disposal of the soul for the attainment of bliss immediately after death—*ad continuum consecutionem beatitudinis*. There can be no doubt, as the author likewise suggests, that if this doctrine is proven to be true, it must have great efficacy towards increasing reverence for the sacrament, in preventing that foolish dread which causes so many when seriously ill to neglect the divine medicine, and in arousing serious effort on the part of recipients in order to obtain the full fruit of the sacred anointing. If, then, the present treatise did nothing else but establish, or rather bring out into stronger light, so salutary a teaching—and we think the author's arguments certainly do all this—it would have made good its claim on the attention of theological students. It does much more than this, however. It not only develops more thoroughly the arguments vindicating the sacramental essence of Extreme Unction than is usually done in similar treatises—it does this, by the way, by a fuller treatment of the Oriental traditions—but it puts forward a plea for the repetition of the sacrament *in eodem mortis pinculo*. This plea the author recognizes is unlikely to be easily admitted by his fellow-theologians—*sententiae quae videntur esse novae, suspicioni dant locum*. Nevertheless, he claims that no speculative grounds can be made good against the opinion defending said reiteration. Since, then, the Church has made no pronouncement thereon, and since abstract argumentation does not confute the opinion, the only refutation available would have to be drawn from history. On the other hand, Father Kern expresses his confidence that *tantum abesse ut accuratior inquisitio in fontes historicos eam evertat, ut eam sit magis magisque confirmatura*. The verdict of justification of this assertion we leave to the consideration of expert theologians, confident that whatever be their decision on this point, their judgment will pronounce for the solidity, thoroughness and lucidity of the work as a whole. Surely the intelligent student cannot come from the perusal of the book without a deeper persuasion of the copious redemption conveyed by Christ to sick souls and bodies through the sacred anointments.

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MEDITATIONS ON CHRISTIAN DOGMA. By *Right Rev. James Bellord, D. D.* With an introductory letter from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Third edition. Two vols., 12mo., pp. 369 and 363. Convent of Mercy, Callan, County Kilkenny.

Since Dr. Bellord's book first appeared it has grown in favor as it has become better known, until now it has reached a third edition.

It has been accepted strictly on its merits, and it needs no other commendation. It is founded on "La Théologie Affective," by Louis Bail, of Abbeville. The original first appeared in 1638, and was republished several times, but always in folio until 1845, when, after revision and amendment, it was brought out in five octavo volumes of about five hundred pages each.

The value of the work was never questioned, but it was too diffuse to be of practical service, and it was inaccessible to English readers generally because it was published in the French tongue only. Dr. Bellord's first thought was to condense the original book, but he soon found that it would be necessary to write a practically new book. He took the framework or skeleton of the present work from "Théologie Affective," keeping in the main to the order of the treatises and the division into meditations, but beyond that he allowed himself the widest latitude.

The characteristics of the book are that it takes in regular order every one of the treatises contained in the "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas Aquinas; that it divides them conveniently into portions, each complete in itself; that it presents these as meditations, with fitting applications and affections, and that by these means it changes an abstract and technical study into a devotional and practical exercise.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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**STIMULUS DIVINI AMORIS.** That is, The Goad of Divine Love. Very proper and profitable for all devout persons to read. Written in Latin by the Seraphical doctor *S. Bonaventure*, of the Seraphical order of St. Francis. Englished by B. Lewis A., of the same order. At Doway by the widow of Mary Wyon, Permission Superiorum 1642. Revised and edited by W. A. Phillipson, priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., London and Glasgow; Benziger Brothers, New York. (All rights reserved.)

**FOLIA FUGITIVA.** Leaves from the Log-Book of St. Erconwald's Deanery, Essex. Edited by the Rev. W. H. Cologan, honorary secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. 12mo., pp. 420. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

**CONTEMPLATIVE PRAYER.** Venerable Father Augustine Baker's Teachings Thereon, from "Sancta Sophia." By *Dom. B. Weld-Blundell*, monk of the order of St. Benedict. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1907.

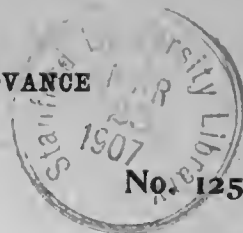
**HISTORY OF IRELAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.** By *Rev. E. A. d'Alton, M. R. I. A.* In three volumes. 8vo. Vol. II. From 1547 to 1782. PP. xv.+576. New York: Benziger Brothers.

**SERMONS.** By the *Rev. Dr. Moriarty*, late Bishop of Kerry. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, printers to the Holy Apostolic See. 1907.

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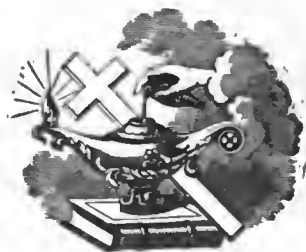
JANUARY, 1907



THE  
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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat  
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD PASCENT.



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